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What More Could a Woman Ask For? Issues of Gender Equity in the Canadian Forces

by

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Abstract

This research provides a discursive analysis of contemporary Canadian Forces [CF] recruitment materials, written policies, and procedures that are aimed at gender equity. The analysis and discussions are grounded within a feminist perspective that realizes and questions the socially constructed relationships between men and women. A critical discourse analysis uncovers the degree to which selected CF discursive genres have represented and reproduced women as unequal members within the CF. The CF has implemented singular strategies that are aimed to accommodate the physiological differences between men and women but have not considered women's unique situation in order to facilitate gender equity goals.

CF recruitment materials were examined to reveal patterns in how men and women are represented in CF culture. Organizational policies that address maternity and parental leave entitlements, pregnancy, and family care responsibilities were analysed for their ability to address the career needs of pregnant members, and mothers. Discursive genres have been accessed through public domains, and include application materials made available from the Canadian Forces Recruiting Centre. Supplementary materials were used for clarification and explanation.

I determined that the CF uses an androcentric perspective to delineate codes of behaviour and acceptance within the organization and define what it considers to be 'good' CF membership. Besides endowing positions of power to men, Bem (1996) points to the important assumptions about this perspective as what truly enables it to maintain the status quo by transforming male – female differences into female disadvantage. Personal truths within this perspective are understood to be universal by defining others as either the same or different in relation to the self. Those who are different from one's self are categorized as non-normative and their function is depicted and valued in relation to the dominant group. A feminist perspective has determined a

male centered perspective by revealing the CF's failure to adequately anticipate the needs of women, in particular, its pregnant members and mothers. The recruitment materials and policies represent an understanding of women as helpers and supporters within the organization, and failure to significantly represent them as active participants of its Institutional (combat) culture.

The language within the textual hierarchy generalize and regulate member's lives in a way that reveals dominant beliefs and discourses about women in productive work and women in the military, particularly with regard to maternity, identity formation, and assimilation into CF culture. Macro level texts focuses on how texts are to be understood and acted upon in order to influence broader societal outcomes while meso and micro-level texts are active in the production and consumption of the text as well as their syntax and language that determine the specific outcomes of local level work (Howitt, 2007; Smith, 2006). These textual levels within the CF inform dominant institutional discourse in a way that renders women's specific needs and experiences as marginal or 'other'. The organization does not acknowledge within its texts the ways in which gender enacts differences in women's lives in way that limit women, in particular, those who are mothers, from joining the organization's highest positions and achieving full membership and fair representation within the Canadian Forces and international security.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In Canada, women's increased participation in paid work has contributed to conditions that demand men's increased participation and involvement in unpaid care work. Although many men have responded positively to the demand, their participation still remains a fraction of what is assumed by women (Zhang, 2007a; Lindsay, 2008). A salient issue faced by Canadian women in seeking employment equity are the limitations arising from the interrelationship of capitalism and organization culture (Baxter, 1992; Almey, 2006; Baker & Milligan, 2008; Cockburn, 2009). This interrelationship fuels expectations that many employers have of their employees, posing barriers to women's full participation and access to opportunities for advancement. Women are unable to benefit fully from family-friendly employment strategies that are grounded in the understanding that work and life responsibilities must remain separate. Additionally, working mothers in Canada continue to experience difficulties finding adequate, affordable, and available childcare, a situation that continues to restrain the possible effectiveness of gender equity and family employment policies. Women employed with the Canadian Forces are finding similar barriers in addition to others unique to military culture such as fitting into a predominately male workforce that overtly acknowledges aggression, strength, and toughness as superior qualities (Bem, 1996), requirements for extended absences, and exposure to war and hostile environments.

In 1986 the Canadian Forces [CF] was ordered to implement a ten year plan to achieve full integration of women into all its occupations (National Defence, 2010a). While the Forces made some administrative changes to meet the Human Rights obligation, women, especially those who are mothers, remain marginalized. The CF maintains a militarized masculine culture that is rooted in an androcentric (male centred) perspective (Bem, 1996). This perspective defines women's position within CF labour support units, combat forces, and in many cases, the senior

command structure (Winslow & Dunn, 2002). Despite opening the Forces to women, the

institution continues to have a difficult time retaining women, with many moving to civilian

employment after starting a family (Davis, 2001; Jenkins as cited in Pickering, 2006).

Throughout my 12 year CF career as a Reservist, I found that the issue of gender equality

was always something that was sensed, but not often made explicit.   As Taber (2009) noted,

these assumptions are so deeply rooted within the culture that they are often difficult to identify

and contest. However, recently an example of the rooted assumptions about the roles of mothers

and fathers has been made available in an email statement for Father's Day from the office of the

Defence Minister, Peter MacKay (June 19, 2011). It went as follows:

> Soldiers, sailors and airmen are the protectors of our great nation while fathers often find themselves protecting the interests of their families. To do both effectively, you often sacrifice your time, your wants, your dreams, your needs.
> From coast to coast, there are military families missing their fathers and fathers missing their loved ones. These fathers are at war, protecting civilians from tyranny, or helping others closer to home prevent catastrophe, while they long for their loved ones and their children wait to see them again.
> It's a heart-wrenching dual role ─ duty to country and duty to family. I admire and thank the men who handle both of these responsibilities, and I admire and thank those families who, today, are patiently waiting for daddy to come home.
> This Father's Day, I salute all of you who make very personal sacrifices in order to make the world a better place. This, to me, is the definition of "hero."
> Happy Father's Day

Out of curiosity I looked up the Mother's Day message that was sent from the Defence Minister's

office to compare. This is the message sent in anticipation for Mother's Day (National Defence,

2010b):

> Mothers are present throughout our lives to encourage, listen and guide us. In the Canadian Forces family, we share unique challenges and experiences such as deployments, training, and long hours spent at

work, which take mothers and fathers away from their children. I am aware of the extra efforts required to maintain family cohesiveness.

On this May 9th, celebrate the love and compassion of the women who have raised us, and thank them for every single moment they have shared with us.

As life gets busy and the everyday routine takes over, this special relationship can sometimes be taken for granted. Please take the time for a respectful gesture of gratitude this Sunday.

I wish all mothers a wonderful day, and thank you for filling this world with love.

Peter MacKay

The difference in language and the imagery each message conjures, individually and in relation to one another, demonstrates the ways in which the ideal, father, mother, and CF member are represented, as well as the shared meanings that root the ideal's relevance within the CF cultural system. Both messages convey the image of a protective war hero, and his family and mother waiting faithfully at home, while only briefly referring to CF members who are mothers working long hours.

For much of my time in the Reserves I took for granted the negative impact my career choice would have on my desire for children. Amongst my CF colleagues, it was assumed that if and when a female member became pregnant it was her "problem" to balance childcare and Forces' responsibilities. After all, it was her "choice" to work and continue membership in the CF. When I began working in a Forces clinic in Canada as a Medical Technician during the height of CF rotations in Afghanistan, the realities of work-life imbalance and associated family stress became glaringly apparent. It seemed odd to me that while gender equality was touted like a mantra throughout recruitment and subsequent training, prevailing organizational attitudes maintained a culture that valued masculine contributions. Women's particular experiences and needs are ignored within this context, and many members, male and female, perceive the pregnancy and childcare responsibilities of others as a convenient excuse to be relieved of

deployment duties. These experiences acted as entry level data (Taber, 2009) and informed my research into the issue. I found there to be a prevailing attitude in the CF whereby women and their contributions were systemically devalued. I wondered what effect such an attitude would have on the member's family dynamics and women's overall career success in the CF.

Men have been primarily responsible for shaping organizational culture, (and by extension, modern industrialized culture), for so long that both men and women take for granted the position they continue to hold by virtue of the patriarchal structure of organizations and society. Their lives are gendered in ways that almost always ensure privilege and opportunity while balancing relationships of power in their favour (Ely & Myerson, 2000). Images and perceived value of work are inherently masculine and cater to patriarchal and capitalist ideas of work. Consequently, work that does not conform to these ideals often remains invisible, however essential it may be. The contributions outside of paid work that women routinely make are devalued, limiting any understanding of their experiences within organization culture.

Managing gender equality by conceptualizing gender as a male versus female ideology inform attempts at equality that are translucent and singular by implementing single problem solutions rather than assessing the systemic and cultural assumptions that contribute to creating problem (Abrams, 1997). These solutions are grounded in the assumption that women would adapt more effectively to the culture of paid work once physiological differences were accounted for, and if women learned to emulate masculine attributes and lifestyles. A common strategy is to develop and implement gender neutral policies while day to day practices, language, and training remain predominately masculine and devalue attributes that are feminine. Gender neutral policies are grounded in the assumption that the personal and social lives of men and women operate the same. Thus the evaluation of the success of equity strategies needs to extend beyond how many

women have excelled within an organization and look instead to evaluating how the work is done, what is valued, and what is ignored (Ely et al., 2000). It is preferable to advocate for ongoing solutions achievable through continued understanding and efforts to enact change through collaborative and interactive processes that consider the realities of both genders (Ely et al., 2000; Pickering, 2006).

In 1993 the Canadian government adopted a relational concept to address and analyze women's increased participation in federal services. Status of Women Canada launched *Setting the Stage for the Next Century: the Federal Plan for Gender Equality*. It promotes the implementation of gender-based analysis [GBA] to explore ways in which organizations can assess and alter their practices in order to achieve gender equality (Davis, 2008). This analysis is grounded in the understanding that gender refers not only to men and women and how they are different, but how the relationship between them is socially constructed. Gender-based analysis sets out to identify the ways in which day-to-day behaviours and assumptions inform the social behaviours of men and women and, their relationships, and how these behaviours and assumptions then translate to inequalities within organizational practices. With the exception of the Defence Women's Advisory Organization, which advocates for GBA across the Department of National Defence [DND] organizations, the Canadian Forces have not implemented such an analysis (Davis, 2002).

Research Aim

The aim of this research is to provide a feminist discursive analysis of CF materials that create and maintain women's position within the military in relation to that of men. Discourse is constructed from commonplace ideas and broader explanatory systems, such as words and images and is constructive in building and maintaining shared accounts of the world (Hall, 1997;

Howitt, 2010). This analysis seeks to identify the ideological codes at work in CF texts that serve as messages of ideal membership to male and female members. It also aims to identify the possible implications of these messages in women's experiences and success in the CF.

Using a variety of discursive genres accessed through academic, government and media sources the literature review discusses the general conditions of employment for women and mothers as well as, the specific conditions experienced by women within CF culture. The analysis will review segments of selected CF documents that are part of what Smith (2006) describes as a hierarchy of texts. High level texts actively inform and regulate low level texts that control local level work through organizing and sequencing behaviour (Smith, 2006). These documents were selected because they function as high level text that generalizes and regulates the lives of CF members down the chain of command [COC]. Thus presumptions and perspectives of CF decision and policy makers are represented within institutional texts (Taber, 2009).

Discourse analysis is the act of seeking to understand how words, images and discourse are used to produce and exchange meaning between members of a social group. Words and images act as mediums that utilize signs, symbols, and sound to convey concepts, ideas, and feelings (Hall, 1997). Critical discourse analysis is distinct because of its focus on power and social inequality and the ways they are affirmed and reaffirmed through words, images, and discourse, which Hall (1997) considers to be language (Howitt, 2010).

Culture is used to refer to the ways groups of people are characteristically different and how these distinctions act to define one group form another. Cultural systems rely on participants to interpret and communicate what is happening around them in meaningful and broadly similar ways using language. Language has the power to organize and regulate social

practices within the group through rules, norms, and conventions. The constructed and constructive elements of language and discourse contribute to the practical effects it has on social life (Hall, 1997) by being present in other areas such as identity construction, marking of difference from other social groups, and production and consumption.

Harrison and Laliberté (1993) describe the Canadian Forces as centralizing its mandate, values and behaviours around combat preparedness, referred to as a combat ideology. This ideology places value on the combat soldier and units and concentrates supports and resources around combat preparedness or 'readiness'. Understanding operational preparedness as imperative, the organization maintains combat and support resources through control over members using a process of indoctrination that is applied through teaching military skills, discipline, loyalty, and unit cohesion. The process is facilitated by male bonding which is informed by an androcentric perspective; the privileging of male perspective and experience (Bem, 1996).

The androcentric perspective is useful in building unit cohesiveness as it generalizes a male-centric reality and views those who do not fit the male centric model as different or 'other' and valued according to their function and usefulness to the group. In the military, usefulness is determined within the combat ideology. Within this perspective women's realities are often distorted or understood as "non-male." The preference for masculine traits over feminine traits within military units and operations distort and inform historical accounts upon which military tradition and culture are built (Bem, 1996)

The CF employs words and images to construct versions of social reality and generalize the lives of its members. As a culture it has the power to use people to represent and convey meaning in a way that can influence social discourse and behaviour. By questioning institutional

texts from a feminist perspective that investigates issues of inequitable power it is possible to uncover the characteristics of the version of reality being constructed and represented to members and society. The application of a feminist approach can bring to light patterns of thoughts, behaviours, values, and power within a social group that reproduce inequities. Using this lens my analysis will evaluate CF texts as part of a larger picture that extends beyond its immediate context by evaluating how messages that convey CF membership influence and limit women's membership.

 CF policies and practices continue to understand women as an oppositional, homogenous, feminine category (Davis, 2008; Taber, 2009) and in doing so disregard the gender related outcomes that result from complex assumptions and interpretations of gender. This thesis provides a critical analysis of Canadian Forces policies, written procedures and practices pertaining to the recruitment and retention of women and mothers.

Research Design

Contemporary CF recruitment materials, written policies and procedures that are implicitly or explicitly aimed at gender equity have been chosen for analysis. While these sources have been accessed through public sources (primarily the Internet), analysed materials also include information and resources available from the CF Recruiting Centre. Supplementary documents such as supporting policies or CF documents have been used where it is necessary to clarify policies or procedures

Recruitment material has been analyzed because it is, for the most part, the first contact an individual has with the CF, and is useful for understanding the organization's culture. Recruitment promises made within these documents demonstrate ways in which the CF has addressed gender equality through recruitment and retention. Policies and procedures were

selected for their ability to convey how organizational culture is maintained and the extent to which it has considered and acted upon the changing needs of its personnel to fulfill its recruitment and retention mandate.

The texts, selected for the reasons set out above, have been evaluated to identify patterns of similarities in the words, images, and ideas of what an ideal military member is like in appearance, attitude, and behaviour. I then identify the different discourses involved in the recruiting and policy texts, delineating what I have found to be a romanticized version of the military used for recruiting and public relations purposes. The interpretations are compared to the expectations of military membership that are delineated and implemented through CF policies and procedures.

Messages have been grouped according to similarity of ideas and referred to as shared understandings. Ongoing discussions outline how these shared understandings act to define women's participation, and to an extent, reproduce them in men's image. At this juncture I employed a gender based analysis tool to apply a feminist lens to understand and outline the position of women in relation to ideal membership, the possible implications these discourses may have on the lives of CF women, and the opportunities for opening up and shutting down action (Howitt, 2010). Entry level data gained from personal experiences and observations in the CF are active in informing the analysis.

The concept of organizational culture has been used to understand the macro level discourses that allow for the continuation of the lateral and hierarchical structure of the military and the attitudes and behaviours held at the micro-level that impinge upon the gender equity agenda for CF women and mothers. The discussion includes research findings on how these issues affect the lives of working mothers including limiting their ability to financially support or

pursue career advancement and the stresses associated with attempting to balance family and work responsibilities.

The following criteria have been considered in the analysis of recruitment materials, policies, procedures, and practices pertaining to women and mothers in the Canadian Forces:

- The typology of Canadian Forces organizational culture (as outlined in chapters two and three), and how that culture is embedded in policies, procedures, and practices.

- The nature and quality of attempts by the Canadian Forces to achieve gender equity through policies.

- The nature of gendered characterizations of women, compared to men, in imagery and text, and how such characterizations relate to achievements of gender equity.

- The way in which women's gender specific responsibilities are recognized and supported, and the meaning this has for their integration into the Forces.

The below diagram illustrates how discourse analysis, the feminist perspective, and the Gender Based Analysis were used to engage with and understand the discursive genres.
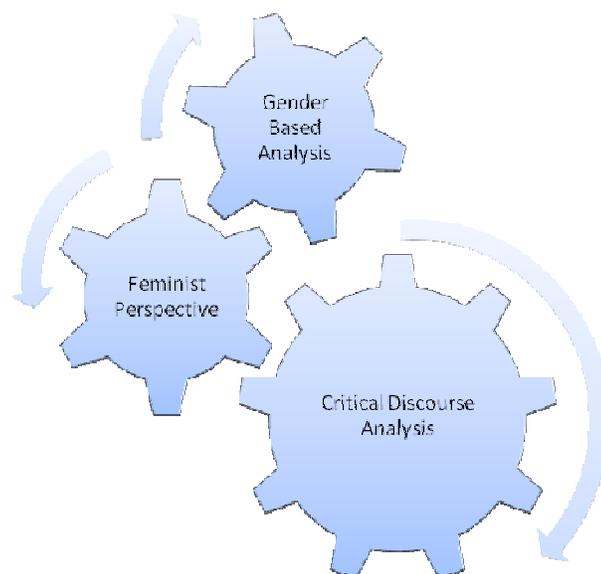
Ontological Position

Throughout the research process I have held an insider-outsider perspective, occupying the space between the two perspectives for much of the time. My relationship to the organization has been and remains multifaceted. Immediate and extended family have provided me with both inside and outside experiences as a relative of a CF member. I have also held the role of CF member as well as the spouse of a CF member. My experiences as a woman in the combat trades and support trades have situated experiences and personal realities that allow for objective and personal reflection.

I often draw from inside experiences as a CF member. For many years I trained as an Infantry Reservist and eventually transferred to the medical trade in which I was gainfully employed full time in Halifax for over three years. Throughout the analysis I was able to use personal experiences to reflect on the culture, attitudes, and practices that are embedded within the CF organization. In many instances I have written myself into the research as I reflected on my own realities, perceptions, and expectations of membership in the Canadian Forces. New understandings emerged as I applied a feminist perspective to the materials. In particular the ways the CF romanticized membership while simultaneously disenchanting members in the name of operational effectiveness became apparent. Most recognizable was the pervasiveness of military value systems that become grounded into personal and family realities.

Similarly, my experiences as a woman in Atlantic Canada employed by the Forces situated me as an insider. I am familiar with many of the assumptions that inform the lives of women my age and can relate with the choices and challenges associated with such a position. Admittedly, I struggle with the ideas associated with reproductive and productive work and the impact they have on personal and professional decisions and outcomes.

Conversely, I participated in many activities that served to disconnect me from the Canadian Forces and position me as an outsider. As a Reservist I was free to pursue other activities and employment that had no connection with the organization or its goals. At times my contact with the organization was minimal.

I studied in areas that were traditionally feminine and pursued care work that distanced my relationship with the Forces and informed my curiosity about the relationship between the Canadian Forces and reproductive labour. This research focuses on motherhood in the Forces and in relation to this I also hold an outsider perspective as I do not have children. Similarly, I did not endeavour to excel or entirely commit to the CF as a career, despite opportunities and pressure to do so. In this way I am unable to relate to the desire to excel and truly balance the institutions of motherhood and the CF. It is difficult to discern the impact this might have had on the analysis as I may have been less tolerant of certain perspectives and likely to entertain alternate and contradictory points of view than those women who were more committed.

At one time I associated closely with my Infantry colleagues and experienced the camaraderie that is a valued and strived for element within the Forces. The experience in the combat arms provided me with insider experiences into a predominantly male workforce and sub-culture, while my sex maintained an outsider status. This dual position remained a reference point as I transitioned to the medical trade that supports those members who are directly associated with the combat ideology. My position in the Forces in a support capacity allowed me to interact with the combat ideology in a proximal and intermittent manner.

Other experiences afforded me insight into other perspective and realities of CF membership. For example I grew up in a community that was heavily populated by CF members so many friendships and extra-curricular activities brought me into immediate and intimate

contact with military families. My relationship with the Canadian Forces dates from childhood to

adulthood as I continue to hold the roles as daughter, niece, and significant other of a CF

member.

Throughout the analysis I remained in the middle, lingering between insider and outsider

and reflecting on my experiences and perspectives as either the insider or the outsider.

Continuously throughout the process I engaged with friends and family as they confronted and

embraced various aspects of life in the Forces. The space between provided opportunities to

engage with CF texts in a way that encouraged understanding of the organizing principles while

anticipating and reflecting on the impact it has on the lives of members and their families.

Interestingly, my education and employment within the Forces offered opportunities to access

and actively use organizational texts and professionally interact with commissioned members and

management in ways I previously could not. I found my academic pursuits were no longer

distinct and separate from the Canadian Forces, but that the two had become enmeshed as

experiences in one area informed reflections and understandings in the other. The ontological

position that I have described here speaks to a perspective that is embedded in direct and

relational experiences with the Canadian Forces. Such experiences and understandings have

undeniably become part of the research, with both outsider and insider realities informing the

space I occupied between the two perspectives (Stanley and Wise, 2002).

Terminology

The CF culture is inundated with jargon familiar primarily to those involved with the

organization. This specialty terminology will undoubtedly cause confusion to those who are not

familiar with military culture and vernacular. Although it would be impractical to address every

single military term that will be used in this thesis, clarification has been provided, where

necessary, within the body of text. Below is a list of terms used throughout the thesis.

Productive work/ labour: Participation in paid employment.

Mothering: The unpaid care that is provided by female parents of minor children.

Reproductive work/ labour: The paid or unpaid work involving the necessary

nurturance of others (for example, children, elderly, and the sick) and the non-relational,

reproductive work necessary for the ongoing maintenance and reproduction of the labour force

(Robinson, 2006).

Androcentrism: A perspective described by Bem (1996) as generalizing and normalizing

a male centric point of view and how it privilege men.

Organizational Culture: The dominant beliefs, values, and practices shared by

individuals within an institution. It often reflects and reifies values and beliefs of larger society

(Hall, 1997).

The Canadian Forces [CF]: The unified armed forces of Canada. It consists of three

main branches the Maritime Command (Navy), the Land Force Command (Army), and the Air

Command (Air Forces) (Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia, 2011). The CF can also be broken

down according to the commitment of its members, with fulltime members referred to as Regular

Force, and part time members as Reserve Force or Reservists.

The Department of National Defence [DND]: A department within the Canadian

Government that is responsible for matters concerning the defence of Canada. The department is

made up of both military and civilian personnel, with the armed forces comprising the majority

(Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia, 2011).

Operational Effectiveness: This term refers to the ability of CF military personnel "at all times and under any circumstances perform any function that they may be required to perform" (Finance and Corporate Services, 2006, Context).

Universality of Service: The miniumum operational standards that each military member subject to throughout his or her career to meet in order to be employed by the Canadian Forces (Finance and Corporate Services, 2006).

Thesis Organization

This chapter has introduced the theoretical and conceptual contents of women in the Canadian Forces that provides the frame of reference for the description and analysis that follow.

Chapter two examines the discouses that surround women working and raising a family in Canada and other developed countries. The literature review reveals the social and biological determinants that factor into women's employment status, descisions, and quality of work life.

Chapter three positions women and work within a military context and describes the history and working conditions of women in the Canadian Forces. This chapter reviews the androcentric perspective that is active in defining and reproducing a masculine, warrior model to which all members of the CF are measured against. This chapter also highlights how this perspective is present in discourses on gender, women in military environments, and military membership.

In chapter four critical discourse analysis and the feminist lens are applied to CF recruitment documents. The discusions distinguish the romantic versions of CF life that are represented to potential members and the Canadian public. The chapter unveils the ways women are represented within these genres and how images and language delineate gender neutral and gender specific work. It will be revealed how this version of reality informs potential members

and acts as a primer to the hidden curriculum (Taber, 2005) that socializes members into military life.

The analysis of maternal and parental support begins in chapter five with the description and discussion of CF pregancy administration. This chapter looks at how an androcentic perspective is present in informing these policies to the benefit of operational effectiveness. The discussion reveals how this perspective dominates discourses about maternity in the CF and how they limit support to members who are parents by segregating and marginalizing pregnant members.

Chapter six continues the discussion of gender equity through maternity and parental benefits by describing the policy on families and the Family Care Plan. The feminist lens reveals a shared assumption that gender equates to biogical differences and the need for maternity and parental support. This chapter highlights the ways that CF regulatory texts counter the romantic version of CF life that is represented during recruitment. The analysis draws on the ways macro level discourses act as defining and consensual methods to socialize members into military life and adopting an androcentric perspective to the benefit of CF operations and goals.

In chapter seven the analysis guidelines outlined in the introduction will be revisited and will guide the concluding comments on the implications of the language, discourse, and images that are used to generalize, represent, and regulate CF life and the limitsplaced on women's full participation in Canada's military.

Chapter 2: The Gendered Division of Productive and Reproductive Work

The birth of a child is one of the most engendering events for an individual (Looker & Magee, 2000; McMahon as cited in Luxton & Vosko, 1998; Zhang, 2007b), with most effects experienced by females. Statements such as, "She chose to work, she should deal with the consequences!" or "She chose to have children," echo the widespread sentiments that the decision to have children is an isolated, individual and personal choice made solely by women, and therefore the consequences and responsibilities of becoming a mother should be accrued by them alone. This attitude exemplifies the tensions between gendered and patriarchal ideals ingrained in advanced capitalist societies. The feminist perspective challenges existing public discourse by revaluing women's experiences, challenging representations of women, and examines the role of context and interpretation. It seeks to describe existing power relations depicted in texts and life, and recognize the role of language in constructing social norms. Furthermore, the framework raises questions about biological and social determinism and re-evaluates the nature versus nurture debate (Appleman, 2000).

Feminist social and economic critics argue the family as public and political because it is understood to be a social institution, rather than a 'natural' social ordering; that the raising of future citizens becomes public interest and thus part of public discourse; and that traditional family order and the gendered division of labour limit and constrains women's opportunities and freedoms (Satz, 2010). Some assumptions about mothering, work, and family include the presumptions that all women have equal access to services, supports, economic freedom, and autonomy; that all employers provide women with adequate maternity and parental leave and benefits; that all economically disadvantaged women who have children abuse supports provided through the Canadian tax system by attempting to be, in effect, 'paid' to raise children. These

presumptions maintain the status quo in claiming that women's choices are limited by their own choosing, and not shaped and constrained by social relations of power (Satz, 2010). Similarly neglected are, the human right to have children and issues surrounding wage and employment inequalities. Real choices between having and not having children, and between staying home and being employed, are restricted to those who have the necessary financial and material supports (Teghtsoonian, 2009).

In 2006 and 2007, 64% of women with children younger than age three were employed, more than double the figure in 1976 when only 28% of these same demographic women were employed outside their homes. Similarly, 69% of women whose youngest child was aged three to five years worked for pay or profit in 2006, up from 37% in 1976 (Zhang, 2007b). However, women with pre-school-aged children were, by 2006, still less likely than those with school-aged children to be employed. Overall, in 2006, 66% of women with children under age six were employed, compared with 78% of those with children aged six to 15 (Zhang, 2007a; Zhang, 2007b).

This chapter provides a discussion of the economic and socio-cultural issues experienced by North American mothers, particularly those living in Canada. Attention is given to the activities associated with mothering work, the gender dispersion of household tasks, motherhood as status characteristic, issues of employment, and supports and benefits for parents as provided through the Canadian tax system.

The terms 'mothering work' or the 'work of mothers,' can seem to some as contradictory. Motherhood often seems to be taken on so readily, and with such ease that it can appear to be an innate characteristic, meaning one that every woman is capable of and happy to engage in full time (Erikson, 1993; Thomson and Walker as cited in Erikson, 2005; Robinson, 2006). Fox's

(1997) study of Canadian gender-based distribution of parenting responsibilities after the birth of a child found a strong relationship between the birth and the emergence of normative mothering roles. Respondents commented that although such arrangements might not be their socially ideal situation it was what they considered to be best for their families and children, and that it was what a "good" mother does. The ideal concept of mother has not manifestly changed so as to encompass mothers as women who do more than just care for their children or as having any type of responsibility outside of reproductive, domestic work. The research also uncovered that a father's sense of responsibility for his family's economic stability increased by his having a greater commitment to paid employment and work-related responsibilities, along with both parents verbally confirming the belief that these were the behaviours of a "good" father.

Daniels (as cited in Erikson, 2005) explains that the term "work" is embedded within popular meanings of paid employment, with the terms 'work' and 'job' usually not referring to the unpaid labour of mothering carried out by mothers. Instead, the endless efforts exerted within the realm of the home and family are considered socio-emotional behaviours freely given out of love, and deeply embedded in the roles of wife and mother (Erikson, 2005).

The interpersonal nature of mothering work can appear to be offered effortlessly, when in actuality it is intentional, planned, focused, and deliberate, with tailored effects (Levenger, cited in Erikson, 2005). The personal and hidden nature of this work makes it difficult for economists to accurately assess its monetary value. The scope of economics including only the production of services and commodities has led to inaccurate assumptions of what a product is worth (Luxton et.al., 1996). Current monetary evaluation does not take into account the true value of unpaid labour by women that contributes to the production of goods and services.

The work of mothering enhances value, wellness, and growth of the family unit, aiding the capitalistic process of creating products and services for profit. Mothers' productive and reproductive labour has, and continues to contribute significantly to the advancement of capitalism. Reinforcing gender stereotypes enables the ideology of patriarchy to thrive and advance capitalism by advantaging those in positions of wealth and power (Shutte as cited in Robinson, 2006). Historically, and currently, many men have appreciated their children's mothers' dedicated efforts to support his and their children's accomplishments, while in many instances women have also contributed equally to their own success. Yet, there is little social expectation that these mothers should receive further financial recognition of their care work (Smith, 1983). This reveals the expectation that mothers will 'naturally' direct their efforts toward familial duties as a part of their wifely and motherly responsibilities.

The family is understood in political and economical discourse as being an economic unit that is both a consumer and a producer of labour. Capitalism is grounded in the person's relationship to the means of production. There are those that own and manage the means of production, those who sell their labour, and those who cannot or do not work (Livingston, 2005). Many individuals who sell their labour for wages are supported by the domestic management of their wives and mothers. Mothers who manage and engage in activities of nutrition, sanitation, maintenance, childcare, and supports that assist a male wage earner to appear for work clean, healthy and unburdened by the mundane daily tasks of self care and management are indirectly contributing to the means of production (Luxton, et. al. 1996; Smith, 1983; Waring, 1988). Relationships in the form of management or ownership of the means of production also rely on women for support services, or at least on the management of domestic services. These women and mothers also develop and foster social relationships between families that facilitate the

accumulation and combination of labour and resources that enhance production of goods and services. Historically, marriages would be arranged between families as a means to greater capital investment (Smith, 1983).

Women's reproductive efforts include children who become the object of their parental work. Within western society these efforts of child rearing are aimed at developing a person who is successful in capitalist societies (Robinson, 2006; Smith, 1983; Waring, 1988). Attention is directed at developing speech and writing skills that take advantage of an education system that promotes structured careers that allow for full participation in a capitalist economy. Mothers have a primary role in supporting this education system through their indirect activities (for example helping with homework and socializing their children) and direct labour (for example volunteer work in school related activities). Investing in children and families is considered an investment in the future of capitalism. It allows for the older generation to retire with the security of knowing they will be provided for through pension plans that rely on payment of wage earners who are participating in the production of goods and services for profit. However, such investment is primarily the responsibility of individuals.

Finally, mothers reproduce many services provided in healthcare through their activities as amateur unpaid nurses, first aid responders, and counsellors (Luxton et. al., 1996). Political economic reductions in these services shift the greater responsibility and financial burden for their provision from the public to the private domain. Women and mothers are often the primary caregivers of the very young, elderly, and ill (Goldschmidt-Clermont as cited in Waring, 1988). Relying on women to provide these services free of charge, and at a low wage, enable governments to 'save' on public health care, social welfare, and early education spending, and redirect 'savings' to profitable industries. Waring (1988) explains that, during recessions,

stimulus money is spent on industrialized production that primarily benefits the male workforce and little investment is made in long-term, sustainable projects that enhance human welfare, such as health care and education, which represents primarily the female workforce. Recessions put women at greater risk of underemployment and unemployment. To secure employment and financial security some women enter male-dominant trades (and indeed there is some encouragement for this in the form of grants available for such entry). This movement, although positive, does little to enhance the perceived value of women's care work.

The corporate culture of advanced capitalist economies relies on a differentiation between men's and women's work. It provides for the linear structure of men's careers that would ideally be supported by the domestic labour of their wives, including as mothers, and the lower paid administrative roles of the mostly female support staff. This structure is reproduced in other work cultures such as education and health care. Historically, the job positions women held were transitional activities between secondary school attendance and marriage (Smith, 1983).

The hierarchy of paid labour is not organized for supporting a mother's participation at authoritative levels, as the demands at these levels are often thought incompatible with mothering activities (Haas & Hwang, 1995; Higgins & Duxbury, 2005; Smith, 1983). This circumstance continues to reproduce social relations of power by excluding many women from the ownership and management of resources. Thus, these roles remain predominantly held by men (Waring, 1988). Women do currently occupy such roles, but when they are mothers they are held to public debate over how and if they can manage their domestic and professional responsibilities, and the possible negative effects of this dual responsibility on their children. Such debates are rarely, if ever, held over the activities of fathers holding these positions.

The social relations of power in paid employment generally require that working mothers adjust their caring responsibilities around work commitments. Workplace inflexibility and limited parental leave benefits often result in their limited engagement in full time employment. In 2007 Statistics Canada reported that many women work part-time because of childcare or other familial responsibilities. In 2006, less than one in five female part-time employees said they worked part-time because of personal or family responsibilities. That year, 15% said they did not work full-time because they were caring for children, while 4% reported other family or personal responsibilities as the reason they worked part-time (Zhang, 2007b). In sharp contrast, only 3% of male part-time workers cited these reasons for their not working full time (Marshall, 2008; Lindsay, 2008).

For many women the decision to raise a child and balance work responsibilities is based on necessity. Significant interruptions in traditional paid employment, often associated with maternity related breaks, can have a negative effect on a mother's ability to rejoin the job market at a similar level and pay scale she experienced prior to maternity (Galtry & Callister, 2005).

Luxton and Vosko (1996) discuss how work equity issues in Canada primarily focus on how women's work is recognized in the public sphere, but ignored in the private sphere. They suggest that the failure to recognize the complexity of women's paid and unpaid labour balance is demonstrated primarily through mothers' calls for childcare relief. Framing the issue as a service granted to working parents (rather than social accountability for child welfare) marginalizes the unpaid work that mothers do and idealizes it as a public service redirecting the debate from an issue of social to maternal responsibility.

Since public policy is largely based on monetary figures and contributions, and mother's unpaid work is removed from the primary aspects of production, the latter is assumed to have

little economic value. Ignoring mothers' work in social discourse renders women's needs invisible and their requests for policies and programs that would benefit them unheard. Consequently, the contributions of mothers' paid and unpaid labour are invisible and their particular needs remain under-represented. Furthermore, this framework supports tax-based programs that are primarily intended to promote attachment to the labour market and thus reinforces a capitalist based economy (Frieler, Stairs, Kitchen & Cerny, 2001).

In 1992, the Canadian government changed how benefits were distributed to families. Prior to that year all families in Canada received a child tax credit and a family allowance in recognition of the social contribution made by parents who were caring for and raising the future generation of citizens, workers, and taxpayers. These payments and credits also served to equalize the difference in discretionary income incurred through the cost of raising a child. The Child Care Tax Benefit [CCTB] replaced the child tax credit and family allowance, and is an income tested benefit used both as an anti-poverty tool, and as an economic stimulus tool. This, along with the Child Care Expense Deduction, is intended to promote economic growth by encouraging parental attachment to paid employment and consumer activity (Frieler et al., 2001)

The CCTB is available to all lower and middle-income families. Need is based on family income and, when awarded, the CCTB is counted as income for tax and benefit purposes. In instances of overpayments recipients are required to refund the additional monies. Full benefits are reserved for those who earn under a threshold amount. Once the threshold is met, the benefits are reduced by a percentage for every dollar earned. Under the CCBT regulations, families with especially low-incomes qualify for a supplementary benefit, which pays an additional amount per child. The supplementary benefit also has a threshold that after being met results in a percentage

reduction on monies received. Thresholds are periodically modified to reflect inflation and the rising costs of basic necessities (Frieler, et al, 2001).

Frieler et al. (2001) and Woolley, Madill, and Vermaeten (1997) found that the true cost of child care was not represented in the benefits assessment. Further, they discovered that the reformed system reinforced systematic barriers that inhibit women's access to fulltime employment by providing inadequate financial and benefit compensation.

The Canada Revenue and Income Tax Act allows wage earners to apply for a Child Care Expense Deduction [CCED], a tax rebate, to a maximum of $7000 for every child under seven, credited to the individual's gross yearly income (Frieler et al., 2001). A major limitation of this, especially for low-income, single mothers, is that the entitlement is calculated at tax time and does not help with the initial pay out. The basic deduction barely reflects the true cost of child care and does little to reflect one's ability to pay for quality childcare. In consequence many mothers utilize cheaper child care or unlicensed caregivers. To receive this tax credit Revenue Canada requires childcare to be provided by an institution or an individual over 18 who is deemed not a relative of the child (Frieler et al., 2001). A parent or direct relative, such as a sibling within the home, does not qualify a caregiver under this program, reflecting the negative value given to mothering work or the necessary expenses of caring for children within the home and family.

The reformed tax benefits contradict the primary reasons for implementing the changes. They were supposed to enhance access to financial support by providing a confidential and secure way of applying for aid, and were to ensure that those who required the assistance would be identified through their reported earnings. It was also promoted as a means of encouraging

attachment to the labour market; but there is no consistent way to monitor the intended effects of these changes (Frieler, et al., 2001; Woolley et al., 1997).

The government's automatic assignment of mothers as the recipient of benefits demonstrates the socio-cultural expectation that they will be primarily responsible for the developmental and financial welfare of their children (Freiler et al.). However, assessment of need is based on family income not on the mother's earnings. A tax revenue system cannot indicate or dictate how wealth is dispersed within the family and in this instance reinforces the mother's dependence on a primary wage earner (Freiler et al.; Luxton et al., 1997).

Income tax benefits and credits are unable to resolve immediate problems associated with job loss, illness or injury, or the multitude of circumstances that affects a person's ability to earn an income. Income-based claw-backs act as a disincentive for low-income families to increase their paid wage labour, ensuring a steady supply of low-wage employees. There is no recognition of the financial hardships experienced by middle-income families who require both parents to earn an income but who do not qualify for meaningful tax benefits and credits. The gross, annual income of these families does not reflect the potential financial hardships experienced in times between income tax reporting. This reiterates the point made by some women in Frieler et.al.'s (2001) study who thought that these payments often acted as a wage top off and often meant the difference between buying groceries and using a food bank. Many of their families were living from pay cheque to pay cheque and they did not have the discretionary income necessary for children's events such as birthday parties, school fees and trips, extra clothing, and savings. Mothers in this income group are often faced with weighing the cost of childcare against the wages and benefits of paid employment. It is difficult in some circumstances for mothers to

justify engaging in the paid labour force when their entire income is then directed towards childcare.

Credits and income-based benefits are not a viable substitute for a national child care program. There is no expectation by Revenue Canada for institutional transparency or standardization of care. The privatisation of child care has meant that the standard of care a child receives is often dependant on what the mother can afford. This penalizes children for the inadequacies of parental income and does not provide equal opportunities for children's well being (Freiler et al., 2000; Luxton, 1997). Policy makers and regulators would rather encourage mothers to stay within the family sphere or encourage them to shoulder both responsibilities of child care and paid employment rather than provide real caregiving alternatives (DeWolf as cited in Luxton et al., 1996; Teghtsoonian, 1996).

Debates over government supported child care raise the concern that paid benefits might support "yuppie mothers," presumably those who choose to continue productive work at higher paid jobs, or to enhance the career choices available to women who can balance child and family care responsibilities equally. The concern is grounded in the assumption that a mother's choice to "work" is materialistic and selfish (Freiler et al., 2000; Teghtsoonian, 1996). It indicates little desire for policies that would encourage the equal participation of fathers in child rearing responsibilities.

The debate about who should receive support for "her" choice exists within a narrow idea of women as mothers, and ignores how families could benefit from the mother's additional income and their involvement in productive work outside the home. Mothers who pursue employment have noted their increased sense of fulfillment and autonomy, of providing a positive role model for their children, and of affording current and future opportunities for their

children as primary reasons for engaging in paid employment (Frieler et al., 2001). These comments illustrate that the role of caregiver remains at the center of how mothers perceive themselves in society (Baxter, 1992).

The issues discussed above only begin to highlight the appropriation and exploitation of mothers' unpaid reproductive labour and the ignorance of the cost to them in terms of leisure time, choice, independence, and security. As unpaid workers, mothers do not qualify for benefits in the event of personal illness or injury, and their reproductive labour remains largely invisible for economic purposes. The minimal value attributed to mothers' time and contributions does little to protect them in the event of divorce or death of a primary wage earner. Women who participate in paid employment also work to manage their homes with no forthcoming financial compensation or appreciation of the additional, unpaid work they commit to each day. Services and programs that would help to ease the tension between the institutions of organization culture and motherhood, such as standardized, regulated, and affordable childcare, go unrealized as they are under rated, and sold as a service to employed parents, shifting the responsibility for a collective welfare from the public to the private sphere. Many women feel forced to choose between having a family or a profession, while others struggle to balance the competing responsibilities of both.

Although organizational culture has evolved to include women, stereotypical gender assumptions within the institutions of school and family continue to be reinforced and constrain women's opportunities for success in productive work. Many organizations have responded to a mixed gender work place by implementing policies that understand men and women to be two distinct, homogenous groups, separated by biology. Responding to gender in this manner ignores

the gender based roles that help to inform individual beliefs, decisions, and behaviours and result in policies that reinforce a division of paid and unpaid work based on sex.

The following sections will illuminate the tensions between gender and patriarchal and capitalist ideals by examining organizational compliance and resistance to legislation surrounding maternity and paternity leave and job protection. The discussion will reflect on decisions to return to paid work, and how the process reflects and constructs shared understandings about paid work and mothering, and the constructive influence these tensions have on mother and employee identity formation.

Issues for Employed Women and Mothers

At some point most organizations will have in their employ a woman who is, or will become, a mother. The preceding chapter explored women's unpaid reproductive contributions to capitalism. Firstly here, I examine the circumstances and experiences of mothers who engage in paid employment within patriarchal organizational cultures. This provides the broader socio-cultural context for understanding issues experienced by women and mother who are members of the Canadian Forces. Secondly, I examine the general issues facing women and mothers who are members of the Canadian Forces.

Schein and Gertz identify culture as a system for socializing individuals into the norms of a particular group (as cited in Davis, 2008). Although the concept is both complex and vague it is useful for understanding the relationship between individuals and social structure in which they live. Culture is embedded within a society, which is understood to be the larger organization of people within a common political authority, and within a common region. We can, for example speak of a Canadian society as encompassing the persons who live within a subscribed geographical-political region. Cultures, however, refer to group held beliefs, values, and attitudes

recognized by individuals as associated with particular groups of people within a society (Schein, 1983 as cited in Bentley, 2008; Davis & Wright 2008). Cultures can be further categorized into subgroups, such as subordinate groups within a dominant culture, organizations, institutions, and networks – the defining feature of which is their ability to create shared meanings amongst their members that are both similar to and distinct from the dominant culture.

Organizational culture refers to the dominant beliefs, values, and practices shared by individuals as a group within an institution. An organizational culture often reflects and reifies the values and beliefs of the larger society. Wicks and Bradshaw (1999) argue that the gendered nature of organizational processes should be analysed in terms of how gender based assumptions create a culture that constrains some members while enabling others. Embedded within organizational culture is a work-family subculture of shared assumptions, beliefs, and values held by the institution toward employee's work and family lives (Schein & Denison as cited in Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999). Schein (as cited in Bentley, 2008) points to the necessity of understanding an institution's organizational culture in order to understand the underlying basis for its policies and practices.

Within a patriarchal organizational culture the dominant beliefs, values, and attitudes subscribed to by its members are based on ideas of men being naturally superior to women. This perspective holds that men are best suited for holding positions of authority and that women are best suited for secondary and caregiving activities or reproductive pursuits.

Higgins and Duxbury (2005) have explained that conflict between work and family occur when work responsibilities trump family responsibilities, or when family responsibilities outweigh work responsibilities. Their review of a decade of research reveals the life altering compromises people have had to make in order to balance work and family responsibilities.

Patriarchal organizational culture, advances in technology, and economic factors such as downsizing have contributed to work and family conflicts. Staffing shortages have meant that there are fewer people available to respond to increasing employer demands, and have raised the need for employees to work longer hours. Communication technology has ensured that employees can be contacted almost anywhere at any time, with a resultant blurring of work and private life. The Ivey Business Institute in Canada reported in 2005 that the number of people committing to a 50 hour work week has more than doubled in the past ten years, and that an increasing number of more employees assume high levels of work overload. A growing number of families with young children have both parents engaged in full-time employment, that this is now often considered 'normal', reinforces the belief that more hours spent working will equal success (Higgins et al., 2005).

Nevertheless, these conditions have contributed to decreasing work satisfaction, higher absenteeism, and greater employee turnover. Higgins and Duxbury (2005) report that Canadians cope by working harder, getting less sleep, cutting down on outside activities, and consuming more goods and services. Twenty-six percent of woman managers stated they personally planned to have fewer children, and 45% stated delaying plans to start a family; likewise, 15% and 30% of male managers, respectively, indicated using similar strategies. These responses, particularly those of female respondents in relation to family planning, point to the incompatibility of motherhood and reproductive labour with patriarchal, organizational culture.

The timelines of women's early careers and family responsibilities often coincide, creating issues of work-family conflict, and of them adapting a functional mother/work identity. Most working women need to find ways to balance their career and family responsibilities within organizational cultures that are predicated on the lifestyles of men who have full-time caregivers

at home. Within this dominant culture, it is assumed that women have the prerogative to choose to either stay at home, or to engage in paid employment. It is thus expected that they, not the institution, will have to adapt to incongruous expectations. Women participating in productive labour are often penalized for the difficulties that arise, with references made to their lacking commitment to the institution. Starrels (1992) points to pervasive attitudes towards mothers who work and the assumption that they should, on their own, find the means to balance employment and childcare responsibilities as contributing to unsupportive organizational cultures.

Greiger's (as cited in Starrels, 1992) research found that many people measured dedication by the amount of overtime, and attendance at organization events. They assumed working parents would either balance their child care duties perfectly or not work. They also reported that potential maternity issues should not be discussed at work; that men who share child care responsibilities are "wimps"; that a successful career is one that follows a vertical path with no interruptions. These beliefs, espoused by both men and women, are indicative of an atmosphere intolerant of families. Managers who were questioned about their inaction toward implementing relevant and progressive family focused policies cited assumed profit losses and uncertain financial gain, as well as concerns about equity on demand (for example, that giving rights to one group, such as parents, has to be offset by giving rights to another group, such as non-parents).

These components of patriarchal organizational culture are the source of pervasive and ongoing inhospitable attitudes toward working mothers. They lead many career experts to advise women to minimize the length of time they spend away from productive work so as to protect themselves against medium and long term financial and career stagnating consequences (Cassell & Walsh, 1997; Thompson et al., 1999) an issue that is rarely brought up in relation to men

taking similar lengths of leave for career progress purposes. The development and implementation of a 'mommy track' as an alternative career path for mothers in professional employment has been one response of patriarchal organizational culture to the issue with which working mothers struggle. However, it has done the opposite of increasing cultural expectations that men will share equally in parenting responsibilities, rather has implied that it is the personal responsibility of mothers, rather than institutions, to find ways for the different responsibilities to be made manageable (Cassell et al., 1997; Marin, 1999).

Dominant beliefs of appropriate female and mothering behaviours remain based on biological sex differences. They inform relationships between men and women in the home and the workplace. Resistance to employed mothers constrains women's labour participation and the development of gender inclusive organizational cultures. Mothers earn significantly less than non-mothers (Phipps, Burton & Lethbridge, 2001; Ridgeway et al., 2004). According to Strober and Chan (as cited in Malin, 1999) men with wives who work and who take part in at least half of domestic management tasks earn less.

Identity Formation for Working Mothers

By understanding that gendered norms are drawn from the assumptions grounded in physiology, gender-management strategies employed by women indicate their awareness of the stereotypes, and that they are active in reinforcing and challenging the norms (Butler as cited in Davis, 2008).

It has been argued that women's labour success in patriarchal organizational culture is the result of years of experimentation and adjustment in the outward presentation of their identity and negotiation of the expectations of those around them (Davis, 2008). Research that had explored strategies employed by women in management positions (environments in which they are likely

to be a minority) to ensure inclusion and acceptance argue that women either try to blend in using masculine behaviours, or are hyper vigilant to possible threats of exploitation while presenting themselves within stereotypical gendered expectations (Sheppard as cited in Cassell et al., 1997). These methods allowed them to succeed in a male-dominated culture, and to cope with patriarchal organizational demands.

However, pregnancy makes it impossible to resolve work issues in these ways. Becoming pregnant heightens biological and thus gender differences. It is considered a major turning point in a woman's career, as it requires her to make defining decisions regarding work and private roles, and consequently challenges her identity. Women have reported that after they have advised management of their pregnancies, they experienced a sense of becoming gradually "invisible" as a valuable employee, and that this increased as pre-leave preparations gained momentum. Women sensed they were increasingly excluded from planning activities and often feared this would continue upon their return to work (Galtry et al., 2005; Millward, 2006).

After a child's birth the mother attempts to define herself according to social and personal beliefs of what constitutes a good mother and a good employee (Fox, 1997; Levenger, 2005; Millward, 2006). While on maternity leave, women experience anxiety in their attempts to reconcile concerns about losing work-related status and career gains with wanting to be a "good" mother (Fox, 1997). Upon returning to work, they believe they are challenged with having to prove themselves to be both "good" mothers and valuable employees (Levenger, 2005; Millward, 2006). Although these issues are perceptions, real managerial and cultural intolerance of working mothers and the belief that families have a negative impact on work justify these perceptions as being real pressures. Balancing the conflicts between mothering and working has been shown to be very difficult, with many women resolving the difficulties by decreasing their work

involvement (Evetts, 1994; Lyness, Thompson, Francesco, & Judiesch, 1999; Millward, 2006; Starrels, 1992; Thompson et al., 1999). Unfortunately, doing so reinforces the belief that mothers are employee risks, and increases these women's susceptibility to financial difficulties.

Identity formation is influenced by the real and perceived reactions of others towards one's self. The social influences on identity are critical to the development of personal meanings and self worth (Legace-Roy & Wright, 2008; Millward, 2006). Immersion in a culture influences identity management and development by providing references for how to understand one's place within social and physical environments (Davis & Wright, 2008). Based on this observation, participation in a patriarchal organizational culture may result in its members who are mothers seeing themselves in marginal terms; viewed thusly, they may fail to successfully integrate the mother and employee roles effectively as facets of a single, positive identity (Haslam as cited in Milward, 2006). Furthermore, developing a 'mother who works' identity instead of a 'working mother' identity can negate developing a strong sense of one's self as a productive worker, resulting in marginalization and unintentionally validating negative cultural beliefs about employed mothers. Hughes and Glinsky (as cited in Starrels, 1992) found that mothers supportive employers have lower stress levels, equivalent to a supportive partner. Having such support is a major factor in developing a stable work-related identity.

Maternal and Parental Leave

Leave following birth substantially assists mothers' return to physical and mental well-being. Longer leave is associated with improved maternal health and vitality, and better mental health outcomes (Galtry et al., 2005). Recommendations for enhanced parental leave benefits are based on their having proactive benefits for the child. Health professionals and researchers argue that the time allotment for maternity leave should be months, rather than weeks in order to

substantially assist a woman's recovery and achieve greater potential benefits for the child. Time away from work, lighter work duties and decreased responsibilities decrease the risks of pre-term and low-birth-weight babies, translating to lowered risk of heart disease and diabetes later in life as well as improving overall survival rates for both mother and child (Galtry et al., 2005).

Medical professionals and agencies recommend that mothers exclusively breastfeed for at least six months, and then graduate to an intermittent feeding schedule for the remainder of the first year (Canadian Association of Paediatrics, 2008). Doing so has protective benefits for the mothers as well as, proactive benefits for the child's cognitive development and health (American Academy of Paediatrics as cited in Baker & Milligan, 2008; Auerbach as cited in Galtry et al, 2005). The time intensive nature of medically recommended breastfeeding practices requires that mothers have adequate leave from work so that they have opportunities to learn breastfeeding techniques and establish feeding routines.

Roe et al. (as cited in Galtry et al., 2005) found that taking a substantial employment break gives parents and newborns an opportunity to develop a healthy attachment. Healthy attachment refers to the child's feelings of safety and security, which are developed during the first few months of life through a caregiver's consistent positive response to an infant's cries of distress, and has a lasting influence on a child's social and emotional well-being (Benoit, 2004). Within the first six months of life, a caregiver's prompt picking up of a crying infant is associated with decreased crying, the development of self soothing behaviours, and faster response to a caregiver's soothing efforts. Healthy attachment will occur between children and their primary caregivers when these types of behaviours are demonstrated (Benoit, 2004). However, because dominant expectation in Canada is that parents, especially mothers, should be the first and foremost caregiver, there are few alternative child care resources available.

These recommendations conflict with expectations within patriarchal organizational cultures that mothers should not be working. Such expectations result in the non-provision of supports and incentives for taking employment leave. It should be noted that the presence of family supportive policies are not necessarily indicative of a positive organizational culture, as they can be countered by unsupportive managers (Greiger, as cited in Starrels 1992; Thompson et al 1999) and employees may be reluctant to use leave benefits for fear of signalling a lack of commitment to their job. In addition there are real costs to taking leave. Wisensale (as cited in Galtry et al., 2005) identifies the costs associated with maternity and parental leave to professional careers as: loss of earnings and on-the-job learning opportunities while on leave; depreciation of skills and experience; loss of confidence; reinforcement of traditional family roles and responsibilities; and costs associated with appearing to lack employment commitment.

Galtry and Callister (2005) reported that demonstrated benefits of longer maternal leaves have minimal impact on most organizational policy directives, with the majority policies permitting only the legally required minimum. Statistics Canada found that only one in five women receive an employer 'top-up' to their maternity benefits, and that 46% of women on maternity leave do not receive any benefits at all (Grant, February 12, 2010). The situation for employed Canadian mothers is, however, more favourable than for those in the United States, where even fewer women are granted paid time off, and the maximum leave allocated is only six weeks. Taking these circumstances into consideration it is easy to see how taking medically recommended leave has the potential for pushing a family into dire financial circumstances.

Until recently, researchers have paid scant attention to paternal participation in child care, or the relationship between paternal involvement and child development. Instead, they have focused mainly on circumstances in which fathers were unemployed. The studies found that a

father's increased presence had insignificant benefits, and pointed to detrimental consequences (Malin, 1998). However, this research was limited to fathers who were unwillingly home with their children due to unemployment, and under represented the positive effect of a paternal figure who wished to be involved. More recent research by Malin (1998) on paternal participation has better represented fathers who want to be included, and the results have revealed benefits, and detected minimal differences between an involved mother and an involved father. This research has demonstrated that the presence of one parent is better than none, and the advantage of a father's presence has equal benefit to that of the mother's. Given the opportunity and support, many modern fathers might be happy to provide a more equal distribution of duties as a parent, and assist their partners in achieving a work-family balance.

However, countries that have enacted extensive support for family friendly employment policies are finding that fathers' participation in family leave is comparable to those countries that offer less support to family friendly policies. Fathers in such countries overwhelmingly indicate they would like to be more involved with their child's care and development, but believe they cannot do so because of the social and organizational resistance to their participation. Haas and Hwang (1997) and Waldfogel (2005) report that in Sweden most leaders of major organizations fear substantial financial loss and organizational disruption if they support father's usage of family leave entitlements and flex time. Business leaders believe that many of the key positions in their organizations are held by men and, therefore could not sustain substantial parental leave uptake. Fathers in Sweden report hostility from supervisors as the primary reason for not accessing more family leave benefits (Haas et al., 1997). Those that do attempt to take leave to undertake child care responsibilities are often implicitly or explicitly advised by management to make their wives responsible, reinforcing the idea that women's priorities are

with child care, and that men's attentions ought to be focused on work. Statistics Canada confirmed recently that men cited anxiety about job security and loss of earnings, as the primary reason for not taking paternity leave (Marshall, 2008).

In Canada, only 60% of women who go on maternity leave return to work (Zhang, 2007b) of these, 40% work only part time and return to marginal positions after their one year maternity leave (Zhang, 2007b). Return-to-work decisions are based mostly on the commonsensical cost-benefit analysis of working and paying for childcare versus staying at home.

As this discussion has demonstrated, the needs of working mothers are at odds with those of patriarchal organizational culture. Although mothers would benefit from family-friendly policies, they are rarely in positions of authority that would enable policy development. Gender stratifications limit their authority to enact change; issues of identity formation create personal conflict over beliefs in supporting such policies; and western society's dominant beliefs about "good" mothers impede major transformation of existing practices and discourse. This situation is replicated and heightened within the Canadian Forces, where female members, especially those who are mothers, are faced with barriers to equal recognition and participation.

In the next chapter I will segue from the macro-level discourses that inform the gendered outcomes that are apparent in organization and domestic division of labour into the micro-level discourses that connect the broader understandings and representations of gender and sex roles to the military institutional and personnel level. Broader social organization informs military culture by informing social and inter-organizational interactions. I will describe how CF culture has adapted to integrate female members and how an adherence to an androcentric (Bem , 1996) perspective remains evident in defining 'CF membership' and informing organization policies and discourses.

Chapter 3: Women in the Canadian Forces

For organizations to benefit from a diverse and trained workforce it is imperative that their practices and attitudes reflect contemporary family composition. Policies that are genuinely aimed at encouraging greater access to parental leave and support (including efforts to prevent devaluation of the unpaid labour that both women and men do) will nurture employee loyalty and productivity, and might also encourage men to commit to child care responsibilities. Other arrangements such as flexible hours, work from home options, and access to affordable day care would help counteract the negative rhetoric around mothers who attempt to balance child care and work responsibilities. In turn, this will help inform discourses that support and value mothers' experiences and participation in the paid labour force.

While the organizational culture of the Canadian Forces [CF] has similarities to those identified in my discussion of patriarchal organizations in general, it also has qualities that are unique. Likewise, many obstacles experienced by military women and mothers are similar to those experienced by Canadian working women and mothers in general. The following discussion identifies attempts being made by the Canadian Forces to improve the status of its women members, and aspects of its organizational culture that make this difficult to achieve.

Organizational Culture of the Canadian Forces

North American and European military institutions have qualities that liken them to what Chandler, Brayant and Bunyard (1995) characterize as 'total' institutions, in that there is a distinguishable division between the professional and private domains of an individual participant's life. They have unique control over individuals, their bodies, emotions, and time. Military institutions are often characterized by routine absences from home for various lengths of time, which contributes to the development of a member sub-culture. The isolation from family

and community strengthens reliance on other members for close relationships and reinforces elements of cohesion and loyalty that are established in basic training (Harrison & Laliberté, 1993).

The cultural frameworks within which military institutions operate are grounded in the ideal of the predominantly masculine attributes of aggression, power, discipline, and strength referred to by Davis (2008) as a warrior framework. However, Harrison et al. describe an ideology that informs Canadian Force cultural practices and encompasses the warrior framework at its core. The combat ideology is different from militarism in that the focus is primarily on members and their families. Efforts are directed to maintaining combat forces in a constant state of preparedness. The level of preparedness is maintained through ongoing skills training, discipline, militarism, loyalty and unit cohesion. Control and permanence of this state is predicated on the male bonding that is partially achieved through hostility toward women,

Bem (1996) describes military institutions as operating from an androcentric perspective because their structure remains predominantly patriarchal with key positions of power are held by men. Understanding this perspective reveals the power the dominant group has to shape understandings of the world, as well as the nature and roles of others based on their own perspectives. The combat ideology is reinforced as the ideal by CF hierarchy that suggest operational requirements are best met by this model, and that personal operational experience places them in a position to speak as a special matter expert (Abrams, 1993).   Discourses of gender and sex are created and reified within this model by providing a female model that serves as a *raison d`être* as well as an embodiment of behaviours and characteristics to avoid (Kovitz, 2000).

Masculine hegemony is present in modern western military institutions which use regulation and socialization to ensure that their members are aware of - and display - what they consider to be appropriate gendered characteristics of a good military member. Hegemonic relationships are those of inequitable power, whereby a dominant group can "utilize its control over resources of state and civil society, particularly through the use of mass media and education system, to establish its view of the world as all inclusive and universal" (Giroux, 1981, p.23). In addition, hegemony refers to a sense of reality to dominant and subordinate groups that the dominant group's idea, beliefs, practices, and values are those that should be followed (Williams, 1980). This does not mean that members of the subordinate groups are necessarily unaware of alternative ways of being or that they cannot act differently from the dominant expectations, but that the dominant view creates boundaries which define the nature of any opposition.

Through the learning process members come to identify with the system of practices that uphold the values, beliefs, and morality of the cultural system that eventually appear to be the natural order (Brookfield as cited in Morris & Flynn, 2007; Morris et al., 2007). In various ways, members are complicit participants in the reproduction of the gendered norms of the organization, but some also actively challenge norms and practices (Ambrose, 1993; Davis, 2008; Morris et al., 2007).

Eshtain (as cited in Cook, 2001) discusses the roles available to women in the Forces as being dichotomous in nature, requiring them to choose between the "ferocious few" and the "non-combatant many" (p. 182). This poses a considerable challenge for women in their attempt to establish themselves as valued and respected members of the military culture (Cook, 2001). From my experience within the CF I have noted a lingering scepticism over women's participation in military operations through adherence to a masculine template. For instance

institutional discourses convey a unanimous acceptance and preference for masculine qualities such as physical strength, dominance, and aggression (Abrams, 1993; Taber, 2005; Davis, 2008; Taber, 2009). The idea of male superiority is often conveyed in the language surrounding women and mothers in the CF. The presumption that women purposely become pregnant, which will be discussed in chapter five, to avoid training and deployments depicts an understanding that women's physiology is problematic or at least counterproductive to organizational goals. Taber (2005) described an instance where a female student cried in frustration over a task during a test and was told privately that her emotional reaction was inappropriate; however when a male course mate reacted to the same stress by yelling and slamming his fists his actions were understood to be normal and even appropriate. The situation reveals an understanding that the way women express frustration is abnormal and unacceptable.

This understanding of women as less equipped for the combat and productive work is also shown in the recruitment materials, discussed in chapter four, with their limited portrayal of women as possessing ideal soldier skills and qualities. Masculine undertones veiled in images, colours and acoustics similar to video games seem to appeal more to the interests and attitudes of many adolescent and young adult men conveying the message that in the CF masculinity is preferable to femininity.

This is demonstrative of continued societal and cultural adherence to boundaries between male and female roles rooted in the idea that sex determines and dictates ability in productive and reproductive work. These boundaries are interwoven into various societal values such as freedom, security, and normalcy that are depicted as vulnerable and considered to be represented by women (Hanna as cited in Addis, 1994; Davis, 2008; Kovitz, 2000), as depicted in the Defence Minister's messages discussed earlier. The boundaries that traditionally differentiate

men and women's roles, point to social relations of power that emphasizes masculine versus feminine traits and reinforce the belief that women, as a group, are not equipped to achieve more than a minority presence within the military.

There are notable exceptions to the lack of women in senior CF positions, for instance Josee Kurtz, who is the first woman to command a Canadian warship. It should be pointed out (as she described at a Women in Defence Leadership Conference, 20-21 April, 2010) that her success would not have been achievable had her husband not stepped in to fill the primary caregiver role for their daughter. The CF does not overtly imply that women are incapable of leadership or command roles; however, at the organizational level there is minimal value placed on the unpaid reproductive work that mothers commit to which remains evident in the attitudes about reproductive work.

This is an example of token membership in that women's presence alone does not mean the culture has changed, but continues to value the contributions of women in relation to a masculine standard (Pinch, 2006). Commendations for these women remain hinged on their sex in relation to their co-workers and predecessors and become the focal point of their success. This ignores the many traits which are traditionally understood to be feminine as contributing to success within the organization. In this way tokenism negates women as active, self-determining, and influential participants in military organizational culture and maintains gender relations of power within its structure.

Establishing women's value within western military institutions is an ongoing task. Respect and value are generally bestowed on an individual basis, by men, only after a fellow female soldier has proven she is competent and effective at her job in accordance with ideal expectations of the role established by other men. Jones (as cited in Chandler, et al., 1995) found

this to be similar with the US military and the police corps. Jones' research revealed that male police officers questioned women's capacity to handle beat duties. Even after individual women were able to perform according to the men's specifications, the male officers' negative beliefs of women, as a group, did not change. The research also found that the men and women conceptualized their employment tasks differently. The women were likely to emphasize the public service and routine administrative components of police work, while downplaying the violence and risk. Conversely, the men were apt to downplay the administrative and public service aspects and emphasize the maintaining of public order. Conceptualizing job tasks in this manner is echoed within the military culture, where administrative work is routine and combat the exception. However, combat is the defining element of military culture. Cook (2001) found that membership is often not enough, and that gaining full cultural citizenship requires combat exposure, which, until recently, was impossible for women to achieve.

The splitting of space, action and identity is not unique to the military, but it is a defining characteristic. Watts (2006) describes how women in such environments are not always fully aware of how they have adjusted themselves to it in terms of language, thought, emotion, and action. Gender management strategies used by women in military occupations highlight the pervasive nature of the cultural norms. One woman at a "Women Leadership Convention", explained that women often think they have to be like men in order to get along; and that behaving more like a man and less like a woman makes the adaptation to the organization a behavioural and ideological compromise (Davis, 2008). This echoes Morris's and Flynn's (2007) clarification of Gramsci's point that hegemony does not refer to the eradication of other patterns or groups, but rather subordination of them which serves to relegate them as 'others'. They explain that women working against masculine hegemony are both placated and pressed to

compromise in order to maintain the status quo of the dominant culture by presenting acceptable levels of 'maleness' by 'playing boy' (Morris et al., 2007). This speaks to the subordination of feminine characteristics and perspectives that Taber (2005) and Kovitz (2000) discuss as being in an attempt to both 'fit in' and be safe (Wenger as cited in Morris et al., 2007). Such compromises inadvertently present an invisible ceiling for women's achievement of equality by feminist politics and the fight for equality outside the institution.

Issues for Women within Canadian Forces Organizational Culture

Moskos (1986) describes the Canadian Forces as a plural military that uses a two-pronged approach to its organizational layout, branching into an Institutional and an Occupational Model. The Institutional Model remains divergent from civilian organizations and maintains a more defined militarized masculine culture. It is active in defining the labour intensive support units, combat forces, and in many cases, the senior command structure. The Occupational Model, prominent in areas specializing in education, logistics, medical, administration and technical tasks, resembles civilian organizations in its approach to day-to-day work habits and organizational culture. The unique characteristics of these two unofficial branches of the armed forces help to inform the limited extent to which women and mothers are accepted and actively included into its social and professional culture. The legally enforced acceptance of women into the armed forces ensures access to its opportunities. However, Winslow and Dunn (2001) explain that real inclusion extends beyond legal requirements and into the socio-cultural realm of an organization. The contributions of militarized masculinity aid in the exclusion of women by inhibiting their retention at all ranks and their achievement of career success.

Women's access to membership with the Canadian Forces was neither an easy, nor a quick process. It required many years of fighting against discriminatory policy and establishing

women's value as more than a volunteer or reserve group to be called upon in times of war. Finally, in 1986, the Human Rights Tribunal ordered the Canadian Forces to a) continue Combat Related Employment of Women [CREW] trials in preparation of full integration of women into all occupations; b) remove all restrictions; c) implement occupation selection standards; d) implement a plan to achieve these goals within a ten-year time frame (DND/CF Backgrounder, 2008; Carson-Stanley & Wechsler-Segal, 1998). Although research was undertaken to study the effects of women on military culture, members, and missions, little was conducted in terms of how the institution affects women, their children, or their family life. As it is, research on male members and their families is still in an early stage (American Psychological Association, 2007; National Defence and Canadian Forces Ombudsman, 2008). Throughout the CREW trials, military policy makers were concerned that women's "emotionality" and communication styles would have a negative effect on the internal operations of the military, as well as on its missions, morale, and discipline of Forces' men.

In adherence to the e Human Right Tribunal's orders, the Canadian military allows women to hold any position in any trade except the Roman Catholic Chaplaincy (National Defence, 2010b). It is estimated that women currently hold 15% of the 90, 000 Regular Force and Reserve positions in the Canadian Forces (National Defence, 2010b; National Defence, 2011). All the positions were acquired according to the same selection, academic, and training standards as men. Likewise, women are now offered the same career opportunities as men. However, with this equal opportunity comes the equal prospect of deployment and exposure to combat. In that regard, concern over women's impact on operational effectiveness has resulted in almost every Western nation, except Canada, to limit the extent of the mixed gender composition of its armed forces (Addis, 1994).

At the macro-economic level, the Canadian Forces holds more potential benefits for women than for men. The access to economic advantage is greater for women in terms of differential wages and employment opportunities than in the civilian labour market. At a macro-economic level, the Forces can be considered an equal opportunity employer with regards to wages and training opportunities. Wages for comparable, traditional female jobs in the civilian labour market are significantly lower, and female unemployment is higher. Taber (2005) points out that her career in the CF afforded her status and benefits she would not have otherwise had access to had she pursued a more traditional role. Nonetheless, there are aspects that make being a soldier, even in peace time, a harder job than most for both men and women, and the constraints imposed by military life are often felt to a greater extent by mothers due to differences in parental roles and responsibilities. Yet the cost to women is difficult to quantify, in part due to relational gender differences and the masculine quality of the military (Addis, 1994; Davis, 2008; Winslow et al., 2002).

Taber (2005) discusses how women are represented as serving successfully within the Canadian Forces, however are not able to seamlessly fit. Women are active in socializing themselves into the military construct by distancing themselves from feminine traits and acting and thinking like men in an effort to be accepted and valued as a member. She also described how women in the forces are often held as representatives of their gender. Failing, or falling short, of the established standard is understood to be a testament to why women do not belong in the armed forces. Moreover, within the Institutional Model there is pressure on women to demonstrate a capacity to both effectively do their jobs, but also tolerate masculine activities such as "drinking, cursing, and making sexual innuendos" (Taber, 2009, p. 295). Female sexuality, emotionality, and physical differences are treated as suspect and grounds for regulation and

marginalization (Abrams, 1993; Acker, as cited in Taber, 2009) indicative in rules on

fraternization (Kovitz, 2000) and pregnancy administration (Taber, 2009).

In her thesis on women serving in the Canadian Navy, Petite (2008) found that women

tend to follow the established career pace set by their male counterparts. The women in her study

stated that they had planned their pregnancies around work events, and that there was very little

adjustment time available between returning from maternity leave and engaging in sea

deployments. Moreover, they perceived a lack of support for their mothering responsibilities,

and speculated that they needed to make their children seem invisible in order to progress up the

military career ladder. Some had doubts about the timing of their pregnancies as they thought

that work responsibilities would interfere with parenting. They explained incidences in which

co-workers complained that pregnancies were purposely planned to avoid work commitments.

Finally, they the Family Care Plan, as being regarded as an avenue by which Forces to ensure

members were accountable to their jobs and that prevent work disruption rather than being a

supportive program.

Although some trades, such as the nursing corps, already had a strong female presence

prior to the Human Rights decision, other trades were not structurally equipped to smoothly

integrate women. To enable their integration a number of structural, equipment, and training

adjustments were developed and implemented. These included building women's washrooms,

establishing separate quarters for women, designing women's work and dress uniforms, and

introducing the Sexual Harassment and Racism Prevention [SHARP] training to all existing

members and new recruits. Other programs and materials included the Army's "Leading a

Diverse Army" program and their production of a handbook titled *Leadership in a Mixed Gender*

Environment, and the Air Forces' "Partnership for the Future" program, which seeks to identify

and eliminate barriers to women serving in the Air Force (NATO/IMS, 2002). Also created were family friendly policies and services, maternity and paternity leave, the Military Family Resource Centre, and a "Mommy Phone" on ship's (NATO/IMS, 2002; Petite, 2008). However, assimilation into a predominantly male organizational culture means that women's needs, and more specifically their particular sources of stress, may be overlooked or viewed in a masculine context. Thus, women's integration into the Canadian Forces not only involves both a continued fight for equal opportunity, and providing adequate home for their children while attempting to keep the obligations separate.

One aspect that characterizes membership in the Forces versus civilian employment is the necessity of serving away from one's home base. This is referred to as being deployed. Deployments are not limited to combat activities but refer to when any member is required to serve away from his or her home base. Service can be for varying lengths of time and for a variety of reasons, such as allow participation in training exercises and operations. The process preceding such work-related absence from home is generally contingent on the nature of the deployment. For operations or exercises that are short in length, routine, or urgent (such as emergency aid), members are given little notice or require minimal additional preparation. Ongoing administrative routines ensure that members, in theory, are ready to deploy at a moment's notice. Besides regular training and medical assessments, administrative processes also make an effort to confirm that members make pertinent information accessible to the person staying behind, addressing such matters as legal, financial, health, and car issues. Longer operational deployments such as a tour to Afghanistan require the completion of months of preparatory training, known as work-up training. These kinds of deployments are often characterized by intermittent durations of varying length followed by deployment which lasts

between six and nine months, with a three week break during that time (Thunder Bay MFRC, 2010).

Prior to deployment, Forces women with children handle most family tasks for ensuring a smooth transition of caregiving roles and responsibilities (Petite, 2008). This is congruent with the Statistics Canada finding that Canadian women still do the majority of housework, and feel more stressed for time, than do men (Almey, 2006; Lindsay, 2008). The Navy women in Petite's (2008) study believed that managing the home and children were primarily their responsibilities. Many reported having difficulties finding child care that would replicate both what they would provide and meet the specialized needs of Forces membership.

Deployments and relocations are frequent during a member's peak career years, placing their families under recurring stressors. The quality of family stressors may reflect which partner is absent, especially if traditional gender roles are otherwise in place. Patterson (1988) discusses stressors in the context of events that occur at distinct moments in time, and strain as a condition of felt tension associated with a need or desire to change something. A series of strains can accumulate to become stressors. Likewise, a delicate balance of strains, resources, and capabilities may be upset by stressors. Furthermore, the presentation of a stressor may highlight prior negotiated stressors that may have become strains (Patterson, 1988). In the context of this analysis, the event of a mother fully participating in a military capacity implies a shift in roles and responsibilities. It requires considerable adaptation of the couple's or of an individual's family practices. It also requires managing the additional strain of a family member being in an area of conflict, and thus being in danger. Added to this is possible underlying discontentment over the woman's career choice, financial or health issues, or difficulties communicating effectively.

Routine relocations, which are postings from one base to another, create increased opportunities of there being inconsistent interpretations and application of CF policies, as well as exposure to a variety of leadership styles throughout a member's career. Some posting areas, for example Petawawa, have a higher operational tempo than others, resulting in its members being more likely to be deployed and at an increased rate (National Defences and Canadian Forces Ombudsman, 2008). This means that those members are constantly renegotiating their family care arrangements around organizational needs. Lack of clearly established boundaries around time, roles, and authority may prompt members to resort to coping strategies that are counterproductive to Forces goals, and might derail women faster than men (Ely et al., 2000; Pickering, 2006).

In a technical report published by Defence Research (Pickering, 2006), the effects of CF work-life balance issues on operational effectiveness were outlined. The author cited survey results that pointed to the impact that work-life conflicts had on members' reported well-being, psychological health, career outlook, and overall effectiveness. Of particular note was a lack of acknowledgement of dual member families, single parent families, and women. Stress associated with work-life balance was reported to be higher amongst members of these groups, as well as officers (Duxbury & Higgins as cited in Pickering, 2006). The study also found that participants' thought that achieving a personal work-life balance was incompatible with the demands placed on them by the CF, and that these members would be releasing from the CF at their earliest opportunity.

Few researchers have explored how women have successfully negotiated military environments or how gendered and conservative norms within a military culture overlook the challenges women face of 'fitting in' (Hebert as cited in Davis, 2005; Kovitz, 2000; Taber, 2009).

In February 2007, the American Psychological Association released a task force statement prompting the American military to close the gaps in research about its members. In 2008, the National Defence and Canadian Forces Ombudsman released a report on a related matter entitled *Assessing the State of Mental Health Services at CFB Petawawa*. Both these reports identified a distinct research deficit in the area of deployed women in the Forces and the effect deployments have on the family. They noted that during deployment families endure a significant increase in stress, distinct from what civilian families may encounter (American Psychological Association, 2007; Ontario Ombudsman, 2008).

The Canadian Forces measures its effectiveness largely around its human resources and level of operational effectiveness and preparedness, constantly seeking to recruit and retain excellent employees who are able and ready to carry out not only the requirements of their position, but to go above and beyond their formal job description (Katz as cited in Pickering, 2006). Recruitment strategies include methods of attracting members by offering incentives such as competitive pay, opportunities for advancement, and the promises of family support.

The next chapter will begin the analysis of CF materials and documents. It will focus primarily on the macro level materials such as recruitment and associated media that inform public discourses about the Canadian military. It will outline the parameters of women's role as they are represented through language and images in CF public relations material. I will point out what I identify to be the romanticised version of military life that is used to recruit members into the CF, and the potential possibilities it creates for opening and shutting down action of new and current members. This discussion will segue into the exploration and discussion of the realities of military life that are represented through selected CF texts and practices that act as influences in modeling and guiding ideal CF membership (Taber, 2009).

Chapter 4: Representing Women in Canadian Forces Recruitment Practices

The traditional recruiting base for the Canadian Forces has been comprised of young, white middle-class conservative males, but this pool is steadily shrinking as a viable source of human capital (Harries-Jenkins, 2006). The need for persons with superior intellectual, technical, and communication skills, and the legal requirements for accepting women and visible minorities, has meant that the CF has had to evaluate and change its recruiting tactics (Vigneau, 2006). NATO (2002) reports that the message content of recruiting information has been developed specifically to target women.

The Canadian Forces engages in an ongoing marketing campaign to recruit new members. The Canadian Forces Recruiting Centre creates, disseminates and administers information about the Canadian Forces organization to the public. Centres are located throughout the country, and are staffed by members from the army, navy, and air force trades. Each member has a part in managing the administrative, testing, and interview stages of applicants.

This chapter provides a discursive analysis of Canadian Forces recruiting materials in relation to issues of gender equity. The analysis looks at the images and language that are used within these texts and the material as a collection that romanticizes military life and conveys what is expected from a 'good' CF member. The discussion will also point out how recruiting material acts as a primer to new members to consent to being socialized to the values and belief systems that are upheld within the CF. It reveals that while on the one hand the materials promise women an equal and supportive work environment the CF remains embedded in traditional expectations of differentiated gender ideals.

Analysing recruitment materials from a feminist perspective is important because doing it can identify relationships of power, gendered representations, norms, conventions and ideals

about the group being represented (Appleman, 2000). Hall (1997) discusses how meaning is constructed in and through language and that representation remains an essential part of the discourse process as it is where meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. Discourse facilitates the construction of a shared knowledge and understanding of the world. If men are represented as the primary actors of a culture the message that is conveyed is that women are secondary or inactive. Thus, their participation and role in the making of meaning and collective knowledge is distorted and potentially minimized (Bem, 1996).

Furthermore, misrepresenting women's attributes misinforms and thus presents ideological and social barriers to achieving status within male dominated institutions. In the context of this analysis it is the Canadian Forces and national and international security which is predominantly represented as a male centric domain. The feminist perspective is useful here because it re-values women's experience and questions how problems and outcomes would be different if woman were telling the story or making decisions.

From 2007 to 2010 the Canadian Forces Recruiting Group received additional funding, including an expansion initiative, that totalled 6 million dollars in order to meet the target of 70, 000 Regular Force personnel and 30, 000 Reserve personnel. Half of this funding went to hiring additional temporary recruiter positions, while the rest went toward expanding recruiting capabilities such as the development of a website, recruiting pamphlets, and infrastructure (Pugliese, 2010). Traditional recruiting methods have included scheduled visits to high schools, universities and community recruiting events to showcase the CF as a viable career option for new graduates. The presence of Reserve units within rural communities have maintained a local connection between communities and the CF, undoubtedly acting as recruiting tool in these areas (National Defence, 2010b). The CF has been able to reach a wider audience with an increased

budget and access to technical upgrades that allow them to advertise through a website and

engage in television advertising campaigns that project romanticized images of CF work

condition as created through the skills and technology of military photographers.

The Canadian Forces Recruiting Package

The following discussion provides an analysis of one aspect of Canadian Force

recruitment strategies – the information package that is sent to those requesting recruitment

information or application. The information and application package includes a checklist

outlining the documentation required; an outline of the CF pay and benefits; an outline of basic

training (a brief summary stating the goals of basic and basic officer training); a practice version

of the aptitude test; a listing of the occupations and trades available to officers and non-

commissioned members. I have selected components of the package to analyse for the purpose

of understanding the explicit and implicit gendered messages presented by the Canadian Forces

to potential members. I discuss the imagery and language of the recruitment folder, as well as

those of a pamphlet explaining the available career options, a pamphlet outlining the benefits and

supports offered to CF members, and an informational DVD.

The recruiting information is provided within a dark-coloured folder. On the front are the

CF's recruitment slogan "Join Us," and "Fight with the Canadian Forces. Fight Fear. Fight

Distress. Fight Chaos." The slogan "Join Us" conveys an invitation to join the team; however the

repeated use of the word fight portrays the masculine qualities being sought. The aggressive

overtones represent a culture that is centered on the combat ideology that might not be as inviting

to those who are not aggressive or masculine.

Also, on the front are photographs of three CF members. A dark-haired, olive-skinned

female is on the viewer's left. She is in sailor garb, shown in profile, engaging in a navigation

skill with a map and pencils. Centred, and larger, is a white male in full battle gear. He is positioned toward the viewer, but his face is partially obstructed by his helmet and goggles; he is shown carrying a rifle. To the viewers' right, and behind the centred male, is an African-Canadian male wearing pilot garb. He is shown buckling his helmet. These images provide insight into the nature of the work available in the Canadian Forces. The more heroic, typical military jobs are represented by males, while the support roles are represented by women.

The background silhouettes of soldiers marching in a dusty war environment conjure up images of the iconic black and white World War II films. In these films it is the men who participate in the theatrics of war and who are designated as war heroes, and who have a mother, girlfriend, or wife and child waiting at home. Moreover, combatants are often depicted and described as fighting to preserve their way of life against intruders or protecting innocent women and children in foreign lands. Nationalism is further conveyed by the imagery of Canada's red emblematic maple leaf which is shown on the front outside and inside pockets of the recruitment folder.

The pockets on the inside of the folder display another image of a male soldier running, weapon in hand, with a helicopter hovering behind him and the words "Join Us" again beside him. The "us" conveyed in these images appears to only be men. The opposite side has a red maple leaf and the outline of a group of soldiers standing beside an armoured vehicle continuing the romanticized version of nationalism. The masculine 'aggressor' theme continues on the back cover, which shows the Canadian tri-service emblem and three separate images of a tank, a navy ship, and a helicopter that respectively represent the three elements of the army, navy, and air force.

The images convey the romantic sense of patriotism, heroism, and bravery expected to be

derived from serving and protecting Canada through membership in the Forces, along with

masculine qualities of forcefulness, toughness, heroics, combat and male bonding. Women are

provided with on a minor role in the imagery, depicting the space she occupies within the combat

ideology.

Hall (1997) describes representation as being based on how participants within a culture

interpret meaningfully what is happening around them in broadly similar ways. The medium of

language provides a means to convey feelings, attachments and emotions as well as concepts and

ideas. The androcentric perspective is revealed here as it is only the male perspective that is

conveyed. Women's activities within combat is portrayed from the safe distance of a support role

on the front cover revealing how women are understood as representing aspects of our collective

way of the life that are considered as vulnerable.

Occupation Information Sheet

The Occupation Information sheet lists military occupations available to officers and non-

commissioned members [NCMs] in the CF. It is two-sided, printed in color on glossed paper, and

lists occupations from which to choose. One side outlines available trades to NCMs, while the

other outlines officer trades. Both sides follow the same format, however the officer trades

section includes the following proclamation, in capital letter for emphasis: STRONG AND

PROUD TODAY'S CANADIAN FORCES. The pictures associated with the elements are the

same as for the non-commissioned ranks.

Trades are divided into four separate groups (three of which represent the elements of

land, sea and air): army, navy, air force and common. Next to each of these headings is a picture

of the uniform and equipment that is typically associated with that particular element. For the

army (land element) there is a picture of two men in helmets. For the navy (sea element) there is a picture of a young white female working on a ship. For the air force (air element) there is a photo of a white male sitting in an aircraft wearing a communications headset. The trades that fall under each of these headings are considered "hard" army, sea or air trades, denoting that these are exclusive to that element and provide a primary function within that element. The final grouping is "common." These are trades that can be found in two or more elements and play supportive roles to the "hard" trades. These include medical technician, musician, military police, and clergy. There is no picture associated with these headings, and choosing one of these trades does not preclude choosing an element to be employed in, as each of these trades is found in at least two of the three available elements. Moreover, for these trades, choosing an element rarely dictates the kind of environment a member will be deployed to, and thus these members should expect to work on any base across Canada and be deployed to a variety of settings.

In contrast, choosing a "hard" land, sea, or air trade ensures that a posting would only be to those bases that support that element. This information is not included on this page or anywhere in the recruiting package so it is likely to be unknown to those who are unfamiliar with the jargon and organizational layout of the Canadian Forces. This could be especially problematic for women hoping to work in a particular environment or geographical area, due to family responsibilities. Potentially, an applicant could choose one of the common trades and an element without realizing the defining employment requirements of that element. This includes high operational tempo, increased field time, and demanding work environments. These unstated requirements are grounded within a militarized masculinity that fails to consider the demands and responsibilities that children and family have for fulfilling CF demands. Unless the potential recruit knows in advance what questions to ask, it is quite possible that this information would be

overlooked in the recruiting process. Mothers could find it difficult to balance the responsibilities of these trades with child care responsibilities. Furthermore, the CF's hard land and sea trade's androcentric perspective makes achieving family-work balance much more difficult than in other trades or military elements as the perspective is grounded in understanding its own perceptions as truth and expertise on operational effectiveness (Abrams, 1993).

10 Good Reasons to Join the Canadian Forces

The pamphlet, "10 Good Reason to Join the Canadian Forces" (Canadian Forces, 2008) is a fold out, full-color pamphlet printed on high-gloss paper. The front cover shows a picture of a white female in uniform and the Forces tri-service badge. The Forces' website address and phone number is printed near the bottom. Below this is the phrase, "JOIN US."

Opening the pamphlet reveals a description of a selected list of ten reasons to join the Canadian Forces. These include receiving medical and dental benefits, paid education, and competitive pay. Other more esoteric benefits include the sense of pride derived from being part of a team that aims to make a difference in the world. The next section shows an image of a white male in a pilot helmet with a wedding band on his finger. His marital status implies his stability that married men make good soldiers. The pamphlet's following sections complete the list of reasons and two more images are provided: one is of a young, white female with a neutral expression who is wearing in a dark navy work uniform; the other is of a very serious faced African-Canadian man in an army uniform. These images attempt to counter the stereotypical ideas about these groups by showing that non-whites and women can also be Forces members as long as they are extra determined to do the job. However, the absence of any action or context in the images achieves only a token representation of these groups.

The list begins with an explanation of available education and training opportunities, salary descriptions, medical and dental benefits, vacation, and pension plan. Reason Six for joining is proffered as being the Forces' "competitive and generous" maternity and parental leave. Unstated is that these benefits are within the standards followed by other federal and provincial organizations. A brief description states that that these benefits help the member "balance work with family responsibilities," and come through financial entitlements and time away from work to help with the added responsibilities associated with the birth or adoption of a child. The list continues with reasons like travel opportunities, personal support provisions, leisure time availability, and paid moves. The personal support section mentions the Military Family Resource Center [MFRC], counselling services, and long-term disability insurance. On the surface family benefits and supports would seem to be of special appeal to mothers, or those who wish to become mothers. A woman considering joining the CF might be led to believe that the environment is family friendly, when in fact it does little to promote the material and career needs of women. Applying a feminist lens to the analysis of the pamphlet and additional research into the regulations of these incentives reveals that the benefits are limited to helping with the first year after the birth or adoption of a child. Prevailing norms that inform the gendered division of labour which were outlined in chapter two revealed that mothers' responsibilities for child care and nurturing does not cease at the end of the first year but continues after going back to work, and changes as the demands of the child change with development. Davis (2001) identified that many women transferred out of the combat trades into support trades that resemble the Occupational Model after having children. She also pointed out that CF female attrition rates also increase once they begin their families and that many women feel their commitment was challenged and questioned after becoming pregnant. She indicated this to be the case even for

women who had been in the Forces for ten or more years. The movement from one type of

employment to another point to a reproduction and maintenance gender division of work within

the Canadian Forces.

Informational DVD

Upon accessing the information on the recruiting DVD (CFRG Multimedia Services,

2008), one hears electronic and fast beats that are similar to theme music used in videogames.

The music continues throughout the DVD, though there is the option to mute it. Video clips are

equipped with their own brand of videogame music, with a mute option as well. The music sets

the tone – the CF is about action, it is cool, and it is youth oriented, likely toward a male cohort.

Despite the raucous sound, the information itself is boringly presented and unlikely to maintain

the attention or interest of media savvy youth. The information is presented in textual form,

supplemented with video synopses of a talking member or of military scenes. The viewer is

directed to the Forces' recruiting website to view full versions of the videos.

The information on the DVD outlines the Canadian Forces and Department of National

Defence [DND] organizational structure. It gives a detailed synopsis of defence organizational

culture, defence partners, expectations and obligations, and pay and benefits. The term "National

Defence Family" is used in reference to military families, workers in defence-related industries,

veterans, and pensioners. The information presents a version of reality in which members can

join and become part of a team that will, in many respects, behave as a family. The promises of

lasting friendships and adventure are conveyed throughout the DVD, as well as the

aforementioned "10 Good Reasons to Join the Forces". The romanticised version of reality being

conveyed here is one in which CF members will continually be cared for in return for their

loyalty and commitment, which does not seem like too much to expect when promises of adventure, travel, and good deeds are represented as the norm.

The information on the DVD is organized under with two categories: officers and non-commissioned officers. These two options provide information specific to the officer and NCM corps. The difference between them is explained as being one of training and responsibility. For example, "officers receive more training and earn more responsibilities than NCMs, who are operators and technicians." However, it is explained that if an NCM works hard and demonstrates the right characteristics, he or she can also become an officer.

The DVD provides a description of available CF jobs, a brief explanation of the rank system, how to become an officer, the training and time commitment differences between the regular and reserve force, and available supports to members. There are accompanying images of military planes, army tanks, and war ships. In addition, constant reminders are given that joining the CF is a commitment to the service of Canada. The romantic war and hero themes are enhanced by pictures of fighter planes, war ships, marching male soldiers with guns, with accompanying music similar to that found on military themed computer games. The actions depicted within these images and sounds are aggressive and forceful conveying the message that the military values an offensive stance to resolving conflicts rather than a peaceful, negotiated resolution. The preference for violence over peace conveys a partiality for an uncompromising approach to conflict management. When preferences for national security issues are conveyed in such a definitive manner it is difficult to conceptualize what an alternative might look like. Similarly it is difficult to conceptualize a successful feminine approach to such problems would like, particularly when femininity is denigrated as either less effective or ineffective because it is not masculine.

There is mention of support programs and families, but this only occurs in the maternity and parental leave description. The information on the DVD is the only written explanation that describes the intention of maternity and paternal leave policy as being one that encourages men to share in family care responsibilities. The promise, reiterated again, is that these supports are available to both fathers and mothers in order to allow members to meet family responsibilities without having to experience employment and financial concerns. The DVD continually repeats the benefits and how the CF supports members in terms of pay, training opportunities, travel, and meaningful employment.

The training descriptions clarify that members will be expected to undergo basic military training in Saint Jean, Quebec. There, officers and non-commissioned members will learn dress and deportment, Canadian Force's regulations and orders, and undergo physical training. The description for NCMs is more detailed, explaining that it involves learning how to survive in nuclear, biological, chemical and field (outdoor) conditions, as well as learning weapons handling and firing, foot drill (a series of precise and movements performed individually and as a group), navigation, and basic safety skills. Basic training is described as physically demanding. Basic officer training, however, also covers leadership techniques and takes about 14 weeks to complete. The summaries stress that joining the Canadian Forces is a commitment and depending on the entry plan a recruit agrees to, he or she should expect to spend at least three years as a non-commissioned officer or nine years as an officer. In return for the time commitment the CF promises to offer "high-quality training, professional development, and challenging employment." No promise is given here for family support.

An initial viewing of the DVD suggests there is an equal inclusion of various ethnicities and both genders within the imagery portraying the army, navy, and air force. Analyzing the

DVD from a feminist perspective revealed that women, particularly those of non-white descent, are barely visible, which leads one to ask, "From whose point of view is reality conveyed?" The low visibility of women in these images portrays a reality in which women, in particular those of non-Caucasian descent, are not interested, available or wanted in CF missions. No images show groups with more women than men, nor of a group of only women. Images of the three CF elements together show one female and two males. Women are always presented as working in a variety of military settings, but not in active combat roles, and only one image shows a woman handling a discernable weapon. Instead, they are depicted as driving, navigating, or in supportive caring roles. They are never in commanding roles or working in cooperation with others. While there are mixed-gender images, the members in them are formally posed. For example, one shows two naval, Caucasian-white women sitting, with two naval Caucasian-white men standing behind them. At least half of the images show women actively working in a health care trades. These women were shown to be looking at x-rays, performing dental work, or training in a health-related capacity. All women shown are young, white, and either working alone or when shown with another person it is with a white male.

While these gendered and ethnic representations might be accurate in relation to the percentage of women and non-whites in the Forces, as a recruiting tool their limited presence and how they are presented sends the message that unless one is a white male, one is of marginal value and marginally desirable. It also tells the families of white women that she will be protected by strong, mostly white males. Her 'innocent' femaleness will not be threatened by an environment of potentially masculine females (she will not be surrounded by lesbians), or of non-white men. These documents aim to convey a version of CF membership and institutional values that are believed to be attractive to the type of individual the CF wishes to recruit. To the outsider

viewing these messages it also conveys a reality about the personnel who hold membership. Representing certain groups of people in token ways presents the idea that these groups are also marginal in the Forces, regardless of whether or not it is true.

Samples of women in non-traditional roles are provided. The most obvious is presented on the menu page of the DVD with a photograph of a white male dressed in full combat gear, and another photo of a Caucasian-white female in full combat gear. This is the only portrayal of women as military combatants on the DVD. However, it does not show the pictured woman actively participating in that role, only posing. Additionally despite the CF's emphasis on "team work," the females are not shown in photographs depicting team work. Another image presents a woman posing in a flight suit holding a helmet worm by pilots. This photo is part of a triad of pictures, with the other two photos being of men, both white, shown to be actively working in their trade and element; one walks in army fatigues with a helmet, and the other is shown wearing a navy uniform while performing maintenance duties.

Throughout the DVD there are a multitude of images that portray traditional military masculinity. Men are shown holding and using weapons and wearing typical military attire such as fatigues, flight suits, or diving gear while actively participating in military roles and cooperating with one another in teams and groups. For example, three pilots are shown walking away from their aircrafts after a flight; a group of white men wearing army fatigues and helmets, with military equipment around them, are gathered together holding a piece of paper as if collaborating on a plan. Others show men in war ravaged countries patrolling streets or handing out Canadian flags to children. One shows a young white male sailor saying good-bye to people who appear to be his wife and child, before leaving on operations. The woman holds the child, who is holding a Canadian flag, and both smile at the sailor. CF women included in the DVD are

either white or of European descent, young, and smiling or with neutral expressions. They are

shown working either alone or with a male (of the same ethnicity as themselves). Moreover,

women are not shown interacting with their families, not dealing with personal family-related

issues such as relocation, or using supports provided by the CF and CF community. The one

photograph associated with a description of maternity and paternity leave is of a pregnant

member sitting alone at a desk, smiling.

Forces Recruiting Website

The recruiting website provides more information through narrated videos, there a quicker

pace conveys a sense of urgency to join and commit to the Forces. There appears to be equal

representation of genders, but again, closer inspection finds that there are a greater number of

white males, and minimal representation of non-white females. The narratives and videos about

CF family services focus on the traditional, nuclear family. The message is that the male partner

is in the military, while the female (wife and mother) stays at home and is primarily the one who

seeks support from the family resource centre. There is no representation of non-traditional

families or same sex couples.

The website provides an option labelled "Diversity in the Canadian Forces" that is

organized into Aboriginals, Women, and Visible Minorities. The information about women

states that the CF values their contributions and that although they only held clerical and nursing

roles in the past, "their role has expanded to include maintaining submarines, operating

communications lines on the battlefield, and piloting fighter jets." The site also gives a brief

history of women in the CF and lists their accomplishments in CF missions, but overlooks the

first woman, Captain Nichola Goddard, the first woman to lose her life in an active combat role,

in 2006 (York, May 16, 2006). Seemingly, this is a purposeful omission so as not to cause

potential female recruits, or their families, to think about the real risks involved with membership. What the list does focus on are the women's physical and leadership achievements within the CF environment, in a sense congratulating them for meeting the standard of masculinity not typically expected of women, but neglecting to represent their association with combat (National Defence, 2011).

Imagery and Language in CF Recruiting Material

Analysis of the language used within the recruiting package and informational DVD provides insight into the Canadian Forces organizational structure, culture, and member supports. Joining the CF requires members and their families to support the forces and its missions, at home and abroad. Campaigning for the CF is premised on guarantees of adventure, endless training, benefits, supports, financial security and ample opportunity for promotions in return for loyalty and service. Potential members are provided a framework of the level of commitment expected in return for financial security, benefits, and supports that serve to attract and retain members. The textual message describes the Canadian Forces as an equal opportunity employer with men and women working together as a team in a job that makes a positive difference in the world.

Critical discursive analysis that examines the gendered relations of power reveals something quite different. The language used in the recruitment materials incorporates a strong hierarchical structure with a dependence on linear communication styles and expectations of the ideal career progression that have been established by traditional male paid work practices. A rank system is described as defining the organizational structure with higher ranks having greater authority and esteem over lower ranks. In the CF this means, in practice, male authority over female, given the promotional difficulties the latter face because of continual inequalities.

Officers are distinguished from, and considered to be of higher quality non-officers; those in higher ranking positions enjoy greater benefits, pay, and status as well as shouldering more responsibility. A statement illustrates the career possibilities touted within the CF as being attainable and desirable: "NCM's can get there, too, and if they show potential, opportunities to advance will follow." To climb the hierarchical ladder of promotions, members must complete required leadership training and specific trade qualifications. Leadership training remains heavily grounded in a militarized masculine model that expects participants to be aggressive, forceful, and 100% focused on the task at hand. These courses are demanding on an individual's time and energy, and are conducted in isolation from the civilian world at a location often far removed from a member's home base.

The language and images that describe and represent the CF culture as an ideal system for the armed forces begins to appear as 'normal' practice. The norms and values represented within these materials can be said to act as a primer to new recruits consenting to the socialization practices that indoctrinate them into the culture throughout initial military training and exposure to military life. Hall (1997) argued that participants within a culture give meaning to people, objects and events using frameworks of interpretation. Participants of a culture continue to produce meaning through the use of language. In this way people, objects and events can have meaning assigned to them that is conceptualized through the quality of the discourses associated with them. The meaning attached to an event or person can be used to regulate and organize conduct and practices by setting rules, norms, and conventions that order social life.

Meaning thus arises in relation to various events, moments, and practices within a culture. These help to construct collective identities and the marking of difference. Hall (2000) contended that identity, as formed within discourses and institutions, is a fluid process that constantly

compares and differentiates itself from others in a collective group. Within the context of CF culture and basic training, the combat ideology is so central to indoctrination that members come to identify and interact with the ideology by taking on many of the defining characteristics of the androcentric perspective. For women this means displaying male characteristics and downplaying female ones, or "playing boy" so as not to seem overly differentiated from the prevailing norms of the group and thus part of the institutional culture (Morris et al., 2007).

Militarized androcentrism is embedded in the language and phrasing used within CF culture. Words such as "war," "fight," "strong," "proud," "duty," "honour," "patriotism," and "combat-ready" help to describe the organizational culture and the level of commitment, attitudes, behaviours, and values expected of 'good CF members'. This type of language is used most prominently in sections devoted to early training, and combat trades. For example, the description of the army's role in the CF as being one of combat-readiness is paired with the statement that "experiences and challenges [in army training] will enable you to deal with anything that happens to you in the rest of your life." The statement illustrates how expected effective coping skills within and beyond the CF are rooted in masculine forcefulness and strength. Conversely, the terms peace, security, and values are denoted as vulnerabilities needing to be protected, as indicated by the statement: "Canadians rely, above all, on Defence to protect their interests and values." The DVD illustrates Canada's peace keeping efforts through images of military aircraft, armoured vehicles, ships, maple leafs, and male soldiers, with the headings "Supporting Peace Internationally," "Partnering in Defence Ensuring the Safety of Canadians." These themes are repeated within the recruitment documents.

Mothers as Combatants in the CF

The way women are represented as members and supporters of the Canadian Forces conveys how they are perceived within the organization: raising and supporting good CF members. The feminist analysis of the materials revealed that women are represented in a way that reinforces the CF's masculine presence and understates the particular challenges women, and mothers, face throughout their career in the Forces.

Women continue to be a minority group within the CF member population, a situation that gives rise to tokenism, particularly in those trades which have a stronger association with combat and fighting. Tokenism is exemplified through the listing of women's achievement in the CF. A gender-neutral world does not exist (Pinch, 2006); however, the contributions of each individual to the effectiveness of an organization are valuable, irrespective of gender. An attempt to neutralize the contributions of women and equate them to those made by men serves to set women apart from the group. In an organizational model that values masculine qualities over feminine qualities allows social control to remain with the dominant group – men – who impose conformity based on the majority norm. Tokenism acts as a tool to encourage women to display an acceptable level of masculinity such as aggression, forcefulness, and toughness and downplay feminine attributes such as caring, nurturing, and compromise. There is value in not only analysing the way women are represented in these texts but also looking for the ways they are not. The language and images represent the ideological codes that govern women's behaviour. My feminist analysis has revealed the requirement of women to downplaying female attributes, or showcase them in ways that are useful to the military operations such as helping the victims of war and disaster, or supporting their sons' and husbands' service to Canada.

Equal opportunity employment is depicted within stereotypical gender boundaries. For example, there is a picture of a father next to a ship, leaving or returning to his wife and children, but there are no pictures depicting a mother leaving or returning home to her husband and children despite the equal opportunity for this to occur. There is an image of a pregnant member sitting at a desk paired with the explanation of maternity and parental leave. No fathers are identified, even though at any given time there are male service members with expectant female partners. Imagery and discussion of the mother role, besides pregnancy and related leave, is non-existent in the materials, even though the CF is aware that a proportion of new recruits are already mothers (Wait, 2002). The declaration matched with the picture, noted above, is one that describes the benefits available to assist in the care and nurturing of the child by both parents. The representation of women's roles remains understated in the imagery. The issue is no longer about women's capability in fulfilling typically masculine professions, but about the attitudes within these professions. Women's experience of participating in non-traditional activities while still being responsible for traditional activities at home is under-represented in this CF information. Thus for instance, leaving for deployments or training, and participating in combat roles while balancing the demands of motherhood are not presented within the CF imagery. The marginalization of the mother role appears to begin with recruiting images that neglect to convey issues like the necessity for family care while being away on military deployments, or communicating the ways in which dual member families cope when both members are deployed, or on training.

A 2001 Canadian Forces survey found that 5% of new members were married or in common-law relationships with other service members, and 7% of the CF was composed of service couples (Wait, 2002). The reality that service men and women do have families together

is ignored throughout the recruiting materials, and there are very few images that show members in any kind of familial context. The CF recruiting materials largely ignore the impact military life has on personal life, and does not adequately address issues such as family care responsibilities or situations in which both parents are members. This sends the message that family issues that arise from military life are members' private problems rather than CF issues. The invisibility of family related concerns also conveys that these problems are minimal, thus idealizing life for potential female members.

The Canadian Forces has implemented a program known as Recruiter for a Day [RFD], aimed specifically at women and minorities. The program proposes to increase the number of women and minorities in the CF by utilizing members, from minority groups, who volunteer their time to help prospective employees picture themselves within the organization. It is thought that having members share their passion for the Forces in a more open forum (rather than depending on the efforts of those posted to a Recruiting Centre) gives the CF a competitive edge in attracting qualified applicants, achieving a representative demographic, and aiding retention by enrolling committed individuals into the right trades (Brown, 2008; House of Commons Committee, 2006). Volunteer recruiters variously answer questions from potential applicants about life in the Canadian Forces, provide testimonials for recruiting information aids, participate in an occupational photo, or take part in a video shoot. The RFD program constitutes the only obvious strategy to specifically appeal to women by providing information tailored to their concerns. However, the CF continues to convey women's value in the Forces in relation to men's. Significantly, this program does not change the Institutional Model that sees high rates of female attrition and low rates of female recruitment. Although women may see opportunity they

are still likely to be held to a masculine standard and expected to alter their perspective to align themselves with an androcentric perspective.

A predominant undertone of a militarised masculinity that defines and informs the Canadian Forces personnel, and its recruitment policies and goals, presents a barrier to women making an informed decision to join the CF and, in particular, mothers' participatory inclusion and success in the Forces. Recruitment and training standards reflect and reinforce characteristics that idealize the physically strong, emotionally tough, masculine war hero who has a wife or mother waiting at home (Harries-Jenkins, 2006; Taber, 2005). As discussed in previous chapters, gender in Western culture is a dichotomous understanding rooted in biological sex differences. Applying the feminist lens to the military culture reveals that a militarised androcentric perspective is reliant on a counter feminine model to delineate which qualities are and are not appropriate. This model in a dual military defines acceptable levels of masculinity that are attainable by either gender while maintaining a homogenous masculine model that leaves little or no room to accept what could be considered feminine characteristics. Women CF members had best leave behind their feminine self, especially the bearing of children.

The language and images used in marketing the Canadian Forces act as a cultural primer to new members by representing the Institutional Model as normal. Hall (1997) describes language and text as a medium to make sense of shared realities and thus becoming a repository of participant's shared values and understandings. The Canadian Forces organizational values are conveyed to the Canadian public through recruitment mediums. New members join the organization with a preconceived idea about organizational culture and reality based on the outward representations that inform shared understandings. Upon joining the Forces recruits

bring these understandings which are then used to inform a collective understanding of what it means to be a CF member.

The Institutional Model is conveyed as an accurate representation of employment with the CF and thus acts as a measure of success in the indoctrination phase of training, known as basic training, and remains present throughout individual trade and leadership training (Harrison et al., 1993). Recruitment of women through imagery and language implicitly directs them to choose support and administrative roles. Recruitment into predominantly male trades for affirmative action purposes has not been incorporated effectively into the materials. These materials demonstrate the extent to which the CF addresses its legal commitment to equity, all the while showing that the organization values aggression and force. This comes across loud and clear in the text and visuals. Dominant themes such as family, commitment, loyalty, and pride were presented throughout these materials pointing to the level of dedication expected from members. Meanwhile the contributions of both men and women as leaders in their trade and field, as well as the inclusion and valuing of mothers, fathers, and caregivers receives little billing.

The analysis continues in the next two chapters with a description and discussion of CF policies aimed at gender equity. Chapters five and six will reveal the contradictions between the recruiting materials and the documents that generalize and regulate membership and life in the Canadian Forces, referred to by Smith (2006) as textual hierarchy. An analysis of the continuity of between textual levels and supporting documents will uncover what is expected of 'good' CF members and the opportunities for opening and shutting down action.

Chapter 5: Pregnant Women and Mothers within Canadian Forces Policies

This chapter discusses Canadian Forces policies, known as orders, which have been identified by the CF as meeting its legal commitment to achieve gender equality. The discussion that follows identifies limitations of using gender-neutral language within CF documents for achieving equity, and how the policies actually reinforce traditional gender divisions. The discussion focuses on policies pertaining to pregnancy and associated leaves, and examines regulations of participation and dress and deportment. The analysis also examines the gender equality claims in Canadian Forces family-related policies. The specific policies to be discussed within this thesis are Withholding of and Recall from Leave; Maternity Leave and Parental Leave; Canadian Forces Military Family Support Program; Families; Pregnancy Administration; Maternity and Parental Benefits.

The Queen's Regulation and Orders [QR&O] is a four volume document, available online and in print, published by National Defence. It sets forth the orders and regulations that govern the Canadian military. The volumes are organized into over 300 chapters, with each volume covering information pertaining to administration, discipline, and finances related to a specific policy. It is in these documents that policies governing supports and benefits will be found or are referenced. The QR&O is accessible to the public through the Internet, and to Canadian Forces members through administrative support departments (National Defence, 2008).

The QR&Os are supplemented by the Canadian Forces Administrative Orders [CFAOs]. CFAOs are currently being superseded by Defence Administrative Orders and Directives [DAODs], in which orders apply to CF members, and directives apply to Department of National Defence [DND] employees. DAODs are documents that spell out corporate administrative policies and instructions specific to the DND and CF. DAODs define corporate administrative

policies and instructions specific to the Department of National Defence and the CF. DAODs supplement higher level direction, as well as directives from other central agencies such as the Treasury Board (National Defence, 2008). Throughout the analysis of institutional texts the references reflect the fact that some are non-paginated. In these instances section headings will be used to identify the location of quotations.

Each chapter in the QR&O refers back to article 1.02, Definitions, for each regulation and order. In the top right hand corner is the Tri-Service symbol and on the left is the icon of a fighter plane, navy ship and armoured vehicle, reiterating the combat and masculine orientation of the CF and thereby excluding feminized characterizations. All members are made aware of the QR&Os and relating policy documents at some point in their training and military careers. For many, the most formal introductions occur during initial leadership training when they learn the layout of the documents, how to navigate them to ensure compliance, and how to issue disciplinary or judicial action to subordinates. Personal experience has revealed that many lower-ranking NCMs are either unaware or uncomfortable using the documents, and their size and complexity make them uninviting to use. Furthermore, many NCMs are technicians who do not have regular access to a work computer, or time at an office computer to do the type of in-depth search and reading necessary to become familiar with the documents. This is problematic for women because it limits opportunities to self-advocate. The systemic limitation presents a barrier to actively pursue a working knowledge of policies and potentially create misunderstandings that prevent taking action.

What to Expect When You Are an Expectant CF Member

Circumstances of pregnancy, motherhood and family have resulted in the CF needing to create policies to maintain organizational effectiveness by regulating the concerned members'

behaviour, and to ensure they remain committed to CF missions. A member's pregnancy invokes a series of administrative and medical regulations specific to military culture. Smith (2006) explains that texts are active in coordinating behaviour and local work practices. When individuals engage with text it becomes part of the local organizational consciousness and a way of acting. In an institutional context, a hierarchy of text is used to control information and behaviour. Higher order texts influence the lower level texts that coordinate work. The CF effectively uses text to convey codes for behaviour, attitudes, and appearance to express what is considered by the organization to be 'good' CF membership. This section provides a feminist discursive analysis of those policies to identify the institutional value and belief systems that inform organizational and peer to peer discourses and the problems they pose for female CF members.

The CF manages its pregnant members through multiple documents, but primarily through the QR&Os, Chapter 16 Leave; DAOD 5003-5, Pregnancy Administration; and DAOD 5001-2, Maternity and Parental Benefits. In Chapter 16 of the QR&O, Article 26 outlines maternity leave regulation (Finance and Corporate Services, 2006). The chapter is organized into eight subsections: 'Application', 'Definition'. 'Eligibility', 'Start and End Period', 'Extension', 'Military Requirements', 'Maternity Benefits Extended', and 'Limitation'.

DAODs are presented somewhat differently than the QR&Os, with each DAOD document organized by headings and subheadings rather than articles and paragraphs. The policies DAOD 5003-5, Pregnancy Administration, and DAOD 2001-2, Maternity and Parental Benefits, replace previous documents, currently being rewritten, referred to as CFAOs. DAOD 5003-5 outlines the clerical and medical administration of pregnant members (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001). The section, 'Duties' is divided into five sub-sections: 'General',

'Mandatory Duty Limitations', 'Non-Ejections Aircraft', 'Prior to Completion of Basic Training', and 'Prior to Occupational Qualifications'. Each of these subsections outlines what the member's employment restrictions and limitations will be while she is pregnant within various occupational environments.

In its overview, DAOD 5003-5 proclaims the CF as being "committed to gender integration and employment equity policies as well as a supportive work environment that enables members to balance military duties with family responsibilities" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001, Context). It declares that a pregnant member's health, safety, and welfare will be supported throughout her pregnancy and birth through the provision of adequate time away from military duties. The following discussion identifies the specific regulations pertaining to pregnant members and discusses how this statement of support promises more than it delivers.

A woman who believes she might be pregnant is responsible for reporting to the nearest Canadian Forces Health Services [CFHS] facility for confirmation. If her pregnancy is confirmed, she has the option of having her pregnancy monitored and children delivered either by a CF physician or by civilian health care provider who is authorized under provincial law to provide such services. However, the Canadian Forces Medical Orders [CFMO] 3100-23 indicate that CF health care practitioners would, under normal circumstances, only be used by a member until the beginning of the third trimester (National Defence, 2008). It appears that the option is really not an option at all but a limitation of the obstetrical services provided by CF clinicians and facilities to women. When a civilian practitioner is used, the woman is to give the CF health facility the contact details so that there can be communication between it and their provider, as the Medical Officer will review the medical information to ascertain any sick leave or additional limitations to duty not already proscribed under CF regulations. This exemplifies Bem's (1996)

distinction of the male standard. She describes processes, perspectives, services that are guided

by the masculine and treat feminine as 'other'. The CF has addressed women's specific medical

care needs by outsourcing the specific services, in particular obstetrical and gynaecological care.

Although some bases provide access to a Well Women's Clinic, this is not the norm.

DAOD 5003-5, Pregnancy Administration, allows for members who become pregnant

prior to the completion of basic training to request, and be granted a release from the CF.

Members who wish to continue training are allowed to do so "as long as [their] medical condition

permits" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001, Prior to Completion of Basic Training). If a

female member needs to absent herself from training because of her pregnancy, she can only do

so for a period of time "that would be normally accepted in the case of short-term illness or

injury" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001, Prior to Completion of Basic Training), but there is

no indication of what this time period would be. The oversight leaves the policy open to variable

interpretation, potentially resulting in inequitable application. It also does not address the

underlying issue of helping the member meet mandatory training requirements, or leave room for

any kind of compromise that would enable pregnant women to continue training while coping

with the physical implications of being pregnant. Moreover, it creates a situation in which a

woman might feel compelled not to disclose potential issues to her physician in the interest of

completing her training. These circumstances are especially an issue for women during early CF

training and in the combat trades where physical strength and endurance is of high value and

necessary for women to be accepted with the culture.

In cases where a member does not request release, but is deemed by the Medical Officer

as being unable to complete training for medical reasons, she is required to cease training and is

limited to duties in line with the training already completed and her experience. If she is able to

continue with the current stage of training but unable to go onto the next, she is expected to complete the current stage and then continue to work within her scope of training until she begins maternity leave. The CF does not allow for members in training to be forcibly released, stating that if a member "is able to complete all phases of training prior to her expected delivery date, she shall be permitted to do so" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001, Prior to Occupational Qualification). Members who are required to cease training because of medical issues are scheduled to continue training once given medical clearance.

Regular Force pregnant members may request and be granted release from the CF. They are provided with information about requirements for insurance coverage for medical and hospital care on release. If the member applies for re-entry, she needs to demonstrate she is medically fit by completing a Physical Health Exam and a Physical Fitness Test, and apply for re-entry through the normal application procedure. To re-join she would meet with a CF Recruiter and revise any outdated medical and aptitude tests, and follow a similar process to the one when she first joined. However, her status within the organization would reflect the training already completed and the length of time that had elapsed since her release. The CF ensures its members that, in such cases, a decision would not be prejudiced by her having requested a release because of pregnancy, but would "be considered without restriction for a member who was released" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001, Release). It should be noted here that this practice is not a demonstration of the Forces' concern for gender equity, as it is a requirement under human rights legislation and does not differ from situations when any member in training becomes medically unfit. Moreover, as Taber (2009) pointed out, the direction to inform women of the option to release from the CF upon confirming the pregnancy is redundant as the CF is a completely voluntary military and thus members are free to release at any time. This represents

the organization's displeasure with the breach of the universality of service policy and reluctance to encourage women's continued participation within the ranks while they are pregnant.

There are basic health requirements to be met in order to serve in the CF, known as the universality of service requirements, and these are supplemented by trade-specific requirements. The medical branch of the CF is able to impose work restrictions on members based on their health and medical prognosis, known as medical employment limitations [MELs]. Members are required to undergo periodic health examinations [PHE] at various intervals, determined by occupation, age or change in health status. For example, if a member's health status is dramatically changed due to an accident, he or she is required to undergo a PHE to determine if the medical standard set out by the CF medical community is met.

If the member does not meet the standards set out in the universality of service guidelines, he or she is placed on a temporary or permanent category, depending on the prognosis of the condition. The imposed temporary or permanent category precludes members from being promoted. A pregnant woman is immediately placed on a temporary category that ends once she returns from maternity and/or parental leave. Career progression through courses and promotions is stalled until she is no longer on medical restriction, despite the fact that pregnancy is a normal, physiological process. An informal term for the person who is on medical limitations is "broken"; it is also commonly used in reference to women who are pregnant and do not meet the universality of service. Although seemingly benign and witty to some, it is inconsiderate of the potential marginalizing and segregating effects known to be a contributing factor to establish a working mother's identity, or in continuing with full-time paid employment. A feminist perspective examines inequitable gender relations. Applied here it uncovers the inappropriate use of the term and reveals that women who are pregnant are not broken but are perceived as an

inconvenience to the organization. It reveals the power of CF text to determine and isolate who is

a good, useful, member and who is impeding CF operations while imposing the institution's

preference for the male physique.

In other words, pregnancy is viewed as an impediment to military advancement. An

expectant Force's member is limited in the capacities she can work and serve. In part, this is

created by the determination that a pregnant member requires special "handling." She is to

engage in physical training at her own pace (rather than at a team pace, or as set by a training

leader). She is to get regular sleep, meals, and rest at reasonable intervals while on duty (Finance

& Corporate Services, 2001; National Defence, 2008). Taber (2009) pointed out that this

document implies that good CF members do not need regular sleep and meals, and never

succumb to exhaustion or physical malady. The limitations placed on pregnant women therefore

discursively make them into weaker members.

In contrast to the few things permitted or advised, the list of what a pregnant CF member

is excluded from doing is substantially longer. For instance, she is prohibited from UN or

isolated assignments; from gas chamber exercises that include nuclear, biological and chemical

[NBC] training; from heavy lifting; from foot drill (precise, over exaggerated movements used to

promote teamwork and personal discipline, as well move troops from one place to another); from

parades (military ceremony, rooted in drill and marching), or marching. She is not to receive

routine immunizations (those that are provided at regular intervals, or as part of an operational

requirement i.e., yellow fever or meningitis if deploying to remote, high risk areas); to not have

duties on board a ship at sea, whether or not as a member of the ship's company; to have no

duties that entail serving in the field or participating in a field operation or exercise; no

participation in duties that require physical exertion, contact sports or strenuous exercise. In

addition, Operational Air Factor refers to the particular medical and physical standards a member must meet in order to train and work in certain trades. In this case, a pregnant woman is prohibited from flying in ejection seat aircraft (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001; National Defence, 2008). One can see from this list of limitations that becoming pregnant means exclusion from normal participation, thus becoming abnormal.

Additional limitations can be placed on a pregnant member as determined in consultation with her Commanding Officer [CO], Medical Officer [MO], and the member. The CO is to ensure "that the member performs duties that are consistent with the duty limitations indicated by the medical officer and pose no threat to the health of the member or foetus" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001, General). The member's employment limitations can be further augmented to take into consideration specific activities performed within her trade or training. These policies are deemed necessary due to the physiological limitations that come with pregnancy, the potential for work environments to negatively affect the well being of the member or her foetus, and the lack of maternal health services within the CF (Taber, 2005). Taber points out that the lack of services, marginalization of pregnancy through applying mandated limitations, a maternity uniform, and reminders of the possibility to resign membership send a message that pregnancy does not fit the prevailing military model. These messages also shape women's lives and experiences in very real ways.

The policy discussion on pregnancy diagnosis prior to training completion in relation to the required medical limitations is in a direct conflict with the imposed restrictions placed on pregnant members, and the course work required in basic training such as field craft, shift work, physical exercise, or NBC training. The medical and administrative consequences of becoming

pregnant immediately segregate a woman working within the non-traditional trades or training from her peers and course mates due to the accommodations that have to be made on her behalf.

Regardless of whether or not she informs them of her pregnancy, there is an immediate necessity for her to decrease her workload and transfer it onto her teammates. This creates potential strain within in the team as other members carry the extra duties that she, temporarily, cannot perform. Moreover, she is medically excluded from less than desirable environmental conditions and training requirements, while her peers endure qualification requirements - conditions that create occasions for the team to build morale and cohesiveness, but from which she will be excluded.

These policies are rooted in safety and health considerations for the mother and foetus that are defined by the CF as limitations. This is problematic for a pregnant woman, given that females are already assumed, within patriarchal military culture, to be naturally weaker than males. This is especially the case during the early stages of CF training and in the combat trades. Many women strive to contradict the stereotype of being weak and vulnerable in order to be accepted as an equal contributor to their male dominated team. The restrictions and special care, imposed by the CF can reaffirm perceptions of female inherent weakness. Furthermore, a pregnant member who is unable to attend work or fulfill normal duties is isolated from her team, and her exclusion from training activities could be perceived as laziness and lacking discipline, particularly if she has chosen not to disclose her pregnancy. Exclusion from training without a visible cause such as broken leg or illness signifies to others that the member is possibly malingering. Moreover, pregnancy often comes across to some as a convenient excuse, particularly because many men undergoing basic training are not aware of the physiological

changes occurring that make training harder during pregnancy. The collective assumptions about pregnancy during basic training further marginalize the member.

An illusion of choice is presented to pregnant women by reminding them of their option to release from the Forces temporarily or permanently, or to alter her training plan. No guidance is provided regarding the choices of terminating a pregnancy, or placing a child for adoption. Such choices would require modified guidance in terms of confidentiality, leave, and employment restrictions. Members who continue with the pregnancy and wish to receive CF health care services are discouraged from doing so by CFMO instruction that this is only feasible until the beginning of the third trimester, indicating the limited health support available to CF women. These policies disregard the possibility of multiple pregnancy scenarios. They remain grounded in a 1950s ideal motherhood, and only reluctantly accede to the legal requirements for the provision of leaves and support benefits. Pregnancy and related work-life issues are treated as either a chain of command issue, or passed on to family support and health services outside the Forces.

Maternity is not Uniform

Attempting to use gender neutral terminology and dress as a solution to gender integration is pointless in the event of pregnancy. The CF's policy response that treats pregnancy similar to having a broken leg relegates pregnancy to a problematic medical, administrative, and limited gender issue, rather than a normal human process. Throughout the policy, a pregnant woman is referred to as "pregnant member" and only makes reference to her sex, using "she" or "her", when it is unavoidable. The sentiment continues in the policy that neglects to incorporate a formal standard of dress for pregnant women, and that has issued ill fitting and neutralizing maternity wear.

Being a contributing, active member of the group is embedded in the CF culture. Members internalise the values and principles associated with being a team player starting with the standard of dress and appearance taught in recruitment training. The CF places tremendous emphasis on uniformity, particularly in dress, and a makes a deliberate connection between the uniform and membership in the Forces. The Canadian Forces Dress Instructions, which dictate orders of dress and appearance of all CF members, except pregnant women. The text asserts that: "A military force's uniform is an outward symbol of its commitment, identity and ethos," (National Defence, 2001, p. 2-1-1) portraying the symbolic, and psychological, importance placed on the uniform and sameness. The passage goes on to state that "CF uniforms identify all personnel as members of a cohesive, armed body, in the service of Canada" and in partnership with overall appearance "the uniform is the most powerful visual expression of pride by the individual service member" (National Defence, 2001, p.2-1-1). Recruit instructors draw upon this to instil an overall importance to dress; ensuring new members actualize its connection to team morale, cohesiveness, and, most importantly, pride. The lack of clear dress instructions for pregnant women denotes their absence from administrative thought and creates a visible divide, isolating her from other members. For some it might represent the uncomfortable social designation as the other.

Pregnant CF women are required to wear a maternity uniform as identified by the statement "a pregnant member shall commence wearing the CF distinctive environmental maternity uniform when other orders of dress are no longer appropriate" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001, Dress). The policies are ambiguous about what is considered inappropriate dress, or who deems attire appropriate, seemingly leaving the decision to the discretion of the woman, or her chain of command. There is no discussion about the issue beyond that statement that

would imply a consequence for deciding not to wear the maternity uniform, or wearing it before it is deemed 'appropriate'. This order sends an ambiguous message and does not clarify what is deemed appropriate.   From a feminist perspective it is hard to determine who has the power in this code of conduct. It would truly depend on the flexibility of the woman's chain of command. To exemplify this, recently I became aware of an instance in which specific maternal clothing items and dress uniforms were withheld because the woman had not reached the indicated stage of pregnancy when they are to be distributed, despite her need for the clothing. Eventually, through repeated liaising between Clothing Stores, the place on each base that issues military dress and personal equipment, and the woman's chain of command the member was granted special permission to wear a maternity uniform. Until her dress uniform could be orders she was to wear suitable civilian attire to any formal events that would call for a dress uniform. Although a solution was reached the lack of understanding built into institutional rules is apparent and demonstrates one of the ways women must fight bureaucratic androcentrism at the individual level.

The policy refers members to the CF Dress Instruction Manual which states: "when a uniform is required to be worn, all CF members shall wear the applicable uniform described in this manual in accordance with the instructions contained herein" (National Defence, 2001, p.2-1-1). This manual specifies that inherent (e.g., women are to wear bras) and customary differences (e.g., women are the ones who can wear dresses) between men and women will be "given appropriate consideration in detailed design and tailoring" (National Defence, 2001, p.2-1-1) The definition and brief description for maternity dress in Chapter 1 of the manual "clothing items authorized for wear by pregnant and women who have just given birth in lieu of service or other regular dress items" (National Defence, 2001, p.1-8). The CF Dress Instruction provides a

brief description of the maternity items available and when women are expected to return the issued items. There is also a half page diagram with notes that describes some of the maternity options available on how to wear the formal uniforms, commonly worn by officers as daily work wear. However, there is no explanation with regard to when maternity attire is appropriate, or how operational wear (for example fatigues) is to be worn. A lack of clear instruction in this area is problematic as it neglects to inform non-commissioned CF women of what is expected in their dress and deportment throughout maternity, and leaves the implementation of such orders open to the interpretation of her superiors and possible unequal application.

Women who regularly wear combat fatigues are simply issued a larger version of the typical combats or operational wear (National Defence, 2001); hiding the pregnancy at first and then just making the woman appear as though she is hiding a large belly in the final trimester. Such attire clothes pregnant women as if they were unfit men. The dress manual indicates that fatigues may be modified, with approval from National Defence Headquarters/ Director Soldiers Program Management, or the woman may be granted permission to wear another order of dress, such as the version of the formal dress uniforms.

The formal dress uniforms resemble a similar appearance. Until recently, women were primarily issued an apron-like garment that was worn over the dress shirt. While this is still available, most women are provided a larger, maternity version of the tunic or a button-up sweater and pants, or a skirt with an elasticized waist band. According to a recent report in the online CF newspaper, *The Maple Leaf* (Craig, 2009), the maternity order of formal dress has been updated using a polyester-wool that will stretch to aid in comfort. A tunic and wool sweater has also been added to the line as well as skirts with a spandex waistband. The tunic or sweater will

replace the older short and long pullovers; however these are still available and are being worn. The new uniform was touted as optimizing comfort and looking professional.

The orders of dress mandated to pregnant women offer no clear direction to then beyond a brief mention of maternity wear within a definition, and a description of the clothing items available (National Defence, 2001). Furthermore, the orders of dress expected of commissioned and non-commissioned women are different, which serves to distinguish officers from non-officers. Non-commissioned members are more likely to wear operational clothing (i.e., fatigues and coveralls) and have not been accommodated to the extent that the officers have. The intense adherence to pride through uniformity, the unsightly maternity uniforms, and the segregating medical restrictions all serve to stigmatize pregnancy and further differentiate women as 'others' in the work place, which is in opposition to the neutralizing attempts made elsewhere.

Applying the analytic criteria outlined on page nine reveals the typology of Canadian Forces organizational culture represented throughout these documents. The Canadian Forces behaves in many ways like an institution, indoctrinating new members to its practices, values, and beliefs. The combat ideology remains at the heart of these practices, informed by male centric perspectives and realities. Although the CF employs women, the perspective and ideology inform policies and practices that organize the behaviours, careers and experiences of pregnant women in ways that negatively differentiate them. This is evident through the segregation and marginalization of pregnancy and womanhood using terms, occupational limitations, clothing and outside services for routine check-ups

Although the attempts to provide access and services to pregnant women are influenced by gender equity goals, the policies reveal an androcentric and combat readiness quality. These

send a message that pregnant women at worse are not welcome in the Forces, and at best an administrative and financial burden.

Throughout the discussion some of the prevailing attitudes about pregnancy were uncovered. Although these are not official codes of behaviour the negative and inaccurate presumptions still remain within the collective attitude. The female perspective is undermined by neglecting to address the issue of choice. There is no clear guidance for those who wish to terminate a pregnancy or use adoption services. This might be just an oversight, but it demonstrates the assumption that all pregnant women will choose to go through with the pregnancy. It also reveals an underlying misrepresentation and minimal understanding for reproductive labour and the gender specific responsibilities that come with pregnancy.

Chapter 6: Motherhood in the Canadian Forces

The discussion of Canadian Forces policies continues in this chapter by covering orders that govern maternity and parental leave benefits and family support. This chapter reviews and discusses the remaining policies, Maternity and Paternity Benefits, and Families. The analysis will be developed by reviewing the Family Care Plan and pointing to the extent to which the language of these policies challenge or reproduce gender equity in the CF.

The DAOD 5001-2, 'Maternity and Parental Benefits' (Finance & Corporate Services, 2000), took effect in June 2001 and outlines the administrative process and details associated with access to both maternity and parental leave and allowances. It is explained within this order, under the heading General, that the intention of the policy is to ensure recruitment, employment, and retention of suitably qualified women and men, stating that "as an employer of choice, [the CF] will provide maternity and parental benefits that assist both female and male members to balance the demands of military service with family responsibilities associated with the birth or adoption of their children." The policy is to ensure that eligible members are provided "with time away from military duties and compensation to care for their newborn or adopted children free from undue financial or duty related concerns" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2000, General) Further explanation indicates that this order is in support of policies of heterosexual gender equity by encouraging both parents to share family responsibilities, and accords with employment equity by encouraging the recruitment and retention of women.

The allowance is provided to Regular and qualifying Reserve Forces members, and refers them to the allowance instructions that are set out in QR&O 205.46, Maternity Allowance (Finance & Corporate Services, 2006). However, this instruction, and the corresponding Parental Allowance, are no longer available in the QR&Os, and were eventually found in another manual

entitled *Compensation and Benefits Instructions* [CBI], section 205.46. The purpose of parental

benefits is to facilitate the care and nurturing of the child by both parents whether biological or

adoptive, and to ensure a period of bonding between parents and their child.

Parental leave is defined by the CF as granted time away from work without pay or

allowances for "parental or paternity purposes relating to one or more new born children or

children to be adopted" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2006, 16.27-2). To be eligible, the

member must either have the care or custody of one or more newborn children, have started legal

proceedings to adopt a child, or have obtained an order for the adoption of a child. Further

eligibility details covered in QR&O 205.465, Parental Allowance, are also found in the CBI and

not in the QR&Os. Parental leave for members who share custody of a child may only be taken

during times when the child is physically with the requesting parent and such leave ceases the

day after the member no longer has care or custody of the child, (for example due to parental

separation, adoption of the child by another person, "or death of the child") (Finance & Corporate

Services, 2006, Cessation of Parental Leave).

The process for CF members on how to apply for and take maternity and/or parental leave

is provided in a table format with the headings: 'When?' 'Who?' and 'What Happens?' Upon

confirmation of pregnancy, the CF member is expected to obtain a pregnancy report and make

her preliminary visit to the administration support office to obtain general information and

documentation concerning maternity and/or parental benefits. Approximately two months prior to

maternity or parental leave the member completes the application form for maternity and parental

benefits, and makes the necessary administrative and financial arrangements. Just prior to

beginning leave, the administration office is to advise the member on allowance entitlement, pay

allotments and, deductions, and provide the member a Record of Employment. At this time the

member is to proceed to the Human Resource Center [HRC] to complete the required forms for

Employment Insurance [EI] maternity and/ or parental benefits. The administration support office

and HRC are to be informed of the child's birth or adoption date, and a copy of the EI benefit

statement will be forwarded to the administration support office. On return to duty, the member is

to visit the administration support office for financial and administrative follow-up.

'Entitlement Guidelines' discusses issues such as which application form members are to

use, the required two-week waiting period, and what constitutes a return to duty for 'imperative

military requirements', a term mentioned, but not clarified, in the QR&O leave instructions.

Imperative military requirements are described as work-related personal administration such as

house hunting trips, travelling time, or the period of time taken prior to a posting to complete

'out-clearance'. Non-work-related personal appointments, such as attendance to medical, dental,

or administrative appointments throughout maternity and parental leave are not considered to be

imperative military requirements. The order also outlines what type of leave may be taken during

maternity leave, and informs members that they will not be ordered to take annual or

accumulated leave during this time, although he or she is allowed to request it. There is no

explanation as to why a member would request annual leave while already on maternity leave,

but if she does her maternity or parental leave is not to be extended by this action. The document

stipulates that leave must be taken within 52 weeks of the day the child is born, or the day the

member is given custody of the child. A woman can be recalled from maternity leave if the CF

deems their return to duty imperative to military requirements. If such an event occurs, the leave

can be extended to reflect the time the member returned to work. However, all leave, including

any extensions, must be taken within 52 weeks of the birth or adoption.

A member is eligible to be paid an allowance to a maximum of 37 weeks of parental

leave, prescribed under the Employment Insurance Act. As per the Act (CBC, April 5, 2010), the

allowance is calculated based on the difference between 93% of the member's weekly rate of pay

and the weekly amount the member receives as maternity benefits under the Employment

Insurance Act. Parental leave must be taken within 52 weeks of the day the child of the member

is born, or the day the member was granted custody and it can be extended under the same

circumstances and limitations that permit maternity leave to be extended. Start dates for parental

leave can be deferred by the CF when a CO deems there to be imperative military requirement to

do so. However, as with pregnancy leave, no explanation is provided as to what is considered an

imperative requirement, and therefore the member must refer to the maternity and parental leave

policy in order to clarify the parental leave guidelines.

In cases where both parents are members, they have the option of splitting the combined

sum of maternity and parental leaves subject to the combined levels or other exemptions from

duty or training not being more than 37 weeks for each member. When only one parent takes

both maternity and paternity leave the combined time cannot exceed 52 weeks (Finance &

Corporate Services, 2006).

Maternity and parental benefits are outlined within the same order, primarily referred to

within the administration of maternity leave, and understating the gender specific outcomes that

come with the birth of a child. The father's role is limited by its association to the birth or

adoption of a child. Much of the family-related policies are referenced in the maternity and

parental leave instructions including the pregnancy administration and parental leave. They

indicate, as well, that leave can only be taken within 52 weeks after the birth of a child, which has

only been recently amended in the Employment Insurance Act to include the specific limitations

this deadline imposed on CF parents (Service Canada, 2010). Pregnant women and new mothers are made responsible for finding reasonable housing within the pregnancy administration policy. Fathers who live in single quarters and have joint or full custody are not mentioned as explicitly, thus ignoring the increasing role fathers have within Canadian families. This was further noted throughout the explanation of the administration of pregnant women and parental leave policies, where there is no indication of whether or not parental members are able to take leave at the same time.

Policies concerning the administration and support of parenthood dictate the agreements the pregnant woman must comply with, but do not iterate how such policies and supports should be upheld and enforced throughout the organizational hierarchy. For example, parents on leave are not precluded from being contacted to shorten their leave to take career courses or deployments. Although they are free to object, this could be interpreted as signalling a lack of commitment to the organization, and may have future implications that prolong career advancing milestones such as promotions, courses, advantageous training, and access to favourable deployments. These policies are also unclear about information and access to benefits in place to support members who require ongoing childcare, experience frequent postings, or are posted away from familial support.

Foucault (as cited in Hall, 1997) argued that discourse is not just one statement, action, or source, but the relationship it has with a range of texts and forms of conduct that are characteristic to a state of thinking or knowledge. Critical and feminist discourse analysis aims to uncover social relations of power that impose systems of belief that reify versions of reality that serve to maintain the status quo. The relations of power that are being upheld in institutional texts act in conjunction with models of conduct that are enforced by the chain of command structure.

By neglecting to incorporate guidance on interpretation, failing to keep the policy updated in regards to Employment Insurance policies, and designing the policies to generalize the lives of all CF members the CF hierarchy maintains the power to interpret the policies as it sees fit and gives members little opportunity for recourse. Taber (2009) discusses the DAOD on the universality of service which seeks to define what is to be expected from each member in terms of physical ability. In the event of pregnancy a woman is assumed to have breached the universality of service, even if temporarily, and is placed in a medical category until 'fit'. The discourses that arise from universality of services and pregnancy in the CF convey to members that they are subject to the organization's definition of good CF member, or 'fitness' for the job. The definition is informed by an androcentric perspective and combat ideology that are presented as military expertise and to the benefit of operational effectiveness. Again, this reveals the preference for the male physiology and establishing it as the standard of occupational fitness.

Women on maternity leave may be temporarily replaced through the normal staffing process. This process relieves her of assigned duties, but does not take any steps to promote her participation in the process of assigning another person to take over her responsibilities in her absence. Failing to acknowledge this detail was shown in chapter two to contribute to the marginalization many women experience at work as a result of their pregnancies. A feminist perspective reveals that when a CF woman is no longer able to fit the role, or "play boy" (Morris et. al., 2007), because of pregnancy she is considered of lesser value to the CF. Putting the member on a medical category segregates her from her peers and position. By replacing her with a member who fits the ideal role of good CF member the organization has not only objectified and disempowered her, but has severed the connection to the role she has filled.

As in other organizations, choosing to take maternity and parental leave and thus forego career or operational tasks while on leave appears to signal a lack of commitment to the CF. More importantly, within the masculine culture of the combat trades, discourses about pregnancy often convey an understanding that it is used by women as a way of delaying or being excused from mandatory training (Petite, 2008). Personal experience within the combat trades and numerous conversations have revealed a perception that women are "tourists" to the combat trades and will inevitably leave once they start their families, a fact that was discussed in Davis' (2001) study that explored female attrition rates. Such unexamined attitudes make balancing motherhood and work much more difficult. Many women feel it is necessary to ensure their commitment to the organizations is not called into question by understating their family roles and responsibilities. The difficulty associated with reconciling such distinct roles limits women's career progression in these professions, as well as in the Department of National Defence, due to its hierarchical layout.

Reproductive Labour and Membership in the CF

This section looks at what is expected of members after they return from maternity and/or parental leave and resume normal duties. This discussion will research the DOAD 5044-1, Families (Finance & Corporate Services, 2001). The CF has implemented this policy to ensure parents provide adequate care to their children while fulfilling their roles in the CF. This analysis explores the extent to which the policy enhances or impedes the careers of women and the effectiveness of gender equity strategies within the organization. Through revealing codes of good CF membership and questioning codes of behaviours from a feminist perspective I will examine how the romantic ideal in recruitment materials contrasts with the realities of CF life that are conveyed in Defence Orders. I will also look at how institutional texts generalize the

lives of CF members rather than support them in the name of operational effectiveness. This discussion will be particularly useful in highlighting the androcentric perspective and the way it undermines women's experiences as 'other' and maintains a disconnection between membership in the CF and caring activities.

Once the mother and/or father return to active duty, they are expected to resume work as before. In other words, it is expected that members will put CF needs ahead of family care needs, as indicated in the FCP policy that states "[T]he CF is a professional institution that requires its members to place service to country and needs of the CF ahead of personal considerations" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Context). That Exemption from Duty or Training – Maternity Purposes', provides leave or absence from training for parental reasons for only 52 weeks reveals the belief that major parenting issues occur only for the first year and any that occur afterward should not conflict with service responsibilities.

The CF's administrative commitment to family well-being is set out in its policy document, DAOD 5044-1, Families. The CF promises to provide assistance to members and their families; to assist in reducing the impact of frequent postings on the social and educational integration of members and their families; and to take measures to reduce the effect of long and frequent periods of family separation. The Guiding Principles are described as being drawn from a "variety of professions and affiliations working cooperatively to provide a holistic approach to the needs of families" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Principles). At this juncture the policy proclaims a commitment to promoting the development of an effective family network through support programs and services; to taking measures to facilitate families in securing accommodation suitable to personal circumstances; to providing health care and support (to the members; families are required to access civilian health care and support systems); to

endeavouring to foster a better understanding between CF members and their families through education and awareness; and to promoting effective communication between families and the CF as a whole (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002).

Understanding the Families order from a feminist perspective enables the reader to identify the position of the writer thus revealing the informing societal norms and the distribution of power, and making it possible for the consumer to uncover and problematize the unspoken reality of CF life being represented to members and others. In essence, CF members who are parents, particularly those who are mothers, and families with dual parent membership, have little control over the stability of family life. More so, it conveys an element of CF life in which the member's family is informally recruited to support the member and thus CF goals (Harrison et al., 1993). Frequent absences of the CF member and relocations are to be an expected part of being in a CF family. Knowing this, family members are expected to be supportive to the member, and thus the organization's missions and culture. Through socialization into CF culture, accomplished through repeated contact with professionals and affiliations that work to provide services to the CF community, family members become an extension of the CF family and thus have a role to play in supporting organizational goals. In return family members are granted a level of accommodation. Female members, by virtue of their caregiving and management role in the family, position family related matters into the CF operational scope making this policy especially effective in limiting the potential impact caring responsibilities will have on a member's overall effectiveness.

The CF proposal to reduce the effect of long and frequent periods of separation on families is part of the underlying direction of this policy. It indicates that such a goal is to be achieved through the use of the CF Family Network, which is made up of various groups and

organizations that act within their authority to implement the principles of the policy. The policy states that "an effective family network is maintained by constant and worthwhile communication among all elements" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Canadian Forces Family Network). A web type diagram is given to illustrate the network and what the CF considers to be its worthwhile elements. These are the elements that incorporate the family into the CF lifestyle and connect the family to civilian services and supports. In the centre, in all capital letters, is the word FAMILIES. Extending from it, using two directional arrows, are the departments and organizations through which a family can access services and support. The diagram includes Departmental Agencies and Policies; the Military Chain of Command; Base/Unit Service; Health Services; Military Family National Advisory Board; Personal Support Program; Chaplains; Military Police; and the Military Family Resource Centre [MFRC]. The MFRC is intended to act as a liaison between families and the Civilian Community Programs and Local Education Programs (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002). The document gives the impression that members' families are a part of the CF command structure and thus have access to similar services that members are entitled to.

The CF Chain of Command is responsible for contributing to the well-being and quality of life of families. It monitors and oversees services and programs for families, especially when a member is deployed; provides programs, and support to families (where appropriate); provides programs and services through the Military Family Resource Centre [MFRC] for the communication of information, referral and outreach; supports member's children (including deployment and emergency childcare coordination); provides education and quality of life; offers crisis intervention and support groups; encourages volunteer development and involvement.

The Assistant Deputy Minister is responsible for providing a communications strategy that contributes to a better understanding of the Forces, both internally and externally. The CF housing agency provides service delivery options to satisfy family housing requirements. The Chaplain offers spiritual, religious and advocacy services, pastoral care and confidential support to families. The Director General Health Services makes available confidential social work services and, where regulations permit, confidential medical and psychological services to families. The Military Family National Advisory Board promotes and monitors issues impacting on the well-being of families. Finally, the Canadian Forces Provost Marshal provides police and security services to military accommodation areas and liaises with civilian police forces throughout the military community (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002).

In viewing the layout of the diagram and understanding the functions of the positions described within it, feminist discourse analysis reveals that the organization has positioned itself to create and recreate what it considers to be reality by channelling family needs through the CF chain of command and CF controlled services, as well as those heavily influenced by CF cultural norms. Members, and by extension their families, are viewed to be subject to the chain of command. They are figuratively, and literally, caught in the web of CF social and administrative networks that uphold and maintain the culture. That absence of a feminist perspective in governing these programs means that the successes of programs are measured from the perspective of the CF organization, which uses operational effectiveness (combat readiness) as a primary measurement tool.

Moreover these services are exclusionary on the basis of which CF families can benefit from the Mental Health Services. For example, a reading of the Mental Health Services webpage (National Defence, 2008) indicates that members and their family may access short term

counselling services through the Psychosocial Services program, while more intensive services can be accessed through the Occupational Trauma and Stress Support Program to members and families who are experiencing difficulties related to CF operations. Considering the reality that women still remain a minority within the CF these services continue to be informed by the needs of male members. The masculine model is reproduced throughout training and military life as the standard to be met while the androcentric perspective continues to inform cultural norms and attitudes that devalue women's reproductive labour. This is exemplified within the analysis of imagery and institutional language and texts that continue to represent hostile or objectifying view points of women, for example referring to pregnant women as "broken" representing women as helpers while validating the combatant male, or the presumption that women get pregnant "on purpose" to avoid deployments and training. This speaks to Taber's (2005) and Kovitz's (2000) point that women are reluctant to voice their personal concerns for services, learned from the social devaluation of care work, femininity, and the pressure to fit in and be perceived as like the men.

Family Care Plan

As part of the CF commitment to providing family support, it requires that members complete a Family Care Plan [FCP]. A Canadian Forces General Message [CANFORGEN] is the directive used to support and enforce the development of the FCP. It is a message that is distributed through managers, supervisors, and general internal email to members, intended to be communicated to every member. The message informs members of the requirement to report any care responsibilities he or she may have. A member is considered to have a "care responsibility" if he or she is responsible for providing the financial, health care, or other support to a family member. The CF member is accountable to report this information, as well as confirming that

there is an up to date care plan in effect should the member need to deploy on short notice, and ensuring that training standards will continue to be met. Members must guarantee that care responsibilities will not come between them and work. It is expected that the member will "consider all possible scenarios of absence for duty reasons, including emergency call outs, domestic and international deployments, collective and individual training, and short-term duty requirements" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Preparation and Amendment of the FCP). The requirement for this information is explained as enabling members to engage in "adequate personal preparation" as it "is critical to the operational readiness and effectiveness of a CF member" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Family Care Plan – General). The purpose of the plan is to assist members with planning family care needs in the event of an absence for duty reasons and to apprise the CO of potential difficulties regarding family care needs. Members complete the FCP and, by signing it, declare that the member has an FCP and that any family care responsibilities that could prevent an absence for duty have been fully taken into account (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002).

The CANFORGEN reiterates the instructions outlined in the DAOD, Families. It also provides advice like registering the caregiver with the MFRC and permitting it to make arrangements for urgent childcare without delay, and that the member should utilize the MFRC's emergency childcare counsellor when assistance finding a caregiver is needed. Two supporting programs provided by the MFRC are identified in the CANFORGEN (but not referenced within the DAOD, Families). One program is the availability of emergency childcare services provided to families throughout the Forces. The other is the family care assistance program that supports service couples and single members who incur incremental family care costs due to CF imposed absences for a period of more than 24 hours (National Defences and Canadian Forces, 2011).

In completing the FCP, members are instructed to consider all possible scenarios when putting together a plan that will be reviewed upon initially reporting to a new unit; it will also be reviewed as their family care circumstances change and during deployment preparations. While it is recognized that there will be times when circumstances beyond the member's control will change, it is made clear that this should only be a temporary and infrequent occurrence. The policy states that the member "who does not in good faith fully take into account all known family care circumstances in preparation of the FCP may be subject to administrative and/or disciplinary action" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Preparation and Amendment to the FCP). Disciplinary action can be used against a member in decisions pertaining to their taking courses for upgrading and promotions.

While a FCP is required to be completed, it is not required that members with family care responsibilities provide detailed information about their arrangements. If members elect to identify the details of their arrangements, there is space to provide information regarding at least two persons or agencies able to care for the family members in the event of an absence for duty reasons. The document does state that "in most cases, the first caregiver would be the member's spouse or common-law partner" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002b, Section B – Caregiver Identification). Members are also advised in this section to use the form to inform the CO of any "potential difficulties that a member may experience in carrying out their FCP." Such difficulties could include, for example having to move children or the caregiver if the caregiver lives in another region, providing sufficient financial resources and a travel escort to do so and any additional special requirements that need to be accommodated. By signing the form, members declare that they have identified and taken into account any family care responsibilities that could potentially cause an absence from duty. Members are required to declare whether or not they are

primarily responsible for providing care to a family member, and if they are providing such care, that they have filled out a family care plan. Upon the members' consent, a copy of the form is sent to the MFRC in order to provide "support and information to the family during any period of absence for duty reasons" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Administration).

The Family Care Plan is not intended to act as a regulatory tool, but to complement the Emergency Childcare Services and Family Care Assistance by encouraging a complete and timely consideration of family care issues by both member and the military chain of command (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002). The policy indicates that support to all levels is solicited in order that the FCP declaration and its related programs provide maximum support to CF members and their families (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002).

The policy on families requires that the member declares, via the Family Care Plan, that childcare will rarely be an issue and that training and deployments will not be interrupted due to inadequate childcare support. The language used in the order is very clear in communicating that the member's primary obligation is to the CF, and that ongoing childcare issues could result in administrative action, which could mean a delay in career advancement. The Family Care Plan form does not require the member to explain the plan, as this portion is made optional. The DAOD that outlines the background of the plan and makes clear that membership in the Canadian Forces means putting country before self and family. Although reproductive labour has been accommodated, members should expect to come back to work and resume their full commitment to the organization. This particular order and form can be understood to act as both an exclusionary and consent tool to weed out those who allow their service to Canada to be compromised by the birth of a child and caring activities. This informs and promotes cultural attitudes that will reward those who do not allow family responsibilities to interfere with their

commitment to the organization and denigrate those who do. For members who are mothers this is likely to marginalize them as they are more likely to take time away from paid work for caring activities, which is unofficially understood to be a detriment to 'ideal' CF membership. This is another example of the systemic devaluation of care work and the women, and their supporters, who effectively balance care roles with membership in the CF.

The CF has assumed a role in directing the health related decisions of the pregnant member, and taken the liberty of enforcing a member's declaration of care responsibilities. However, it has no process for ensuring a member's FCP is secure and flexible. Members are directed to seek advice from authorities, (who are not indicated) to resolve such issues. Meanwhile, no direction is provided to guide authorities on what information should be made available and accessible.

Staying abreast of current CF family issues is the responsibility of the Directorate of Military Family Services, again referring members to another policy and department if inadequate policy issues need to be addressed. Informing the CO of possible child care issues does not enhance understanding of the issues associated with childcare, but only declares that members under his or her command have childcare responsibilities that could potentially be an issue. It overlooks the reality that the members likely to have such issues will be mothers, and that therefore it is female CF members whose careers will most likely be impeded by the limitation imposed by the socially constructed mother role. This policy is also generalized to Reserve personnel, who as part-time members have limited access to CF supports and benefits, and likely to also have commitments outside of the CF that include parenting. In addition, Reserve personnel have less opportunity to accurately foresee the variety of possible family related scenarios that would hinder their participation in CF operations.

As discussed in chapters two and three, Statistics Canada and empirical research revealed that women carry the majority of childcare and household management responsibilities and CF women are no exception. There is nothing in CF documents beyond a context statement that encourages fathers to take leave and share more equally the responsibilities of childcare with the mother. They do not challenge the current organizational culture that holds men primarily responsible to its operations. Although CF fathers are provided an opportunity to list child care responsibilities in their Family Care Plan, the level and quality of family-related support is influenced by the nature of the gender roles assumed within the family. The associated Family Care form does not encourage real balance in family child care when both parents are active serving members, or even when only one parent is a serving member but the other participates in full-time civilian employment. This is revealed by the assumption within the FCP form that "in most cases the first caregiver would be the member's spouse of common-law partner" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002b, Section B - Caregiver Identification).

Critical discourse analysis is used to uncover the social relations of power that are used to commit unpaid reproductive labour to the benefit of military operations. The language represents an understanding that the common-law partner will support the CF member in their commitment to CF operations. The CF has again implied that a good CF member is one who makes every arrangement to ensure that secondary care responsibilities do not impede on operational commitments. It has also gone further to define what a good, and supportive CF family is by presuming that care roles and domestic management will be assumed by who is left home and that the family will adjust to accommodate the role changes.

It is useful to question what the societal norms within the CF are, and how the text might be traditionally interpreted in order to reveal that this document overtly generalizes the lives of

CF members. It assumes firstly, that each member who is a parent has a spouse or partner, and secondly that he or she is not a CF member, an assumption which Davis (2001) found to be contradictory as CF women often partner with other members. This policy also reveals the organizational need for a person to be delegated as an alternate primary caregiver who will be available at a moment's notice whenever the need arises. The organization has framed this to be an individual or family related issue and in doing so reflects the organizations desire for a typical gender division of work as it still considers care work to be antithetical to CF membership (Harrison et al., 1993; Kovitz, 2000)

Policies that claim to support families do not truly represent mothers as having a primary responsibility for familial health and well-being. The limitations found in either civilian and military supports create service gaps that render them unable to adequately meet specific needs of mothers in the CF. As both members and mothers, these members need to balance two demanding and sometimes conflicting roles. The strain and cumulative stress they often experience is likely to increase; however, as with their male peers, many hesitate to seek help through the CF mental health services, as this might signal to their supervisors an inability to balance family and CF demands.

While the CF declares its commitment to supporting families, it nevertheless demands that its members be committed first and foremost to the organization, indicated by stating members are to place, "service to country and needs of the CF ahead of personal considerations" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Context). The contrast between the romanticism of military life portrayed in the recruitment documents and the reality of CF life mandated within institutional texts is revealed. The contrast, in particular, points out the contradictions between reproductive work and work in the CF, as well as the career barriers that are imposed on

members who pursue family life with a level of commitment the CF determines as oppositional to organizational goals. CF members are required to remain mobile and deployable in order to meet the mission goals of the CF. It acknowledges that this is problematic, explaining that missions and goals "may create profound disruption for the families of the CF members" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Context). The CF claims to recognize the contributions and sacrifices made by families and to understand the difficulties members face in balancing the two commitments through its provision of family-oriented policy and program initiatives. In other words, while it officially states that it believes it is responsive to "the ever-changing structure, composition, and function of Canadian families" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Context) it still relegates the care of family as being of less importance than service to country. Furthermore, in return for the provision of supports, "Canadian Forces families are expected to respond more effectively to the stresses associated with military life and to better balance the often conflicting demands of work and family" (Finance & Corporate Services, 2002, Context). This level of support is actually not much more than what is available to Canadians employed in civilian occupations who do not have extraordinary demands placed upon them. Many corporate and other employers provide far more family support when conditions of employment are difficult for families and do not expect employees to be more dedicated to them than to their families.

Revaluing women's experiences and understanding the societal norms that inform dominant Western culture draws attention to the reality that although MFRC's make daily child care services available, there are insufficient openings that would allow a significant proportion of members to utilize the service (Military Family Support Program (2011), meaning it is really not an option for women. Most members must access civilian childcare services, which are also

limited in availability. Furthermore, members new to an area as a result of CF mandated relocation will find accessing the locations quality and affordable childcare very difficult and thus becoming vulnerable to the same childcare dilemmas faced by civilian mothers in the workforce. The feminist perspective was used here to question where power is located within the CF and from whose perspectives are the services are being presented. It revealed that CF has not gone far enough to understand the potential barriers that CF women who are mothers face when it comes to unpaid reproductive labour. Similarly, the organization has taken for granted the societal norms which influence and inform traditional gender roles. This is symptomatic of a systemic employment limitation placed on mothers by leaving them responsible for finding quality child care that is congruent with the needs of a career in the CF. This scenario likely contributes to conditions in which one member of a dual member family is pushed to change or subordinate his or her career.

Davis' (2001) research into CF attrition rates revealed that it is most often the mother who ceases or subordinates her CF career. Moreover, military family resources do little to accommodate the family of CF women who deploy. The needs that the organization meets are primarily informed by the traditional family model in which the CF member deployed is a man. Board members are predominately wives of CF members and the services provided are informed from this perspective. In this way the CF maintains traditional gender models by providing services to CF wives and less so to families that deviate from the traditional CF family model (Military Family Support Program, 2011).

Summary

The orders reviewed here are premised on the goal of achieving gender equity, and fulfilling the promises of family support made within the recruiting documents. However,

feminist discourse analysis makes noticeable that the difficulty of finding, following, and understanding the policies makes it difficult for them to be actively used. They are difficult to access and research as they are scattered throughout internal and external DND and public sites. Many junior and other non-commissioned members are likely to have limited or inconsistent access to a CF computer due to the technical and hands-on nature of their jobs, and thus have a limited working knowledge of how to navigate the sites where policies are located. This barrier to access is particularly problematic in the event a member wishes to make inferences and decisions based on the information provided, or wishes to become involved in or access a complaint process. For women members this can add to the difficulties already faced in the CF as it is difficult to find and contest those policies that are inconsistent with their realities or identifying avenues to meeting their particular needs. Moreover, women may feel compelled to accommodate themselves to the limited services provided out of appreciation for the lengths the CF has gone to meet their needs, as well as a social desire to fit into the dominant male model to avoid any further marginalization (Taber, 2005).

Adding to the issues of access are issues of clarity. The discursive analysis revealed the orders to be wordy, disjointed, and often refer the reader to other documents that have been amended, moved or deleted. In many cases, understanding one policy is contingent on finding and understanding a referenced policy. For instance, the policies guiding the administration and benefits for pregnant members are scattered across documents, and includes various key people in the member's chain of command. This is demonstrated in the QR&O leave entitlements, which references maternity compensation policies elsewhere within the document, but which had been amended and moved to the compensation and benefit instructions. Services that are mentioned in the Forces General Message (the message sent out to all members notifying them of the Family

Care Plan requirement) are not mentioned in the policy that describes and enforces the FCP

policy. While the Family Care Plan explains what the member is responsible for, the message

identifies the additional availability of Emergency Childcare Services, Family Care Assistance,

and support in the form of and Emergency Childcare Counsellor. None of these supports are

referenced within the Pregnancy Administration or Families policies. However, the Military

Family Resource Center and the informal document *"Baby on the Way" Pregnancy in the Forces

– a Survival Booklet* (a document independently authored and not maintained by the CF or DND)

are cited as contributing sources of guidance and support within the Reference section at the end

of the policy.

Critical discourse analysis operates from the understanding that there are systematic

asymmetries in power and resources between listener and speaker, or reader and writer, that are

expressed through unequal access to information, as well as unequal power to interpret or change

the common knowledge conveyed through discursive forms such as texts, discourse, or imagery,

(Hall, 1997) . The CF uses a variety of discursive genres to inform language and discourses that

enable the organization to shape and inform an ideal code of membership behaviour (Hall, 1997;

Morris et.al., 2007). This is problematic for women accessing services because the CF operates

within an androcentric perspective and women's limited representation in key roles (Abrams,

1993) means they continue to face limitations to access to services, as well as opportunities to

self-advocate. Moreover, the socialization of CF members discussed in chapter three limits

women's opportunity to speak from a feminist perspective (Kovitz, 2000; Taber, 2005).

Furthermore, the incoherency of the policies makes them susceptible to inconsistent

implementation. Members can be left reliant on the knowledge of peers or superiors, who may

likewise have difficulty navigating the sites and making sense of the policies. Decision-making

on behalf of the member is thus limited, and advocating power is primarily left up to the direct Chain of Command and administrative offices. A member's Chain of Command might be supportive, while other circumstances might result in a hostile attitude. This creates an unpredictable work environment, especially when women are transferred from one base to another. While in some locations supervisors and operational training requirements might be accommodating to a woman's family care responsibilities, others might be more restricting and less obliging.

Feminist discourse analysis seeks to revalue women's experiences and challenge representations, as well as examine the role of context and interpretation. The feminist perspective has revealed that the texts the CF uses to define membership do not consider female member's experiences to be as valuable as men's, and does not seek to reflect on their experiences within a military context. These policies are active in distancing CF membership from care work and ultimately assign the family in the role of CF supporter. Moreover, the orders in this chapter represent women in men's image by centering CF membership within an androcentric perspective. The reality that is expressed to members is that the CF is a male organization and operates this way to the benefit of mission effectiveness. Women are expected to relegate their feminine selves to the care and nurturance of the family and to limit the extent to which the feminist perspective will impede or disrupt the organizational structure and thus operational effectiveness.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis has provided an overview of work-life balance challenges faced by employed Canadian and American women, particularly those who have children. Patriarchal organizational culture has been discussed as a primary factor in supporting work environments that fail to recognize the needs of working mothers and thus limit the possibility of mothers achieving employment equity. Those discussions have provided the broader socio-cultural context for understanding issues face by women members of the Canadian Forces.

The use of the feminist perspective is valuable in unveiling gendered relationships of power and highlighting points uncovered by critical discourse analysis. The feminist framework challenges existing social truths by revaluing women's experiences and examining the role of context and interpretation. Existing power relations that are depicted in texts and life can be revealed and the role of language in constructing social norms can be identified. This form of analysis provides a language and framework to realize and problematize existing frameworks and perspectives that dominate shared knowledge and understandings, and is useful in re-evaluating and informing the nature/nurture debate and discussing biological and social determinism (Appleman, 2000).

A review of Canadian Forces recruitment materials, pregnancy related policies, and family support benefits has been undertaken to investigate the extent to which they support the contributions and lives of CF members who are women and mothers. The analysis was directed toward identifying and describing the following features of documents and practices.

- The typology of Canadian Forces organizational culture, and how that culture is embedded in policies, procedures, and practices.

- The nature and quality of attempts by the Canadian Forces to achieve gender equity through polices.

- The nature of gendered characterizations of women, compared to men, in imagery and text, and how such characterizations relate to achievements of gender equity.

- The extent to which women's gender specific responsibilities are recognized and supported, and the meaning this has for their integration into the Forces.

Discourse analysis was used to investigate these features by seeking to understand how social relations of power are maintained and how language and text represent meaning to convey perspective realities. It has revealed that the organizational culture of the Forces remains bound to a combat ideology informed by an androcentric perspective that relies on traditional gender differentiation which does little to achieve real equity for women, especially for those who are mothers. This perspective is active in influencing and informing CF women's experiences of military life and contributes to constructing realities for the individual in terms of seeing the world and being in the world (Howitt, 2010). CF women, in particular those who are mothers, are subordinated to their male peers and expected to understand and see the world from the male and CF perspective, while devaluing and distancing themselves from their own perspectives.

Through its recruiting materials the CF attempts to present itself as a caring organization dedicated to supporting members' family and work lives. However, the use of a traditional soldier and war themes as predominant marketing techniques illustrates its dedication to promoting an aggressive, masculine community, within which women's contributions are marginal. The portrayal of women in the recruitment material as being support personnel rather than equals to men, and as being without families, perpetuate traditional conceptions of women as helpers not as soldiers, and also infers that non-mothers are most welcome to join.

Pregnancy, maternal, and parental policies are written in gender neutral terminology, implying that those to whom they refer – including pregnant members – are women or men, mothers or fathers, or husbands or wives. They fail to recognize that only women (thus far) can become pregnant and that it is primarily women who carry out the bulk of family caregiving activities. The policies focus on the medical and legal requirements of maternity leave and job security, and are based on traditional models of family composition and dynamics. They systematically overlook the gender-specific responsibilities that become apparent once a child is born.

The gendered relationship of work informs not only the relationship the individual has to the job but the organization as well (Cockburn, 2009). Organizational culture and paid work is informed by the male perspective making it inherently male centric. It is this perspective that informs work and learning opportunities and expectations of membership within an organization. Pregnancy and motherhood are treated in an administrative and distant manner that stalls women's career trajectories during pregnancy. This is underscored by mandatory dress requirements and imposed limitations on duty, as well as practices and attitudes that stigmatize a pregnant woman as being, at best ill, and at worst, a malingerer taking advantage of being a woman to get out of work. This contributes to an organizational culture that excludes and marginalizes women's contributions and quality of work life.

Hoschild's 1990 review (as cited in Fenwick, 2002) revealed that women must work harder to balance paid and unpaid work to not only meet organizational requirements but meet personal learning plans for ongoing skill development and maintain professional relationships. CF organizational texts and dialogues consistently refer to the organization as a family and culture that serves to blend work and personal life in ways that encourage the member to derive a

sense of life purpose.   The additional care work that women perform is marginalized and devalued and calls into question members' commitment to the organization when they seem to be 'choosing' their own family over the CF family (Fenwick, 2002).

Canadian Forces' policies pertaining to gender equity are proclaimed by the institution to have been written with the intent to ensure the retention of qualified female members, and to help both male and female members balance the demands associated with the birth of a child and membership in the CF. However, the maternity and parental leave policies and the Family Care Plan order focus primarily on the administration of pregnancy and family as they relate to the CF. They do not make a commitment to supporting the CF members, particularly those who are mothers, balance a military lifestyle with parenthood. This renders invisible the unique characteristics of women's lives, and results in promoting an organizational culture that devalues their gender-specific realities.

The usability of CF policies directed toward achieving gender equity is compromised by being incoherent, outdated, and with revisions to one section not being consistent with others. This makes it difficult for female members and their superiors to have clear knowledge of available supports. Information that is easily understood would ease difficulties associated with becoming familiar with policy implementation, and enable self-advocating and effective career planning. Ensuring continuity within policies is critical for their comprehension, as well as for consistent implementation. The coherency and organizational problems within CF policies negatively affects the experience of CF women and their families and, as this analysis shows, suggests that the CF is only making an obligatory nod to human rights legislation requirements regarding equity provisions.

The CF has acknowledged in its own demographic research that many CF members are part of dual member families, and that despite access to maternity leave, many CF women resign from the Forces after beginning a family. The DAOD on Families suggests that while the CF is aware of these trends, there is little indication it actively applies the information it collects. Significantly, the last time the policies examined here underwent review was in the early 2000s. This was prior to the significant increase in operational tempo caused by Canada's involvement in Afghanistan, and thus they ignore the increased pressures faced by women members due to longer deployments. The CF has made incremental efforts to respond to, and anticipate the specific needs of its women members, and potential women members as evidenced by the Recruiter for a Day program and Defence Women's Advisory. However, although the CF has made an effort to understand the lives of its members, it has not gone so far as to truly allow women to influence the organization or its policies in a way that would compromise its masculine and combat oriented organizational culture.

While the Canadian Forces prides itself on taking a leadership role in providing services and supports to help its members achieve work-life balance, it fails to provide real support to female members. Failing to acknowledge the gender-enacted differences of women's lives, the CF limits women, particularly those who are mothers, from joining the highest positions that are often granted to those who have climbed the ranks of the combat trades. This relationship of power serves to distance mothers in Canadian society from critical security discussions and decisions that affect them as much as their male counterparts. Thus, despite its creation of policies and procedures to achieve gender equity, the CF still expects that women will assimilate into its culture as if they were men. Learning and socialization that take place throughout immersion in CF culture recreate women in men's image, while devaluing femininity and related

traits and processes. There is a distancing and systemic devaluation of the additional care work that takes place during and after scheduled organization hours. Moreover female members are expected to be complicit in this process by identifying with the male perspective for the overall achievement of operational effectiveness. Emergence of the feminist perspective is immediately subordinated through jokes or outright denigration of the position making these voices the enemy to not only the Forces but service to Canada (Kovitz, 2000; Taber, 2005; Taber, 2009). There is equity in word, not in deed, as failure to incorporate a real understanding of women's lives results in a failure to achieve full integration.

This research has provided a feminist perspective to CF discursive genres providing a foundation for future defence, occupational, and equity research. In offering an alternative perspective future questions could be asked and investigated within alternative perspectives. When directives and practices are informed by a single perspective that is normalized it is difficult to conceptualize what alternative directives and outcomes might look like.

In particular, organizational culture in this thesis is understood to be informed by a male centric perspective that denotes feminine traits to be less effective or ineffective while underestimating the value of unpaid mothering and reproductive work. This has informed employment trends, attitudes toward productive and reproductive work, quality of work experiences, and work-life balance solutions for both men and women. Further research could investigate in what ways these phenomena have informed women's health and relationships. In the context of military professions it would be beneficial to further investigate the gender related issues associated with deployment, operational stress diagnosis and treatment, and reintegration (Trevelyan, 2011).

Finally, this research can be built upon to continue understanding in what ways value for and assignment of productive and reproductive work interlock to inform the gendered outcomes that men and women continue to experience in contemporary productive work environments. Revaluing the experiences of those who participate in reproductive and productive labour is useful in informing gender equity initiatives, family policies, and programs in ways that reflect the current organizational culture and help both men and women participate successfully in all aspects of work and family life.

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