

Women, leadership and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms: A qualitative study

Angela R. Febbraro

Defence R&D Canada – Toronto

Technical Report

DRDC Toronto TR 2003-170

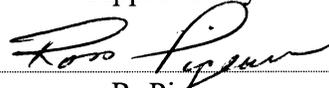
December 2003

Author



Angela R. Febraro, PhD

Approved by



R. Pigeau

Head, Command Effectiveness and Behaviour Section

Approved for release by



K.M. Sutton

Chair, Document Review and Library Committee

© Her Majesty the Queen as represented by the Minister of National Defence, 2003

© Sa majesté la reine, représentée par le ministre de la Défense nationale, 2003

Abstract

The present study examined the perceptions of 26 women in the Canadian combat arms regarding their concepts of effective leadership. Included in the sample were both leaders (8) and followers (18) from each of the four combat arms (infantry, armoured, artillery, combat engineer). The study employed semi-structured qualitative interviews and Berry's (1989) acculturation framework (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalization) to investigate whether women in the Canadian combat arms currently feel that women leaders must *assimilate* to masculine concepts of leadership (i.e., adopt a masculine leadership style), or whether feminine (person-oriented) leadership attributes (e.g., compassion) and masculine (task-oriented) leadership attributes (e.g., decisiveness) are both valued, reflecting true gender *integration*. Based on the women's perceptions of effective leadership, the findings from this study suggest that both integration and assimilation are currently in force in the Canadian combat arms. In terms of integration, participants spoke of the importance of both feminine and masculine characteristics in defining effective leadership; most leaders in this study did not feel that they must adopt a masculine leadership style in order to be seen as effective; and all eight leaders in this study described their own leadership style in integrative terms, even emphasizing the importance of their feminine attributes to effective leadership. In terms of assimilation, many participants perceived negative implications in relation to a female exhibiting feminine leadership characteristics. Furthermore, nearly one-half of followers felt that women leaders must become more masculine in order to be perceived as effective. Thus, the current situation regarding women, leadership, and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms is complex and contradictory, with both integrative and assimilative forces in operation. This study also shed light on leadership practices that may facilitate gender integration, such as not singling out women, having positive attitudes towards women in combat, and setting the example.

Résumé

La présente étude porte sur les perceptions de 26 femmes, membres des armes de combat canadiennes, relativement au leadership efficace. L'échantillon comprenait à la fois des dirigeantes (8) et des subalternes (18) provenant des quatre armes de combat (Infanterie, Arme blindée, Artillerie et Génie). Pour mener cette étude, on a eu recours à des entrevues qualitatives semi-structurées et au cadre d'acculturation de Berry (1989) (assimilation, intégration, séparation et marginalisation). On cherchait à savoir si, actuellement, les femmes appartenant aux armes de combat canadiennes croient que les dirigeantes doivent *s'assimiler* aux concepts masculins du leadership (p. ex., adopter un style de leadership masculin) ou, si au contraire, elles accordent la même valeur aux caractéristiques (compassion) du leadership féminin (centré sur la personne) qu'à celles (esprit de décision) du leadership masculin (centré sur les tâches), ce qui refléterait une réelle *intégration* des femmes. Les résultats de l'étude, fondés sur la perception qu'ont les femmes d'un leadership efficace, suggèrent que l'intégration et l'assimilation co-existent dans les armes de combat canadiennes. Au sujet de l'intégration, les femmes ont mentionné l'importance d'inclure à la fois les particularités des femmes et des hommes dans la définition du leadership. La plupart des dirigeantes participant à l'étude n'avaient pas le sentiment de devoir adopter un comportement masculin pour convaincre leurs collègues de leur efficacité. Par ailleurs, les huit dirigeantes ont décrit leur propre style dans des termes qui faisaient référence à l'intégration, insistant même sur l'importance de leurs traits féminins pour garantir un leadership efficace. En ce qui concerne l'assimilation, plusieurs participantes ont l'impression que l'adoption d'un style féminin peut avoir des conséquences négatives. En outre, près de la moitié des subalternes estiment que les dirigeantes devraient se masculiniser pour renforcer leur crédibilité. On peut donc constater que la situation actuelle des femmes, du leadership et de l'intégration des femmes dans les armes de combat canadiennes est complexe et contradictoire, les forces d'intégration et d'assimilation agissant en même temps. L'étude a également mis en lumière des pratiques de leadership qui peuvent faciliter l'intégration des femmes, par exemple, éviter d'isoler les femmes, adopter des attitudes positives à l'égard des femmes au combat et donner l'exemple.

Executive summary

Although women are beginning to be appointed to senior operational leadership positions in the Canadian Forces (CF), women have not progressed in large numbers to the most senior ranks, and gender integration has been slow. Despite a large body of research demonstrating women's leadership effectiveness in many contexts (e.g., Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995), the Canadian Army has experienced particular difficulty in attracting and retaining women in the combat arms, where women account for only 3.9% of officers and 1.4% of non-commissioned members (NCMs) (Holden & Tanner, 2001). Previous scientific research has suggested that one explanation for the slow progress of women into leadership positions involves the critical role that gender stereotyping plays in concepts of leadership (e.g., Boldy, Wood, & Kashy, 2001). Indeed, numerous studies suggest that there exists a strong cultural association between traditional notions of masculinity and concepts of leadership, including military leadership (e.g., Boyce & Herd, 2003). Previous CF research on women who have served in combat roles has identified social and psychological barriers to successful gender integration which may be significantly related to whether or not women will be deemed suitable for combat arms/leadership roles (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

To better understand current leadership and gender issues in the Canadian combat arms, the present study examined, through in-depth qualitative interviews, the perceptions of 26 women, both leaders (8 officers) and followers (18 NCMs), in the Canadian combat arms (i.e., in armoured, artillery, combat engineer, and infantry occupations) regarding concepts of leadership and gender integration. The study employed Berry's (1989) acculturation framework (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalization) in order to investigate, for example, whether women in the Canadian combat arms currently feel that women leaders must *assimilate* to existing masculine conceptions of leadership (i.e., adopt a masculine leadership style), or whether feminine leadership attributes (e.g., compassion) are valued on a par with masculine leadership attributes (e.g., decisiveness), reflecting true *integration*.

The findings from this study suggest that both integration and assimilation are currently reflected in women's concepts of leadership in the Canadian combat arms. In terms of integration, participants spoke of the importance of both feminine and masculine characteristics in defining effective leadership; most leaders in this study did not feel that they must adopt a masculine leadership style in order to be seen as effective, that they could develop their own style and "be themselves"; and all eight leaders in this study described their own leadership style in integrative terms, even emphasizing the importance of their feminine attributes to effective leadership. In terms of assimilation, many participants perceived negative implications (e.g., rejection from peers/subordinates) in relation to a female leader exhibiting feminine leadership characteristics (despite having defined effective leadership partly in feminine terms). Furthermore, nearly one-half of followers felt that women must become more masculine in order to be seen as effective leaders. Thus, the current situation regarding women, leadership, and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms is complex and contradictory, with both integrative and assimilative forces in operation. This study also shed light on leadership practices that may facilitate gender integration, in particular, not singling out women; having positive attitudes towards women in combat; and setting an example. Other positive leadership practices included communicating with followers;

acknowledging and dealing with gender differences (e.g., hygiene issues); demonstrating basic leadership competence (e.g., regarding fraternization, harassment, and gender-related logistical matters); mentoring; understanding family issues; setting gender-neutral performance standards; accepting alternative leadership styles; refraining from gender stereotyping, sexist humour, or sexist language; and inspiring teamwork between women and men.

Febbraro, A.R. 2003. Women, leadership and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms: A qualitative study. DRDC Toronto TR 2003-170. Defence Research and Development Canada - Toronto.

Sommaire

Quoique les Forces canadiennes (FC) commencent à nommer des femmes à des postes supérieurs, à la direction des opérations, celles-ci ont peu progressé dans l'échelle des grades les plus élevés, et leur intégration se fait lentement. Malgré l'éventail des études prouvant l'efficacité du leadership des femmes dans de nombreux contextes (p. ex., Eagly, Karau et Makhijani, 1995), l'Armée de terre canadienne fait face à de grandes difficultés quand il s'agit de d'attirer et retenir les femmes dans les armes de combat. Elles ne comptent que pour 3,9 p. 100 des officiers et que pour 1,4 p. 100 des militaires du rang (MR) (Holden et Tanner, 2001). Selon des recherches scientifiques antérieures, le rôle déterminant des stéréotypes liés aux sexes, dans la conception du leadership, serait la cause de la lente progression des femmes dans les postes de direction (p. ex., Boldy, Wood et Kashy, 2001). En effet, nombre d'études indiquent qu'il existe une association culturelle puissante entre les notions traditionnelles de masculinité et les concepts de leadership, y compris le leadership militaire (p. ex., Boyce et Herd, 2003). Une étude précédente des FC, portant sur les femmes affectées au combat, a mis en évidence des barrières sociales et psychologiques qui nuisaient au succès de l'intégration des femmes, et qui reposeraient grandement sur la mise en doute de la capacité des femmes à assumer des postes dans les armes de combat et à la direction de celles-ci (Davis et Thomas, 1998).

La présente étude avait pour but d'éclairer les questions qui se posent actuellement au sein des armes de combat canadiennes relativement au leadership et à l'intégration des femmes. Au moyen d'entrevues qualitatives poussées, on a sondé les perceptions de 26 femmes sur ces sujets, à la fois des dirigeantes (8 officiers) et des subalternes (18 MR), provenant des quatre armes de combat (Infanterie, Arme blindée, Artillerie, et Génie). Pour mener l'étude, on a eu recours au cadre d'acculturation de Berry (1989) (assimilation, intégration, séparation et marginalisation). On cherchait, entre autres, à savoir si, actuellement, les femmes appartenant aux armes de combat canadiennes croient que les dirigeantes doivent *s'assimiler* aux concepts masculins du leadership (p. ex., adopter un style de leadership masculin) ou, si au contraire, elles valorisent tout autant les caractéristiques du leadership des femmes (compassion) que celles du leadership des hommes (esprit de décision), ce qui refléterait une réelle *intégration* des femmes.

Les résultats de l'étude indiquent qu'à la fois l'intégration et l'assimilation se côtoient dans la perception du leadership des femmes dans les armes de combat canadiennes. Au sujet de l'intégration, les femmes ont mentionné l'importance d'inclure les particularités des femmes et des hommes dans la définition du leadership. La plupart des dirigeantes participant à l'étude sentaient qu'elles n'étaient pas obligées d'adopter un comportement masculin pour convaincre leurs collègues de leur efficacité, qu'elles pouvaient développer leur propre style et « être elles-mêmes ». Par ailleurs, les huit dirigeantes ont décrit leur façon de diriger dans des termes qui faisaient référence à l'intégration, insistant même sur l'importance de leurs traits féminins pour garantir un leadership efficace. En ce qui concerne l'assimilation, plusieurs participantes ont l'impression que l'adoption des caractéristiques féminines du leadership (même si elles les ont mentionnées dans leur définition du leadership efficace) peut avoir des conséquences négatives (rejet des pairs et des subordonnés). En outre, près de la moitié des subalternes estiment que les dirigeantes devraient se masculiniser pour renforcer

leur crédibilité. On peut donc constater que la situation actuelle des femmes, du leadership et de l'intégration des femmes dans les armes de combat canadienne est complexe et contradictoire, les forces d'intégration et d'assimilation agissant en même temps. L'étude a également mis en lumière des pratiques de leadership qui peuvent faciliter l'intégration des femmes, par exemple, éviter d'isoler les femmes, adopter des attitudes positives à l'égard des femmes au combat et donner l'exemple. Il existe d'autres pratiques positives, notamment, communiquer avec les subalternes, reconnaître les différences entre les hommes et les femmes et en tenir compte (p. ex, les questions d'hygiène), démontrer les compétences de base en leadership (p. ex., concernant la fraternisation, le harcèlement et les questions de logistique liées aux deux sexes), jouer le rôle de mentor, faire preuve de compréhension en ce qui a trait aux questions familiales, établir des normes de rendement non discriminatoires pour les femmes et les hommes, accepter les styles de leadership différents, empêcher les stéréotypes ainsi que l'humour ou les propos sexistes et inspirer la collaboration entre les hommes et les femmes.

Febbraro, A.R. 2003. Women, leadership and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms: A qualitative study. DRDC Toronto TR 2003-170. Defence Research and Development Canada - Toronto.

Table of contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| Abstract..... | i |
| Résumé | ii |
| Executive summary | iii |
| Sommaire..... | v |
| Table of contents | vii |
| Acknowledgements | ix |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Gender and leadership effectiveness | 1 |
| Gender and leadership style..... | 2 |
| Previous Canadian Forces research on women in the combat arms | 4 |
| Berry's acculturation framework: Assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization | 5 |
| Purpose of the present study..... | 7 |
| Method..... | 9 |
| Selection and recruitment of participants | 9 |
| Content of the interview | 10 |
| Data-analytic approach..... | 11 |
| Results | 13 |
| What are the characteristics of effective leaders?..... | 13 |
| Do the characteristics of effective leaders differ for women and men leaders, or are they the same? | 24 |
| Perceived implications of adopting a feminine or masculine leadership style | 29 |
| Must female leaders act in masculine ways?..... | 35 |
| Defining command presence | 40 |
| Leadership styles of the women in this study..... | 43 |
| Role of the leader in facilitating gender integration | 47 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Discussion..... | 55 |
| Summary of findings | 55 |
| Applying Berry’s acculturation framework..... | 58 |
| Conclusions and directions for future research | 60 |
| References | 61 |
| Annex A: | 65 |
| Annex B:..... | 67 |
| Annex C:..... | 69 |
| Annex D: | 72 |

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks to the 26 women who gave their time to participate in this study and with whom I had the privilege of a conversation. They were truly inspirational, and I learned a great deal from them.

I would also like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to Captain Percy Purpura, DRDC Toronto, for his support, guidance, and logistical assistance throughout this project. Captain Purpura played an integral role in the realization of this project. Indeed, without Captain Purpura's assistance (e.g., with navigating the military chain of command), this project would not so easily have gotten off the ground. In short, Captain Purpura was a tremendous asset to this project.

I would like to thank Colonel Peter Devlin, Commander 2 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group (2 CMBG), Canadian Forces Base (CFB) Petawawa, for his commitment to the project and for his assistance in providing access to potential participants. Of particular note was the extensive staff assistance provided by Captain Nathan Packer, staff officer at 2 CMBGHQ. His exceptional organizational efforts and attention to detail facilitated the interview process, thus maximizing the time spent at CFB Petawawa.

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to Andrea Hawton and Elaine Maceda of the Support Group, Command Effectiveness and Behaviour Section, DRDC Toronto, for their expert assistance in the final preparation of this document.

This page intentionally left blank.

Introduction

Since the 1989 Canadian Human Rights Tribunal ordering the Canadian Forces (CF) to fully integrate women into all occupations, the CF has made considerable progress in gender integration.¹ However, women have not progressed in large numbers to the most senior ranks and change has been slow (Holden & Tanner, 2001). According to figures released by the Director Military Gender Integration and Employment Equity (DMGIEE) on January 1, 2003, women account for 14.1% of Canadian officers and 11.9% of non-commissioned members (NCMs); altogether, 12.4% of CF members are women. The highest rank currently held by a female member in the Canadian Army is Colonel; in the Air Force, Brigadier-General; and in the Navy, Captain (N) (Committee on Women in NATO Forces, 2003). Further, the rate of progress of women into the senior ranks of Major and above for officers and Sergeant and above for NCMs is not generally comparable to that of their male counterparts. Overall trends indicate that average promotion rates tend to be higher for men than they are for women (Holden & Tanner, 2001). In addition, female NCMs tend to receive fewer commissions from the ranks than do male NCMs (Holden & Tanner, 2001). Since 1989, there has been improvement in the equitable assignment of tasks to women and men in both static and operational units. Women have participated in peacekeeping operations and have served in the Persian Gulf and in Afghanistan with distinction. However, some limitations still exist. In particular, the Canadian Army has experienced difficulty in attracting and retaining women in the combat arms (i.e., in armoured, artillery, infantry, and combat engineer occupations), where women account for only 3.9% of officers and 1.4% of NCMs (Holden & Tanner, 2001). Perhaps of greatest concern, the attrition rate for women in the combat arms has been high (in some cases six times higher than the rate for men; Tanner, 1999). The Chief Land Staff (CLS) is actively pursuing initiatives to increase the proportion of women in combat occupations, and the Minister's Advisory Board on Canadian Forces Gender Integration and Employment Equity has called for continued monitoring of gender integration (2001). However, the question remains as to why more women have not attained senior leadership positions, particularly in the combat arms (Holden & Tanner, 2001). Thus, the intention in this study was to investigate the issue of women, leadership, and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms.

Gender and leadership effectiveness

This study drew on extensive academic and military research on gender and leadership that has emerged over the past few decades. This body of research has demonstrated women's leadership effectiveness in many contexts but has also pointed to the critical role that gender stereotyping plays in concepts of leadership (Adams, 1984; Boldy, Wood, & Kashy, 2001; Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995; Rice, Yoder, Adams, Priest, & Prince, 1984). Indeed, numerous studies suggest that there exists a strong cultural association between concepts of leadership and traditional notions of masculinity. In the Canadian Forces, for example, stereotypes about leaders may include physical characteristics (e.g., tall, broad-shouldered, loud voice), behaviours (e.g., touching or other nonverbal behaviour during interpersonal

¹ The one exclusion to the court order, submarine service, was removed in March, 2001.

interactions, conversational styles), and other attributes (e.g., interests, participation in specific social rituals), which may exclude women but have little to do with effective leadership. Indeed, although the scientific literature has demonstrated women's leadership effectiveness in many settings, one noteworthy exception has been the military context. Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani's (1995) meta-analytic review of 76 studies of leadership effectiveness in the military setting, for instance, concluded that women performed less effectively than men in this context. However, this gender difference was found even when the sexes engaged in equivalent leadership behaviours, suggesting that the gender difference reflects gender stereotypes or bias rather than a true performance difference. If followers believe that leadership is only demonstrated by men, it may be difficult for them to perceive women as leaders, even when women perform as do men in leadership positions.

In a similar vein, Boldry, Wood and Kashy (2001) found in their study of women and men in the Texas A&M Corps of Cadets that men more than women were believed to possess the motivation and leadership qualities necessary for effective military performance (competitiveness, physical fitness, independence, self-confidence), whereas women were believed to possess more feminine attributes that impair effective leadership performance (being helpful, kind, gentle, and emotionally expressive). Once again, however, because men and women did not differ on objective measures of military performance, the researchers concluded that the sex-differentiated evaluations of the cadets most likely reflected the influence of gender stereotypes rather than real gender differences in performance (see also Adams, 1984; and Rice, Yoder, Adams, Priest, & Prince, 1984). Such findings echo what O'Leary (1974) and Schein (1973, 1975) demonstrated nearly 30 years ago: a widespread belief that females are not as well suited for managerial or leadership positions as men are and that the stereotype of "effective leader" is distinctly masculine in content (see also Boyce & Herd, 2003, for a replication of Schein's studies in a military context). This gendered expectation for leadership translates into a view of "think manager, think male" which appears globally and seems strongly resistant to change (Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, & Lui, 1996).

Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani (1995) have offered *role congruity theory* as an explanation for the gender stereotyping of leadership positions and its effects. According to this theory, perceived gender roles may conflict with expectations regarding leadership roles, especially when an occupation is held predominantly by one sex. For example, women may be evaluated negatively when they violate gender-role expectations by failing to exhibit affective or "feminine" leadership behaviours in a male-dominated context (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Role congruity theory suggests that the "male managerial model" poses barriers for women who aspire to leadership positions, because if women engage in expected feminine behaviours they may be seen as unable to behave in a way congruent with appropriate leadership behaviours. As noted above, however, even when women engage in the same (masculine) leadership behaviours as men, women may also be evaluated negatively.

Gender and leadership style

Studies have shown that the majority of people's beliefs about male and female behaviour can be summarized in terms of two dimensions, the *communal* and the *agentic* (Bakan, 1966). Women are expected to possess high levels of communal attributes, including being friendly, unselfish, concerned with others, and emotionally expressive. Men are expected to possess

high levels of agentic qualities, including being independent, masterful, assertive, and instrumentally competent. Similarly, early studies by Broverman and colleagues (e.g., Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, & Vogel, 1970; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972) identified traits predominantly attributed to men such as competence and rationality, and traits predominantly attributed to women such as warmth and expressiveness. Since these early studies, a strong consensus has formed within the scientific community regarding what constitutes masculine and feminine traits (see Boyce & Herd, 2003). When applied to leadership, these communal and agentic stereotypes suggest that female-stereotypic forms of leadership are interpersonally oriented and collaborative, whereas male-stereotypic forms of leadership are task-oriented and dominating (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Thus, *masculine and feminine leadership styles* can be understood in terms of the content of people's stereotypes about women and men (cf. Vecchio, 2002).

These gender-stereotypic aspects of leadership style mirror Bales's (1950) distinction between socioemotional leaders and task leaders as well as the distinction between the *interpersonally oriented* and *task-oriented* aspects of leadership that was emphasized in classic studies on leadership at Ohio State University and the University of Michigan (e.g., Stogdill, 1963). In the Ohio State research, interpersonal orientation, labelled *consideration*, included leadership behaviours such as helping and doing favours for subordinates, looking out for their welfare, explaining procedures, and being friendly and available. Task orientation, labelled *initiation of structure*, included leadership behaviours such as having subordinates follow rules and procedures, maintaining high standards for performance, and making leader and subordinate roles explicit (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). A smaller number of studies distinguished between leaders who (a) behave *democratically* and allow subordinates to participate in decision-making, or (b) behave *autocratically* and discourage subordinates from participating in decision-making. This dimension of leadership, ordinarily termed democratic versus autocratic leadership, or *participative* versus *directive* leadership, has since been developed by a number of researchers (e.g., Vroom & Yetton, 1973).

Researchers generally agree that both person-oriented and task-oriented categories of leadership are needed for effective leadership. For example, Korabik and Ayman (1989) argued that to be an effective leader it is important to have both instrumental, or masculine, and interpersonal, or feminine, skills (see also Hollander & Yoder, 1980). Task-oriented skills such as independence, decisiveness, and competitiveness are needed to get the job done, whereas person-oriented skills such as warmth, understanding, co-operativeness, and consideration for others are associated with high morale and cohesiveness in the workplace (Korabik & Ayman, 1989). A third category of skills, found in those who are *androgynous*, combine, or integrate, both masculine and feminine traits (Bem, 1974). Although findings are inconsistent, Korabik and Ayman (1989) suggest that androgynous individuals are able to respond more effectively than either masculine or feminine individuals to a variety of situations, as they possess a larger repertoire of skills that can be applied flexibly depending on situational requirements (cf. Vecchio, 2002).

Although many researchers have proposed the existence of gender differences in leadership style, Eagly and Johnson's (1990) meta-analysis of 370 gender comparisons found very small gender differences in this area. The relatively few differences that do occur in some studies seem to be limited to laboratory or simulated settings with university students or management

trainees. Some researchers suggest that this may be because in the "real world," organizational constraints force women and men to adopt similar styles. Or, organizations may select women who have leadership styles similar to men's. Thus, women and men leaders, on the whole, appear to behave in similar ways, although some organizational studies have found women's leadership style to be more participative and democratic than men's (Eagly & Johnson, 1990; cf. Vecchio, 2002). However, as discussed earlier, when women adopt the same power styles as men, they may not be evaluated equally positively, particularly when women lead groups of men in male-dominated occupations (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992).

As a whole, previous research results reflect the dilemma that women in leadership face. On the one hand, women may not be perceived as leaders by followers simply by virtue of their gender – unless, perhaps, they act in masculine ways. On the other hand, when women do act in masculine ways (e.g., autocratically), their performance ratings may suffer, especially if they are being rated by men in a male-dominated environment. This “catch-22” situation seems especially pertinent to the military context, where attributes of masculinity have traditionally been encouraged. Indeed, the psychological attributes required of a successful soldier or military leader (decisiveness, confidence, assertiveness), are also stereotypic of men, whereas the stereotypic qualities possessed by women (kindness, emotional expressiveness) are explicitly rejected (Boldry, Wood, & Kashy, 2001; Diekmann & Eagly, 2000; see also Rice, Instone, & Adams, 1984).

Previous Canadian Forces research on women in the combat arms

Echoing some of the findings of the academic literature, previous research in the Canadian Forces (e.g., Davis & Thomas, 1998) found that barriers to women in the military, particularly as leaders in the combat arms, were much more complex than initially thought. Based on interviews with 31 women who left the combat arms (6 officers and 25 NCMs), Davis and Thomas (1998) found that even where official policies permitted women to be employed and even where women met physical standards, women reported numerous social and psychological barriers which affected their ability to perform and which had a significant impact on whether or not they were deemed suitable for the combat arms/leadership roles. Among other findings, the interview data suggested that women consistently experienced an environment that conveyed messages of non-acceptance of women and which included inconsistent and subjective performance standards. According to Davis and Thomas (1998), the very fact that they were women in a male-defined and male-dominated environment has resulted in ambiguous perceptions and beliefs on the part of peers and supervisors regarding women's abilities and motivation as leaders/combatants. Further, Davis and Thomas (1998) reported that women felt that they had to become "one of the guys" if they were to succeed; yet, a woman's motivation to take on a "male role" was also suspect. However, Davis and Thomas (1998) did not specifically address in their report whether successful leadership behaviour for women necessarily entailed acting like "one of the guys" or not.

In another study, Davis (1997) examined the training and employment experiences of men and women in the combat arms and combat support environments. In total, 344 women and men serving in the combat arms, combat support, and combat service support environments,

and ranging in rank from Private to Lieutenant-Colonel, participated in 49 focus groups. Davis (1997) concluded from the focus group interviews that women face considerable challenges within the Regular Force combat arms training and employment environment. Concerning leadership, male junior combat arms officers in training expressed the belief that women cannot be effective leaders as they do not possess "command presence" (Davis, 1997). The men did not believe that the troops would have confidence in a woman's ability to lead, and, therefore, would not follow her. In addition, female participants expressed the belief that women's ability to perform in leadership roles is questioned and compromised. Frequently, women noted cases in which they were posted into the field environment at advanced stages in their career. This presents a considerable challenge in terms of achieving soldiering skills and physical standards, which in turn undermines their role as a leader. The end result, according to Davis (1997), is that women are accorded less respect and support in their roles as leaders than are their male counterparts.

The findings of Davis (1997) are similar to those reported by Yoder (1999), who studied the experiences of the first women cadets to attend the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, a training ground for military leaders. Yoder (1999) found that instead of learning to be the leaders they were training to be during exercises, the women cadets became passive observers who were often criticized for their "noncommand voices" and peripheral importance (Yoder, 1999). Almost half the women in Yoder's study reported feeling overprotected as cadets, a circumstance incompatible with the leadership role but one that conforms readily to the feminine role. Yoder found that in a setting that defined cadets in masculine terms, the women struggled to create a new role, that of "woman-cadet," and to disassociate themselves from femininity. As an example of the latter, women shunned their skirted uniform and instead tried to blend in by wearing only trousers (Yoder, 1999).

Berry's acculturation framework: Assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization

CF research findings to date (e.g., Davis, 1997; Davis & Thomas, 1998) suggest that many of the processes that challenge women in the combat arms, whether as leaders or followers, are based upon efforts to "assimilate," rather than "integrate," women in the combat arms. Such concepts are part of Berry's (1989) acculturation framework, which includes four modes of culture change or adaptation (assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration). Although originally formulated to explain the adaptation of immigrants into a dominant culture (and the change that may result in the dominant culture as a result of contact with the minority culture), this model also applies to the situation in which women constitute the minority in male-dominated occupations, such as science, management, or the military (Korabik, 1993).² According to Berry's model, the option of assimilation, which emphasizes similarity, implies a relinquishing of minority group identity and a move towards the dominant group culture. In contrast, the option of separation, which emphasizes difference, implies the maintenance of a traditional/minority group culture outside full participation in the larger society. Marginalization, on the other hand, implies alienation from both the

² In previous psychological research, Berry's framework has been applied mostly to quantitative research. Although some debate surrounds its conceptual and empirical properties (e.g., see Rudmin, 2003), I have chosen to use this framework as an heuristic in the context of qualitative research.

traditional/minority group culture and the larger society. According to Korabik (1993), each one of these three acculturation options entails losses and difficulties. However, a fourth alternative, integration, has been associated with the most positive outcomes (Berry, 1983; cf. Rudmin, 2003). In integration, both the majority and the minority orientations are equally valued, and both similarities and differences between the minority and the majority groups are recognized and respected (Korabik, 1993). Further, within the integration option, aspects of the cultural integrity of a minority group are maintained (i.e., there is some resistance to acculturation), but there is also some movement towards becoming an integral part of the larger framework (i.e., there is some adjustment) (Berry, 1983, 1989). According to Korabik (1993), in integration, the minority group changes, but the minority group also influences the majority group and the existing system to change.

In the CF, women (the minority group) will either be integrated or assimilated, depending on whether the CF (the dominant group) values the cultural identity and characteristics traditionally associated with women and whether women are recognized as contributing to unit objectives. According to Lamerson (1987), if integration does not occur, this could compromise operational effectiveness. Davis and McKee (2002) suggest that the notion of "every soldier as a warrior" represents a "warrior creep" that is not based on bona fide occupational requirements but rather is a significant barrier to the integration of women (and increasing proportions of men) as values and lifestyles in Canadian society change. In terms of leadership, the question is: Do women in the combat arms feel that they must act in masculine ways in order to be perceived as successful military leaders, or are other (more "feminine") leadership characteristics valued by the CF? Further, how do women in the combat arms define effective leadership, and do their views of leadership depend on whether the leader is male or female? Do women's definitions of effective leadership reflect the process of assimilation, in which they accept masculine conceptions of leadership, or do they reflect integration, in which women adopt alternative (more feminine or even androgynous) visions of effective leadership? Some psychologists, for example, have proposed new models of leadership (Denmark, 1993) – specifically, a model of empowerment. This new model suggests that leaders have the power to empower, rather than control. In a study of successful (nonmilitary) women leaders, for example, women's strategies for empowerment included communicating with others on their own level, listening, employing strong people and not feeling threatened by them, offering positive feedback, and working through consensus and collegiality (a democratic style) (Hyde, 1996). Can the Canadian combat arms expand or broaden its notions of leadership to include such non-warrior or "empowerment" attributes, and thus change its culture? Indeed, what has also become clear is the role of culture, including leadership, in influencing the success of integration (Davis & McKee, 2002). Further, there is a strong consensus in both the scientific and military literatures that *leadership* is essential to successful gender integration, and that *positive leadership behaviours* may be instrumental to the acceptance and adoption of alternative leadership styles.

Research studies such as those conducted by Davis (1997) and Davis and Thomas (1998) have provided valuable and rich data on women's experiences in the Canadian combat arms. However, these studies were conducted more than 5 years ago, and their findings may no longer be pertinent, especially as women in combat occupations have since served in further operational deployments. Further, most of the other studies on gender and leadership cited above have largely been quantitative in nature, and reveal little in terms of concepts of

leadership held by leaders and followers *in their own words*. We know little, for example, about how female leaders and followers define effective leadership, or about whether or not they believe effective leadership is constituted differently for female and male leaders. Such research is relevant to the CF's stated goal of monitoring gender integration to ensure that organizational policies translate properly into organizational practice (Minister's Advisory Board on Canadian Forces Gender Integration and Employment Equity, 2001). Given (a) the CF's requirement that the progress of gender integration continue to be monitored; (b) the fact that it has been more than 5 years since the last in-depth analysis of the experiences of women in combat roles; and (c) the fact that previous research on women in leadership has been largely quantitative in approach (e.g., focusing on participation and attrition rates), further research in this area, of a more qualitative nature, is warranted.

Purpose of the present study

The central purpose of this research was to better understand, through in-depth qualitative interviews, the experiences and current perceptions of women in the Canadian combat arms regarding leadership processes and gender integration. Using Berry's (1989) acculturation framework, the analysis focused on women's own perceptions of "what it takes" in order for women to be seen as effective leaders in the military, particularly the combat arms. Must women become "social males" (masculine, decisive, strong, unemotional), that is, must they assimilate to existing masculine leadership frameworks? Or are socialized feminine attributes also valued (caring, nurturing, listening), reflecting true gender integration?³ Given the importance of leadership for successful gender integration, this research also aimed to provide a more current understanding of positive leadership behaviours that accommodate women and that ensure that all CF personnel are employed to the maximum benefit of a unit. One-on-one interviews with women in the combat arms, both leaders and followers, provided information about "what works and what doesn't" that may be used for refining CF policies and practices so that they may be more effective in addressing the process of gender integration.

³ It is important to note that this study did not examine systematically any differences between what participants perceive *is* the case regarding gender and leadership effectiveness, and what participants perceive *ought to be* the case regarding gender and leadership effectiveness.

This page intentionally left blank.

Method

Selection and recruitment of participants

To acquire participants for this study, a request was submitted through the military chain of command. Participants in the study were 26 women employed in combat arms (i.e., infantry, armoured, artillery, and combat engineer) occupations at 2 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group (2 CMBG), Canadian Forces Base (CFB) Petawawa. The 26 women represented 83.9% of the total number of women in combat arms occupations at CFB Petawawa (31) at the time the study was conducted. Included in the study were both leaders (8) and followers (18) from each of the four combat arms (10 from artillery, 6 from armoured, 6 from combat engineer, and 4 from infantry). At the time of the study, the leaders (officers) were either Lieutenants or Captains, and the followers (NCMs) were either Privates or Corporals. Participants were Regular Force members of 1 Royal Canadian Regiment (1 RCR), 3 RCR, 2 Royal Canadian Horse Artillery Regiment (2 RCHA), Royal Canadian Dragoons (RCD), and 2 Combat Engineer Regiment (2 CER). All participants were between the ages of 18 and 55 (the majority were in their 20s, with some in their 30s or 40s).⁴ Nearly all participants had at least a high school education, with several participants (including all officers) having at least some university. About one-half of participants had been deployed at some point in their career (mostly in overseas deployments). A similar proportion of participants were single, never married, and the majority of participants did not have children. About one-half of participants had a military partner or spouse serving in either the Regular or Reserve force. The majority of participants had a military family background. The modal number of years of military or combat arms experience was 4 to 6 years, although a few participants had more than 10 years of military or combat arms experience.

Prior to their participation, potential participants received an Information Letter describing the study (see Annex A). The Information Letter stated that the goal of the research was to “contribute to a better and more up-to-date understanding of women in the combat arms, particularly in relation to leadership issues,” and that the research would address questions such as: “Are there specific leadership behaviours that are considered essential in order for woman leaders to be perceived as effective in the combat arms?” Just prior to the start of their interview, participants signed an informed Voluntary Consent Form indicating their agreement to participate and their willingness to be tape-recorded and quoted in reports or publications of the research (see Annex B). The Interview Guide (see Annex C) was also made available to participants prior to their participation so that they would have specific information about which topics and issues the interview would cover. Participants were also asked to complete a Biographical Data Form prior to the commencement of the interview (see Annex D). These data included officer/NCM status; military occupation code (MOC); rank; age; number of years in the military/combat arms; Regular/Reserve status; previous Reserve experience; nationality/race/ethnicity; current position; command/leadership appointments held; deployments (overseas and domestic, including name, date, and duration); combat arms

⁴ Exact numbers are not given in relation to demographic characteristics in order to protect the identity of participants.

experience; non-combat arms Regular Force experience; presence of other women in subsubunit, subunit, or unit; marital status; parental/family status; whether spouse is in the military; and whether other family members are/have been in the military.

Content of the interview

The interview questions focused on perceptions and experiences regarding leadership attributes and behaviours and regarding the issue of gender integration, but also encompassed broader questions regarding women in the military and more specifically, women in the combat arms. Before the interview commenced, participants were briefed on the objectives and potential benefits of the study, the nature of their participation (i.e., format of interview, time commitment), and associated risks. It was emphasized that all interview data would be kept strictly confidential; that the content of their interview would not be made available or accessible to supervisors; that although their base commander or commanding officer would know that the study is taking place, he or she would not be given a list of participant names; that if excerpts from interviews were to be used in reports or publications, under no circumstances would identifying characteristics be reported; and that where applicable, only aggregate results (i.e., with no identifying information) would be communicated. It was emphasized to the women that participation in the study was entirely voluntary, that they could refuse to answer any question or could withdraw at any time, and that their participation (or nonparticipation) would in no way impact their career. Of the 31 potential participants, 26 agreed to participate in the study, 1 refused due to lack of interest, and the remaining 4 women were unavailable to participate. No incentives for participation, remuneration or compensation were used in this study.

One-on-one interviews were conducted in person by the principal investigator over a 5-day period in February 2003 and over a 2-day period in May 2003. The interviews were semi-structured in format and averaged about 1 hour in length. The interview questions were designed to allow participants to present the issues which they believed were relevant to their experience as leaders/followers in combat arms occupations in the CF, as well as to provide a common framework across interviews. The questions in the Interview Guide (see Annex C) were based on the literatures on women in the military, women in combat, gender integration, and women in leadership (in particular, some items were drawn from Davis, 1997, and Davis & Thomas, 1998). The main categories of topics explored in the interview included experiences in the CF/combat arms, women and leadership in the CF/combat arms, and gender integration in the CF/combat arms. Although the interview covered a wide range of questions within these categories, the present analysis (and results to be discussed) focused on the following issues, some of which emerged in the course of conducting the interviews:

1. What are the characteristics of effective leaders?
2. Do the characteristics of effective leaders differ for women and men leaders, or are they the same?
3. What are the implications of adopting a feminine leadership style? A masculine leadership style?

4. Is it necessary for female leaders in the combat arms to act like male leaders (i.e., to adopt a masculine leadership style) in order to be seen as effective, or can female leaders “be themselves”?
5. What is “command presence,” and does this differ for women and men leaders?
6. What style(s) of leadership are women in the combat arms adopting for themselves?
7. What leadership practices, including positive leadership behaviours, are most effective in facilitating gender integration?

Interviews were tape-recorded with consent, and subsequently transcribed verbatim, except for names and other identifying information.⁵ Participants were interviewed only once.

After the interviews were transcribed, participants were sent a draft copy of their interview transcript for verification and review. This draft copy indicated (using strike-out) portions of the interview that would be deleted, with participant approval, in the final version of the transcript, in order to protect the identity of the participant.⁶ In reviewing their transcript, participants had the opportunity to indicate any errors in transcription or content as well as any additional portions of the transcript that they did not want referred to in any reports or publications of the findings (this could include the entire transcript). After completion of the study, a summary of the research findings will be provided to participants.

Data-analytic approach

As previous research on gender and leadership has been mostly quantitative in nature, the present qualitative inquiry was conducted within a naturalistic paradigm (Guba, 1981). The collection of qualitative data allowed for an understanding of gender and leadership that would not have been possible through quantitative data (e.g., representation rates) alone. Further, a qualitative analysis process using transcribed interview data has the potential to reflect patterns in relationships and provide indications of broader organizational issues (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The interview data in this study does not represent the “whole story” regarding gender, leadership, and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms, but they do represent “reality” as perceived by these women. As noted by the staff at the Defence Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) in the United States, “perception has real

⁵ All participants agreed to be taped. However, if a participant had not wished to be taped, the interview would have proceeded nonetheless.

⁶ Information pertaining to the following were “struck out” from the interviews by the principal investigator: names; dates; amount of time served in the military; age; rank; geographical locations or places; courses taken; specific trades; deployments; information about family; information about military background; information about educational background; other personal information (e.g., sexual orientation); information about being the only/first female in the unit; information about the number of women in the unit; terms relevant to specific trades/roles that could reveal a participant’s trade/role; physical characteristics; physical conditions and injuries; psychological conditions; specific identifying events (e.g., awards, achievements); plans about leaving the military or changing trades; and parts of specific conversations.

consequences," and, therefore, a measurement of perceptions is a valid indicator of an equal opportunity climate (Dansby, 1996).

The interview data were coded into thematic areas corresponding to specific research issues using the qualitative data analysis software tool NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data with Indexing, Searching and Theorizing, version N6). For the purposes of this report, the coding and analysis focused on the seven issues outlined earlier. Masculine leadership characteristics were defined as those characteristics that were agentic or task-oriented in nature (e.g., decisive, unemotional, aggressive, directive). Feminine leadership characteristics were defined as those characteristics that were communal or person-oriented in nature (e.g., compassionate, emotional, concerned with others, participative). Briefly, three basic steps were followed for the analysis, based on Patton's (1980) abbreviated form of content analysis: (a) organizing the data, which consisted of reading the content of each interview; (b) grouping or *coding* all comments into relevant categories (i.e., the seven issues of interest, such as: conceptions of what characteristics⁷ constitute leadership effectiveness; perceptions of leadership effectiveness in relation to gender); (c) noting variations in opinions based on different factors (e.g., leader vs. follower status). To illustrate dominant themes and patterns, excerpts from interviews will be presented.⁸ In addition, a quantitative description of the data will also be presented (e.g., frequency counts, proportions or percentages), as appropriate.⁹ As the study sought to better understand the perspectives of both leaders and followers, the perceptions of both will be compared throughout the presentation of results.¹⁰

⁷ In this study, the term "characteristics" was used to refer to both leadership *traits* and *behaviours*.

⁸ Although the interviews were transcribed verbatim, the interview excerpts that are presented in this report have been edited slightly to enhance their readability (e.g., "um's," "uh's," "you know's," "like's," etc., were deleted, as appropriate). Further, three ellipsis points (...) within a sentence were used to indicate that material was omitted from the original interview transcript. Four ellipsis points between two sentences were used to indicate any omission between two sentences. The first point indicates the period at the end of the first sentence quoted, and the three ellipsis points follow. Ellipsis points were also used at the beginning or end of a quotation to indicate that the quotation begins or ends in midsentence. Square brackets were used to enclose material (additions or explanations) inserted in a quotation by the principal investigator.

⁹ It should be noted, however, that inter-rater reliability of the judgements used to code interview data and to determine frequencies and proportions was not assessed, and thus, the basis for making judgements and determining quantitative indices involved informal statistics, rather than conventional tests (Schegloff, 1993). However, with the consent of participants, interview data may be made available to other researchers for future coding and analysis in order to provide some measure of inter-rater reliability (or "dependability," within Guba's, 1981, naturalistic paradigm).

¹⁰ The present analysis focused on comparisons between leaders and followers, and *across* individual participants, rather than within individual participants. That is to say, an in-depth analysis of the consistency or coherence of an individual participant's interview responses (e.g., an analysis of the relationship between that individual's responses to one issue and that same individual's responses to another issue) was not carried out, but may be pursued in future research.

Results

What are the characteristics of effective leaders?

When asked to reflect upon their views regarding what characteristics constitute effective leadership, most participants, both leaders and followers, described features that could be categorized as masculine, feminine, and often, androgynous. That is, most participants viewed masculine characteristics as important to effective leadership; most participants viewed feminine characteristics as important to effective leadership; and most participants spoke of *both* masculine and feminine characteristics as being important to effective leadership. In fact, most participants, both leaders and followers, referred to each one of these categories of behaviours and traits in their accounts of leadership effectiveness, suggesting that most of the women in this study do not define effective leadership in strictly masculine terms *or* feminine terms, but see value in having *both* masculine and feminine characteristics.

Leaders

All eight of the leaders mentioned *masculine* traits as being important for leadership effectiveness. One officer emphasized the importance of maintaining emotional control, for example, by not crying during difficult situations:

Somebody who cries under pressure may find themselves, I think will undermine the way the soldiers perceive them. If you were to cry in a situation where an emotional, like if you had lost somebody...I don't think you should cry in front of subordinates, ever, ever. ... If somebody is feeling stressed, is stressed out because of work, like things are crazy busy or they have been yelled at, or they're physically tired, then I believe crying in those types of situations will undermine their ability to lead. Certainly, certainly, because then the response from the soldiers, your peers and superiors will be is, they'll get to her, she'll break down. ... So, if you think about the job that we do, as unpleasant as it may seem to many people, our role is to kill. We are taught to, at the very crux of it, we are on the battlefield, stabbing people with bayonets and shooting people. Very stressful situations. We are watching our peers standing beside us fall, and if you can't control your emotions in a day-to-day office environment or in a training environment, how are you possibly going to hold things together when your best friend is dying beside you? So I do think emotional control is very important.

As was the case regarding masculine traits, all eight leaders also identified *feminine* traits, such as having good communication skills, as being important for leadership effectiveness:

You need to have really good communication skills.

One officer spoke of the importance of showing compassion and being a good listener:

I think [being compassionate and a good listener] are key to being an officer, to being a leader. You have to listen to what your soldiers want. You have to be able to understand what they're saying, even if they're not saying it. You know, it's just like being a psychologist kind of thing. ... I think all of the soldiers that I've had appreciate compassion. ... I think if you're able to, not befriend them, but at least understand and listen, they appreciate that and therefore they see you as a better person, and are more willing to work for you.

Another officer spoke of the importance of possessing intuitive qualities of leadership, which often go unrecognized and undefined:

I believe in the intuitive qualities of leadership. If you can step back and get a feel for a situation, get your take on it, then you will not go too far, too far [astray]. ... I'd say intuition has a very, very important part of leadership and I think the best leaders that I've seen, men and women, are intuitive. And they'll tell you that they aren't, particularly some of our guys...and all the rest of that. But at the end of the day they are. They just don't define that.

Still another officer spoke of the importance of a leader establishing a connection with her or his soldiers:

I think troops have to feel that they can relate to you. If they can't then you're not really effective, you're not really going to be as effective as you could be as a leader. And so, however you go about making some sort of common connection with the troops, is your way of doing things.

Indeed, each one of the eight leaders talked about leadership effectiveness in what could be described as androgynous terms. That is, each of the eight leaders mentioned *both* masculine and feminine traits in their descriptions of effective leadership, often in close juxtaposition:

[Effective leaders] need intellect, intuition, common sense, a sense of humour and some backbone. That's what you need.

In the excerpt below, the officer speaks of the importance of a leader both listening (a feminine trait) and taking action to solve problems (a masculine trait):

... You have to be willing to learn and to listen. And when the troops see that you're listening to them in something like tactics, they will be able to come to you with something personal, or a problem, because they'll know that you'll listen. And you also have to be very active. If someone comes to you with something, you make sure that it gets

done and you follow up on it. ... And you follow up on it until it's resolved because you just don't let them hang, you know, my buddy's PMQ has no windows. ... You keep bugging people until you get a window.

Another officer described what it takes to go from being an *effective* leader to being a *good* leader to being an *excellent* leader. According to this leader's view, leadership *effectiveness* requires *masculine* characteristics (e.g., being able to get the job done, i.e., having a task orientation). Leadership *goodness* or *excellence*, however, requires having *both* masculine and feminine characteristics (i.e., possessing both a task orientation and a person orientation).

If you get that mission accomplished, you're an effective leader. ... That's, that's what leadership is all about, you know. Well, I guess the whole phrase, mission, men, equipment, self, right? And then all, everyone who can get the job done, I guess that's kind of one phase. If you can get the job done and people are happy having done the job, that makes you from being just a leader into being a good leader, you know. And kind of going from that, you get the job done, people are happy, and it's done efficiently, effectively, you know, you got time left to spare, then you can bump up into kind of the excellent leader category.

Some leaders were more explicit about the importance of applying different leadership behaviours or traits to different situations, an ability which androgynous leaders, who combine both masculine and feminine traits, possess. The excerpt below is from an officer who distinguished between the (masculine) war-fighting skills (e.g., aggression, a command-based style) needed during phase training, and the (feminine) administrative skills needed in battalion (e.g., peace-support, a co-operative style).

... The style that you employ on phase training is different from the style that you actually should employ when you're in a battalion. ... When you're on phase training, number one you are working with your peers and people who have no experience in the jobs that they are doing. And you're... very much assessed on your ability to give aggressive commands, because you're also practicing war-fighting skills. When you get to the battalion, you're working with people who are very experienced, who have been doing their job for 20 years. They've been through scores and scores of [commanders] and we're just fresh off phase training. Initially, you may not be practicing your war fighting skills. You may be doing things like administration for your soldiers. You may be doing, you know, peacekeeping, practicing for peacekeeping, things like that, and you have to adopt a more co-operative style as opposed to a command-based style. Although there is a time and a place for that and it's very important.

Another officer spoke of the need to be able to use a variety of leadership styles, that is, to be more directive in certain situations, and more consultative in others:

... You have to be prepared to use a variety of styles. And you have to be...aware of when...what style is fitting. You have to be prepared to say no, I told you what I want and you're going to do it now. Or, all right, I guess we could do it your way. ...I don't know, this is all common sense, I think. It depends on the situation, whether you're more directive or whether you're more consultative perhaps.

Similarly, another officer expressed the view that a leader need not be loud, assertive, or aggressive in every situation in order to be effective, and that sometimes a calmer approach may be more appropriate:

I don't think that a leader has to be loud and assertive and aggressive. There are times when that is required, but I think someone that's calm can accomplish the same thing.

This same officer quoted above went on to say that, depending on the situation, emotionality also has its place in leadership effectiveness:

Obviously you're going to be more emotional in certain situations, if you're dealing with soldiers who are having family problems or personal problems. I think there is a time to show your more emotional or caring or nurturing side and obviously there's not a place for that on the battlefield when you're giving orders and you're, you know, so it definitely is situational. ... There's a time and a place to be emotional or aggressive for that matter.

Although each one of the eight leaders identified various feminine attributes as being essential to leadership effectiveness, there was also evidence, among the leaders in this study, of a certain ambivalence regarding the value of particular feminine characteristics. For example, one officer spoke of the value of *empathy* in leaders. According to this officer, however (and in contrast to the views of some of the other officers quoted earlier), leaders should not be *emotional*, a characteristic that this officer views as being substantively distinct from empathy:

Empathy and emotion are I believe different things. Everybody should have empathy, both men and women. A leader needs to be empathetic. They shouldn't be emotional.

Finally, most of the leaders (5 of 8) mentioned more gender-neutral characteristics as being important to leadership effectiveness. Some mentioned the importance of a leader being themselves, for example:

... You just try to be yourself and you don't have any problems.

Some mentioned the importance of being themselves and being consistent:

... If you're always yourself and you're doing what you believe is right and how you feel, well then in those, you're going to be consistent if, and that's very important of a leader as well, to be consistent in their decisions.

Another officer mentioned the importance of being perceptive, and of having a good sense of humour, to leadership effectiveness:

You need to be perceptive, you need to have a good sense of humour, because that's going to take you a long, long way.

One officer talked about the skills needed to lead a culturally diverse and well educated army. Some of these skills include having more confidence and knowledge than leaders had in the past, and being more flexible, adaptable, and open to diverse needs than leaders were in the past.

... We have more of a cross-section now of society and that cross-section includes various ethnic groups, races, religions, as well as more educated individuals. ... Many of the soldiers now are taking university courses part-time or have some previous university education and being more educated than the soldiers maybe were 50 years ago, they may be a bit more inquisitive as to why. So I think as leaders we have to ensure that we have well thought out plans. We have to be that much more confident because there will be questions as to why we're doing certain things and, as well certain behaviours aren't as accepted like they used to be. You know, for example, we used to give certain punishments, you know, go out and do PT for whatever, or push-ups or whatever, for punishing anything, whereas now we've moved away from that. So leaders have to think out their actions a bit more and be that much more knowledgeable and competent because their soldiers are that way. And I think you have to be more situationally oriented as opposed to this is the way we're doing it and you have to be able to be a bit more reactive and flexible. I think flexibility is a very important thing right now in leaders, because there are various, they're a diverse set of soldiers that are, group of soldiers that we work with so you have to be able to adapt to their needs and their, not requests but the, you know, there are certain, the certain things that may not be traditional, that certain people require or need. So we have to be a bit more open to some of those things.

In summary, the leaders in this study identified both masculine and feminine characteristics as constituting effective leadership. Indeed, most leaders saw value in a leader possessing both masculine and feminine traits, characteristics which could be applied flexibly to different circumstances. In other words, whether implicitly or explicitly, most leaders spoke of effective leadership in *androgynous* terms, as *integrating* both masculine and feminine characteristics.

Followers

In regard to what constitutes effective leadership, similar patterns were found among the followers in this study as were found among the leaders. The majority of followers (15 of 18) mentioned *masculine* characteristics as being important for leadership effectiveness. For example, one of the followers defined effective leadership in terms of having a strong task orientation:

Whenever there was something to be done, [an effective leader would] just, you know, all right, let's do this job and there's no complaining. No, oh, you've got to do this today and... It's just like, get it done, get out of here. Like, they throw things at you that they know how to put them in order so that you get the first one done first, like the higher priority one...

Another follower defined an effective leader as someone who is willing to take risks (which, according to Bem, 1974, is a masculine trait). (Note also the masculine gender used by the participant to refer to a leader.)

[An effective leader is] someone that's willing to take the risks and instead of sending you in all the time, he'll come in with you.

Some followers indicated that an effective leader is someone who is decisive, and who adheres to the decisions they make:

...If someone carries themselves, and when they make a decision and they don't go back on it, well, that's good leadership...

Other followers mentioned the importance of having superior physical and mental abilities to effective leadership:

[Effective leadership involves] physical and mental abilities and just knowing about what your job is. ...I have no respect for a leader that was like, oh, how do you do this again? Do you know how to do this, like, you wouldn't really respect them at all.

The ability to speak and to get others to listen, as well as the ability to master one's emotions, were also mentioned as important leadership skills by the same follower quoted above:

You've got to be able to speak and you've got to be able to speak your mind and get everybody to listen to you.

[If a leader were to cry in front of her or his soldiers] I, whether it was a male or a female, I would really lose a lot of respect for them. ... That's a little too much emotion. ...Mastering emotions is one of the principles of leadership, the 10 principles of leadership. Master your emotions, so you're not, like, oh my god, I'm scared, and like,

going into combat, I would not, if somebody would cry at the drop of a hat I wouldn't feel, have too much faith in them leading me into combat, or someone who's going to show their fear or anything like that. You can't do that.

Another follower also commented on her perception of a leader who cries in front of soldiers. According to the follower quoted below, her reaction to a leader's crying would depend on the situation:

[How would I feel if I saw a leader crying?] I think, depends, you know. In the war situation, that's not something you would like to see in, like your leader has to know, you know, a strong person, they have to know where they're going and what they're doing and...they have to show you the way and okay, they're okay, we're going to do that like that... Take charge, and I think that [crying would] be not really good. That [would] not really make me feel safe if I seen that.

It is interesting to note that the sentiments of the followers quoted above in relation to a crying or emotional leader echoed the views of some of the leaders presented earlier.

As was the case with respect to masculine characteristics, a large proportion of followers (15 of 18) indicated the importance of *feminine* characteristics for effective leadership. One of the characteristics mentioned most frequently by followers, as illustrated by the following two quotations, was a leader's concern for the welfare of their soldiers:

[An effective leader] is someone who is for their soldiers, like for the troops.

[When I think of good leadership in action] the only big thing for me that comes to mind is associating with the troops. Some think that it's just business, you just go to the troops and talk about business, that's it, like back out again, sort of thing. So I think like actually having one-on-one or being able to approach and ask questions or, you know, problems, queries, whatever, that sort of thing, being approachable is.... Somebody's going to follow you if you're approachable...

The following excerpt is from a follower who referred to feminine characteristics, but not to masculine characteristics, when describing their perception of the requirements of effective leadership. According to this participant, effective leadership is all about understanding one's troops, about recognizing and working with their troops' strengths and weaknesses, about being a good listener, and about being approachable:

[An effective leader is] somebody that understands where the troops are coming from, can recognize capabilities or anything like that in the troops, because when you see somebody that's really struggling

with something...a good leader should be able to recognize that, and either steer in a different direction, or work with the same problem in a different angle, or to put them in somewhere totally different, where they've actually got good strengths. So they've really got to be able to recognize the strengths of the people underneath them. Obviously they've got to be a good listener because a lot of troops will look to their leaders for, you know, if they've got family problems or whatever like that. They've got to be able to go up to their leader and say hey, look this is what's going on, can we talk?

In a similar vein, the follower quoted below emphasized the importance of listening skills, of being able to read people, and of being a “people person” to effective leadership, and to the building of *esprit de corps*:

You have to know how to read people and you also have to know how to listen to people. The old expression, you'll attract more bees with honey is true. ... [The job] probably would get done faster if the person was say a people person. There would be better *esprit de corps*, there would be better everything, if the people that are doing the work enjoy who they're working for.

A comparable view was voiced by the follower quoted below, according to whom a leader who is liked and respected by her or his soldiers is more likely to inspire good performance in them:

... You have to be able to make your troops like you. Because a lot of people, like, maybe back in the day if your troops would hate you but you're still a good leader, but now, you've got to like and respect the person that you're working for. And then that, they're a good leader obviously. If you like them, they're understanding, you can talk to them, they know what they're doing, and, and then they're just someone that you don't mind, that you want to work with. And then that makes you want to do better for them and want to work for them, instead of just them forcing you to do it. ... You're obviously not going to get as good a job out of a soldier if they're doing it because they, even though they hate you they have to do it because they're in the army. ... You're going to get a way better job out of them if they like you and respect you. I mean you don't have to be their friend obviously because that's not how it works, but still...they have to be able to respect you...and what you're doing.

As was found with the leaders in this study, the majority of followers (14 of 18) spoke about *both* masculine and feminine characteristics in their accounts of effective leadership. In the excerpt below, an effective leader is defined as someone who is able to get the job done (a masculine leadership trait), but who will also consult with others on how to accomplish the task (a feminine leadership trait).

[An effective leader is] someone who gets stuff done, but finds the most efficient way to do it. Will take suggestions as to how to do it.

Other followers expressed similar views, as illustrated in the two quotations below:

An effective leader is somebody who can get the job done. Right? But also, in the long run though, now you can get the job done but you don't want to piss off your troops at the same time. Right? So you want to keep everyone happy, but you want to get the job done at the same time...

You have to know what you're doing. That's the way a leader has to be. You have to be trained and know stuff. If he's talking about something, and he has to know what he's talking about and have experience. ... And you have to be like, naturally able to talk to people, a good way.

One follower defined effective leadership in terms of having both confidence (a masculine trait) and a good relationship with the soldiers (a feminine trait):

[An effective leader possesses] confidence. I believe they should be friendly and they should know their soldiers. ... [They should] be approachable. Don't be the arrogant asshole that thinks he knows everything.

Such views were echoed by other followers, three of whom are quoted below:

[Effective leaders] have to be confident. Somebody who will make a decision and stick to it, not be wishy-washy. Whether it's the right one or not, just stick with it. Care for the well being of your troops.

[An effective leader is] somebody who can make decisions by themselves. Somebody who can be approachable. ... Somebody who can spare some time for you. ... A pleasant person.

[An effective leader is] I guess not aggressive but like, a bit aggressive but not, you know what I mean, taking charge. A leader that really takes charge. So that when everything's going wrong you can come up and they know what's going on or at least be able to control a situation, and knowing their information and knowing their trade... ... And basically...being able to be a friend too, but also being a leader, being aggressive if soldiers aren't doing something right, being able to tell them what's going on and whip them in the right direction, too.

The follower quoted below (whose comments about the importance of mastering one's emotions, and being liked by one's subordinates, were presented earlier) sees effective leadership as involving the ability to both master one's emotions and be

empathic or approachable. This follower's perspective is similar to that of the leader who distinguished between emotionality and empathy, presented earlier:

...You can't be going into combat and showing fear to your troops.
...You have to be strong for them. ...Even if you're scared shitless, you can't show that. You got to hide it and so that they're not [afraid]. Like I wouldn't want to follow somebody who's like oh my god, oh my god, oh my god, they're shooting over there, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. You go first, and like, okay. ... [The ability to listen to people, to be empathic and approachable, is also definitely important.] Like I was saying, you got to be able to like the person, and not fear the person. ...I know normally, you don't go to your boss if you have a problem at home, if you're working at McDonalds or something, you're not going to go see them, and yeah, my wife's leaving me, every little problem that you have, since the army is into every single aspect of your life, your home life, your financial, everything, then you have to be able to go to your superior and talk to him about stuff. They have to be able to be approachable like that.

Some followers, like some leaders, expressed the view that effective leadership requires the ability to apply different skills and abilities to different situations (i.e., the hallmark of androgyny).

I think that as far as a good leader goes, in itself you have to have an equal amount of qualities of them both [masculine and feminine behaviours]. You have to know when to use a certain quality, like you have to know when to be decisive, you have to know when to be compassionate. ... When it comes to being a leader and actually taking care of your troops and caring for the welfare and well being of your troops, you have to be compassionate, you have to be a good listener. ... And you should know how to use them and when to use them, and when is the appropriate place.

The follower quoted below suggested that showing compassion and understanding is important in certain contexts (e.g., when counselling soldiers), but that showing competence and confidence is needed in others (e.g., teaching situations):

...If you're a chaplain, there's male chaplains, female chaplains who are very passionate people. And there is guys that teach like stove lectures, like, to light a stove, how do you light a stove. And I don't think you can be compassionate and understanding where you're trying to light a stove when it won't start. [So the skills needed for leadership depend on the situation.] If somebody was trying to teach you how to light a stove and everyone's ooh, it's not starting, you

know, and you're kind of weaking away from it, then you'd ask, do they really know what they're talking about?¹¹

Finally, two-thirds of the followers (12 of 18) referred to gender-neutral characteristics in their accounts of effective leadership, such as the importance of enjoying one's job, or of having realistic expectations of soldiers, or of being a hardworker:

[An effective leader is] someone that enjoys their job. I mean, that's a big thing.

[An effective leader is] realistic about expectations and things like that.

[Effective leaders are] hard-workers. All of them.

One follower spoke explicitly of some of the characteristics that make for *ineffective* leadership, such as not taking responsibility for mistakes:

[A bad leader is] someone that's busy making themselves look good. Where they make mistakes and they try to blame it on you. They don't take responsibility.

A similar view was expressed by the follower quoted below:

Don't screw them around just so that you look good.

The follower quoted below emphasized the importance of a leader's respect for the soldiers that she or he commands:

I think they have to...talk to you like a person. Because a lot, most of the time we get talked down to. ...A lot of time we get treated like a 2-year-old. They have to hold your hand, they have to tell you what to do. I actually say okay, I have to go to the bathroom or something. So if they treat you like a person and if they do the work with you, not just say go do this, go do that.

In summary, like the accounts of leaders in this study, the accounts of followers regarding effective leadership included references to both masculine and feminine characteristics. Indeed, as was the case with leaders, most followers defined an effective leader as an individual who possesses both masculine and feminine traits, and who is able to apply these different traits to different situations. In other words,

¹¹ It is important to note, however, that the follower quoted here saw having compassion and understanding as being important characteristics for *chaplains*, not leaders per se. This particular follower did not refer to any feminine characteristics when discussing the characteristics needed for effective leadership (among non-chaplains), but did refer to masculine characteristics, such as task orientation.

most followers, like most leaders, spoke of effective leadership in *androgynous* terms, and saw it as an integration of both masculine and feminine characteristics.

Thus, in this study, most participants (23 of 26) viewed *masculine* characteristics as important to leadership, most participants (23 of 26) saw *feminine* characteristics as important, and most participants (23 of 26) spoke of *both* masculine and feminine characteristics as being important to leadership effectiveness. The majority of participants (17 of 26) also spoke of gender-neutral traits in their accounts of leadership effectiveness.

Do the characteristics of effective leaders differ for women and men leaders, or are they the same?

During the interview, participants were asked whether or not they felt that effective leadership is defined differently for women and men, that is, whether or not they thought that gender plays a role in defining leadership effectiveness. Some participants also expressed their opinion regarding whether there exist gender differences in leadership style. Although a few participants gave relatively straightforward responses to this part of the interview (i.e., responses that could be coded clearly as “yes” or “no” in regard to the role of gender in defining leadership effectiveness), most participants (19 of 26) gave somewhat less straightforward, or more equivocal, responses.

Leaders

Among the eight leaders, three clearly felt that gender plays a role in defining effective leadership. For example, the two leaders quoted below suggested that women may have something rather unique and positive to offer the military, such as their communication skills and nurturing qualities, which men are less likely to possess:

I think [women] bring an ability to communicate, like, generally women have an ability to communicate that sometimes men have, but sometimes they may struggle a little more. [Women have] an ability to make a real personal connection with somebody, and an ability to make somebody open up in ways that sometimes they have to so that you can know your men and promote their welfare, which is key to leadership.

I don't think we're the same as men. I don't think that we lead in the same way in general as men. ... I do think that many women offer different things to the combat arms than I think they're maybe a little more understanding to certain personal issues, just kind of our nurturing side kind of comes out...

In contrast, the leader quoted below sees a limitation for women leaders in comparison to men leaders:

It's hard though because I know that as a female you can't go out there and like scream at the guys like the guys do.

Five of the eight leaders gave less straightforward, or more mixed, responses, such as the one from the leader quoted below:

I don't think [what it takes to be an effective leader] differs [for women and men] but I think women leaders and male leaders are often, they're very different in the sense of what's required to be successful is the same, but women are often more approachable. I don't think that I've known a female officer that has not had a male troop crying in their office. I know of male officers that have not had male troops crying in their office. Some have, but I know that there are males that haven't. It could be coincidence but I think that people feel more like they can let their guard down a bit. They don't have to be the big macho guy in front of the female perhaps.

The leader quoted below suggested, at first, that female leaders are more willing to listen than are male leaders, but later in the conversation was no longer certain that this particular gender difference exists:

So I think that's the key, the difference between men and women [leaders] is that sometimes women are more willing to listen, and approach things from a different angle. ... But I think there are a lot of men who are willing to listen, too. So I don't know if it's a, you know, specific to women. I don't, yeah, I wouldn't say it is, but...

The leader quoted below suggested that women should not try to become someone that they are not (i.e., should not try to behave in masculine ways), because, she argued, this strategy does not work. Thus, this leader indicated that there exists a gender difference between what constitutes effective leadership for women and men leaders:

Maybe it works for the young male officers to look at a captain or a major and pick up some things from how he does it and unconsciously or consciously try and do it that way, and have that role model. But for women it doesn't. You look silly. You look like you're trying to be someone that you're not. You look like you're trying to be a man. You look like you're trying to use a style that... You look like you're wearing someone else's suit. And it doesn't mean that you can't do it. You just have to figure how it works for women. ... Just be comfortable in your own shoes. And not feel yourself the outsider because then you'll look the outsider and then people will know. Just be happy to be there, be comfortable in your own shoes and make decisions based on how you see it. And that will work a lot better for you than trying to emulate someone's style, because style you develop on your own.

However, in other parts of the conversation, this leader emphasized the similarity between women and men in their leadership qualities:

It's not true that men are not empathetic or caring and women are. Those are good leadership qualities and they are absolutely there with men. So, I'd say it's a...trait issue rather than what females are good at and what males are good at. ... And there's no difference I believe between a good male leader and a good female leader. They exhibit the same characteristics. It's just the definition of this is being male and this is being female that are probably not in my mind appropriate.

In short, many of the leaders in this study indicated, in various ways, that gender does play a role in defining leadership effectiveness. Although most accounts were rather equivocal with respect to the role of gender, many indicated that gender made a difference, whether in terms of differences in leadership style or qualities, or in terms of differences in what it takes to be perceived as an effective leader.

Followers

In some contrast to the leaders' responses, only 1 of 18 followers in this study clearly felt that gender plays a role in defining effective leadership. Four followers clearly felt that gender does *not* play a role in defining effective leadership, and 14 followers gave mixed or equivocal responses. The follower quoted below was clear in stating her perception that gender does, in fact, play a role in defining what constitutes effective leadership:

I'd like to say no [gender does not play a role in defining effective leadership], but yes [it does].

The four followers quoted below, in contrast, were clear in stating their view that gender does *not* play a role in defining leadership effectiveness, and that the genders do not differ in leadership style:

I don't think [there] should be [any difference between how effective leadership is defined for women and men, or any gender differences in their leadership style], no. I think once you've worked yourself up to being a leader, once you've worked your way up through the ranks even being a female, I mean, you've got the experience, you've got the know-how. So it should be the same as any guy.

No, [women and men do not behave differently as leaders]. I mean, you have men and women that are control freaks. You got men and women that will bitch and whine about anything and everything, as long as they've got somebody to listen, and you've got some people who really knows their job, and if you just give them a minute to listen, you'll see that you'll actually learn something. So [gender] doesn't matter.

I don't think [women and men have different leadership styles]. I can't see how it would be different. I think [command presence] would really depend on the person. Like if she has it in her, like...some people have that natural leadership way about them, then I think it would be fine. ... I would think [what it takes for a woman to be an effective leader is] the same as a man, yeah.

I don't think [the definition of effective leadership differs for women and men] personally. ... I don't think it makes a difference. ... I think as long as she has the self-confidence and is, you know, aggressive and whatever... ... Because I don't think leadership is men and women. It's more qualities.

The follower quoted below gave a more mixed response regarding the role of gender in defining leadership effectiveness. On the one hand, given her lack of direct experience with a female leader, the follower did not feel able to answer the question. But on the other hand, the follower expressed doubts as to whether women can lead as effectively as men, suggesting that, according to this follower, gender might play a role in defining leadership effectiveness:

I really can't, I can't answer it because...since I've joined the military I've never had a female in charge of me. So I don't know how I would act because I would probably be in the same boat as the guys saying, I don't want a girl in charge of me, you know. Because, like I said, if she can't physically do what she's asking you to do, what's the point?

Some followers (such as the four quoted below) went back and forth between saying that gender does play a role in defining leadership effectiveness, and saying that gender does not play a role in defining leadership effectiveness (or vice versa):

I think [women and men do have different leadership styles]. ... No, [there is nothing different about how women and men behave when they're in a leadership position].

I think everybody has different leadership styles. It doesn't really matter you know, if you're male or female. ... They've all pretty much got the same leadership skills I think. ... [Effective leadership is] definitely not the same [for women and men]. [Women leaders have] got to be forceful with [their followers]. ... A lot of people don't, you know, don't like to listen to females. It's just, you know, that's the way society is. So you've really got to be a lot more forceful and really say okay look, this is the way it is. If you don't like it, oh well, get on with your life. But you have to do this. They've really got to be a lot more forceful [than what a man would have to be]. [Or] They'll just get walked all over. They really will.

I don't think [women and men are different in terms of their leadership style or effectiveness]. There are just people out there that are not leaders, and they shouldn't be, male or female. ... [In order to be perceived as an effective leader], I think [women] have to be a lot more confident [than men], because as much as we hate to admit it, there's always that, well, we're following a woman. Or, you have to prove yourself really, really well [more so than a man].

I think [what makes for an effective leader] doesn't differ [for women and men]. To be a good leader though, especially for a female, you should have the skill. And you should have...the knowledge and not just, and the skill to be able to do something instead of just be, you're taught on...a course, there you go, now you're in charge of all these people.

According to the follower quoted below, differences in leadership style depend “on the person.” However, this follower also perceived that women, in particular, become “bitches” when they take on leadership positions:

I find that women when they get more rank, they abuse it. ... And as soon as they get their captain, it's like, I don't know what it is about girls when they get rank, they start to treat other girls like shit. Like they don't treat us well any more because they're too busy being cool with guys and that's what I noticed, they're trying to make themselves look better all the time and they treat us worse because they have that rank and I thought, you know, we're all girls, we should be sticking together.

A similar view, about female leaders becoming “bitchy” as they progress through the ranks, was expressed by another follower, quoted below:

...Just any other time I see females that are in like a higher position, a lot of them, you know, are on the course, where they were trying to be a leader. They confuse being a leader and being a bitch. They think if they just screech at people and like get all mad and just, but that's not being a leader. ...In the army now, we don't yell at people anymore to get them to do something. You just tell them to do it and...they just do it. You don't have to scream at them to do it, you don't have to scream and this. And especially like none of the women could just tell them, like could just yell. ...If they were in a fire-fight or something, then they're just screaming at people and yelling...but they're not like yelling commands. They're just yelling at people and not really knowing what's going on...like a lot of them do that. ...They think that they have to be a bitch and mean to be a leader, but that's not what being a leader is.

To summarize, although a few followers were clear about their views regarding the role of gender in defining leadership effectiveness (and only one follower stated

unequivocally her belief that gender does play a role), most followers expressed rather mixed views on this subject. Still, as was the case with the leaders' accounts, the accounts of many of the followers seemed to indicate their belief that gender does indeed play a role in defining leadership effectiveness, even if that belief may not be completely coherent or clear.

Thus, although a greater proportion of leaders than followers indicated clearly their view that gender plays a role in defining effective leadership (and a greater proportion of followers indicated the opposite), and although most participants were rather inconsistent in their accounts, most participants nevertheless seemed to feel that gender does somehow factor into conceptions and perceptions of leadership effectiveness.

Perceived implications of adopting a feminine or masculine leadership style

To better understand participants' views regarding gender and leadership, and the role of gender in defining effective leadership, the interviews were analyzed in terms of participants' perceptions of the implications of a female leader adopting a feminine versus a masculine leadership style. In other words, did participants imagine that a female leader adopting a feminine leadership style would have positive or negative implications? What about participants' perceptions regarding the implications of a female leader adopting a masculine leadership style? These are the questions that are examined below.

Negative implications of feminine leadership

Despite the finding presented earlier that most participants defined effective leadership, at least in part, in terms of feminine attributes, most participants (15 of 26) also described *negative outcomes* associated with a feminine leadership style and/or exhibiting feminine traits or characteristics. This pattern was evident for both leaders and followers, and was stronger for followers than for leaders. One-half of the leaders (4 of 8), and 11 of the 18 followers perceived negative implications associated with a female leader exhibiting feminine traits.

The following quote is from a leader, who warned against adopting feminine roles (e.g., bringing food to subordinates) or having a feminine physical appearance:

You know, it's not necessary to bring in muffins to your subordinates or to, you know, you're not supposed to paint your nails, like guys aren't supposed to paint their nails, right. There's a dress standard and you follow it. ... It's not looked upon too highly, probably more harshly by the females than by the males I'd say because, you know, whenever a female officer I find does something wrong, it reflects negatively on all of us. [A woman leader who acts in a very feminine way is probably not perceived] as effective as someone who wasn't acting that way I guess. Just because it's not the place here, you know what I mean, it's just not an accepted norm I guess.

Similar views regarding feminine appearance were expressed by another leader, quoted below. This leader also warned other female leaders against displaying their sexuality or being seen as sexual objects:

I don't think it's positive to be too feminine, quote unquote. I mean, you can't spend hours doing makeup or anything like that. ... You know, you come in wearing blue eyeshadow one day or whatever...that's just... That's not on... I mean, you do have to have a certain degree of, kind of non-sexuality about you. And I think it's important to be seen as not being a sexual object in any way. I think it's important to, as much as people would hate to say it, but at social functions, you're not out there to be, you know, dressed in your sexiest clothes and be, you know... ... You dress in your suggestive clothing and you're not going to earn that respect. ... If you don't want men to think a certain way, and as a leader in the combat arms, you don't want men to think a certain way, you cannot dress like that when you go to a military social function, you know. ... But my point being that you do have to have a certain level kind of on-duty and off-duty, where you make sure you are not viewed as a sexual object in any way.

The following three quotes are from followers, all three of whom anticipated negative consequences for female leaders who act in feminine ways, either in terms of their physical appearance and body language (as in the first quote below), or in terms of their person-oriented leadership behaviour (as in the second and third quotes below):

It's exactly what they don't want. They don't want the feminine leader. I know that. I know they don't want that. I wouldn't want that. The [combat arms] is nothing about feminine. It's very masculine. Dirty, hard-working, sweaty people. Like, that's what we're doing. ... I don't know, I think it's very masculine. That, I think, that's the way it is and if you want to be a part of it then that's the way you have to perceive yourself to fit in, like... I think that's just the way it is. I don't think there's going to be anything but masculine there.

[When a woman behaves in a more feminine way, is caring and compassionate], she'll probably get walked all over. The guys won't respect her, because really, who would, right? Like it's not just males and females, but if you're, you know, compassionate, I mean it's good to have those qualities, but in a leadership position, you're going to look at that and say yeah, okay, whatever, she's going to get walked all over. She's not going to have the respect of the people below her and in the future she's not going to get anything out of the people that are underneath her.

[When a woman leader is very nice, compassionate, caring nurturing], see, they'd probably make fun of her.

The follower quoted below anticipated a negative response to a female leader who is seen in a traditional feminine role, that of “kid sister:”

[She’s not going to be perceived as an effective leader], not if she's perceived as too weak. ...I know my friend, she gets along well with everyone I think because everyone thinks of her as like their kid sister. So, but if she was put in a position of being in charge, I don't think she'd make out very well because they wouldn't be able to see her in that way. She's the baby sister.

The follower quoted below gave this response to the question regarding how women leaders who act in a feminine manner would be perceived:

I wouldn't want to work for a bubblehead. You know, like if you got somebody who is more concerned with their hair being out of place or cracking a nail or whatever.

Clearly, the follower quoted above equated femininity with gender stereotypes regarding concerns over physical appearance (e.g., hair always in place, nails manicured). In a similar vein, the follower quoted below associated femininity with giggling, and with weak leadership:

[If a woman leader behaves in a really feminine way], like giggling, [she is perceived] as weak.

In short, although most participants, both leaders and followers, viewed feminine characteristics (e.g., compassion, approachability) as being important leadership attributes, most of the same participants nevertheless perceived negative outcomes for female leaders who act in feminine ways or appear “too feminine.”

Negative implications of masculine leadership

In contrast to the findings regarding femininity and leadership, relatively few participants (6 of 26) anticipated any negative implications arising from a female leader exhibiting a masculine leadership style and/or masculine characteristics. As was the case regarding feminine leadership, a larger proportion of followers (5 of 18) than leaders (1 of 8) described negative outcomes associated with masculine leadership. Still, it can be seen that most leaders and most followers did not perceive any negative outcomes associated with a female adopting a masculine leadership style.

The quote below is from a follower who *did* anticipate negative consequences for a female leader adopting a masculine style (i.e., acting aggressive and loud):

[If a woman leader acts in a very masculine way, aggressive, loud], no [I don't think that makes her seem to be a more effective leader]. I think that just makes her sound abrasive, to be honest. Ah, and especially with the guys, they don't like that. Like I mean, sure, you

have to be confident and you have to know what you're doing, but you can't be going out there screeching and saying do this, do that, and acting like a guy, because they won't respect it either. It's a very fine line...

The same participant is also quoted in the later section on the “catch-22,” or dilemma, that women leaders face, in having to walk a very fine line between masculinity and femininity.

Positive implications of feminine leadership

Interviews were also analyzed in terms of the perceived positive implications of a female leader adopting feminine characteristics. Given participants' negative perceptions regarding feminine leadership discussed earlier, it is not surprising that relatively few participants (6 of 26) spoke of positive aspects of a female leader adopting feminine characteristics. Among leaders, 3 of 8 perceived positive implications of a female leader adopting feminine characteristics. The leader quoted below, however, gave a more mixed response. She spoke initially of the positive aspects of feminine characteristics (e.g., of being a good listener, of maintaining a feminine appearance). But as she continued, she spoke of the negative aspects of feminine characteristics (e.g., of wearing a great deal of make-up, of being “sexually provocative,” of crying in front of subordinates):

[If a woman is] really good listener, I think you're ahead of the game. I don't think that that will hurt you in your progression with the Canadian Forces whatsoever. I think it will only help you. ... And I also don't think there's anything wrong with a woman maintaining a feminine appearance. I would disagree with a great deal of make-up or long, dangly earrings because it's not appropriate in the environment that we work in. It's not sensible. Nor do I think it's appropriate for a woman to intentionally make herself sexually provocative... ... Again, it proves as a distraction for both genders. ...I think somebody who cries under pressure may find themselves, I think will undermine the way the soldiers perceive them.

Among followers, only 3 of 18 identified positive implications of a female leader adopting a feminine style. Thus, very few participants spoke of the positive outcomes of feminine leadership in relation to a female leader, and followers were even less likely than leaders to do so.

The follower quoted below discussed some positive aspects of femininity, both in terms of having a feminine physical appearance (e.g., wearing make-up, dressing up) and in terms of exhibiting feminine leadership behaviour (e.g., being able to read people). Note, however, that this follower also recognized that others may not share her views, and may, for example, ridicule a female leader who wears a great deal of make-up:

I would say some of those things are good, if she cares about, you know, nurturing, that could play maybe something very good to a section. I know with me at work I always, sometimes I pick up when people are in very bad moods. I'm surprised that other people don't pick it up and, you know, want to talk to them and see what's going on. But with dressing up and stuff, I don't think it should, but maybe it [matters]. But it really shouldn't, I mean. We're all in, it's kind of like when you're in uniform and later when you go out and you dress regular, right, does that affect you if you wear a lot of make-up but you're in charge of all these guys? Yeah, you know, I think they might say, laugh about it later. But I don't think it's a big deal. It's just like when we have, you know, section commanders that go out and, you know, wear really weird clothes or whatever, it's the same thing. But in the end I mean, you got to listen to them and you got to take command from them. ... So but I think, I hope that women aren't trying to, what is the word, worry about that so much, worry about other people's opinions so that they're actually not living their lives, you know what I mean?

Positive implications of masculine leadership

As was found in regard to the positive implications of feminine leadership, relatively few participants (5 of 26) spoke about the positive implications of a female leader adopting a masculine leadership style. In this instance, however, a greater proportion of followers than leaders spoke about the positive implications of a female leader adopting a masculine leadership style. Among the 8 leaders, only 1 described positive outcomes, compared to 4 of 18 followers. According to the followers quoted below, if a woman leader were to behave in a very masculine way:

I think they're going to take her seriously. And be okay with her. ... They don't want the feminine leader.

[If a woman in a leadership position acts in a very masculine way, she's very decisive, confident, aggressive] I think anybody would be [perceived as an effective leader]. Anybody, if they're confident about what they're doing...even if they're doing it wrong, but they act like they're doing, you're going to think they're doing it right.

Thus, although most participants (23 of 26) seemed to value both masculine and feminine characteristics when defining effective leadership in general terms, a somewhat different picture emerged when participants were asked about the implications of a *female leader* adopting a feminine or masculine style. In this case, participants (both leaders and followers) often viewed the implications of a female leader adopting a feminine style (in particular) in negative terms. It also appears that the more salient issue for participants (particularly followers) concerned the *negative* implications of feminine characteristics, rather than the *positive* implications of masculine characteristics.

Still a catch-22?

During the interviews, several participants (6 of 26) described negative implications of *both* masculine characteristics and feminine characteristics for a female leader. Although this number represents relatively few participants, the finding suggests that for some women in combat roles, the gender dimensions of leadership present something of a “catch-22” situation. Interestingly, a larger proportion of followers (5 of 18) than leaders (1 of 8) spoke in such terms about masculinity, femininity, and leadership, suggesting perhaps, that followers may have an even more difficult time than leaders with this dilemma. The implications of this perceived dilemma for leadership (since leaders depend on followers to accomplish goals) may also be significant.

The excerpt below, from a leader, reflects the dilemma between being perceived as too aggressive (“butch”) versus too timid:

... As a female you can't go out there and like scream at the guys like the guys do...or you'd have to watch how you do it because then you're seen as kind of like a butch or somebody who you know is a bit too aggressive for being a female. But at the same time you can't be [very timid in your leadership approach]. ... You got to be assertive, you got to yell at the guys.

In response to the question “What happens when a woman leader acts in a feminine way?” the follower quoted below responded:

Either way you're fucked! ... Because if you look like a man and you behave like a man, you would think that the guys would respect you more, like in their logic. But no, you're made fun of, they call you butch, bull dyke and they just make fun of you. Like, they'll probably respect you more, but boy would they make fun of you behind your back. [And if you act like a girly-girl], then, I don't know. I honestly don't know because the [combat arms], if people come in a girly-girl, they certainly don't stay it very long. They either get out of the military or people change themselves. ... I would expect anyone to change in the military because you kind of have to meet a certain criteria. But I think that although a female looking like a male would be made fun of, she would get more respect as far as compared to a girly-girl.

The follower quoted below (whose perception regarding the need to maintain a “fine line” was presented earlier) expressed a similar sentiment:

[If a woman leader behaves in a feminine manner in the sense that she is very compassionate, caring], in a lot of trades that would be great. Like, medics, clerks, ones like that, but in the combat arms, you can't be. Like sure, you have to care for your troops but you can't be like coddling them all the time. It's that fine line again where you

don't want to be too aggressive but you can't be hugging everybody else.

Thus, although the number of participants who explicitly spoke of a dilemma between exhibiting masculine characteristics and feminine characteristics was relatively small, it nevertheless suggests that the perception of a “catch-22,” where gender and leadership is concerned, still exists to some degree.

Must female leaders act in masculine ways?

From the foregoing discussion, it may be concluded that many participants in this study hold the view that feminine characteristics in a female leader may lead to negative consequences – despite considering feminine attributes, in general, to be important to effective leadership. And indeed, when asked directly, several participants reported that they believed that female leaders must become more masculine in their behaviour in order to be perceived as an effective leader. Interestingly, however, this point of view was much more prevalent among followers than among leaders. Among the 8 leaders, 6 did *not* feel that they must change, that is, that they must become more masculine in behaviour, in order to be perceived as an effective leader. Only 1 leader felt that she needed to change in some way, and 1 leader gave a more mixed response. In contrast, among the 18 followers, only 1 felt that female leaders did *not* have to change, 8 felt that female leaders must become more masculine in order to be perceived as effective, and 7 gave a more mixed response (the responses of 2 followers were categorized as “unclear”).

Leaders

The six leaders quoted below essentially agreed that change (i.e., the adoption of a masculine leadership style, or “acting like a man”) was unnecessary. These leaders emphasized the importance of being who they are, of being themselves in forming their leadership style, rather than trying to be someone else:

I struggled between, you know, should I perform like that, like should I be masculine, should I be adopting a masculine leadership style? Or should I, you know, and really, the answer is, for everybody, is adopt your own leadership style. Find out what works for you. How you can make people respond and then run with that one. ... The worst leader that you can ever run up against is somebody that is trying to be somebody else. And that's a trap that women often fall into, if they try to, they see an example of something that works for somebody else but may not necessarily work for them. ... At times I have to be aggressive. Certainly in a field environment. In a field environment, you sometimes you've got to be that yeller and screamer and you've got to like, give that decisive direction at that time. But I don't believe you always have to be like that. In fact, I think it works better if you're not always like that. And that took me some time to figure that out, too. Because I thought, maybe I should be, you know, because sometimes you've got that picture of an officer

who is, you know, detached and making the hard decisions all the time and not getting to know people. And some people will tell you that that's a good thing to do, but, that that is the way that, you know, that officers have a role they need to play and that role is not to get to know people too well because then it's difficult to make the hard decisions. But at the end of the day I have decided myself and there are other people who hold this to be true that you need to know people in order to understand them and in order to motivate them you have to understand them. So it's all complementary. ... The trap that women fall into is to try to be somebody else [or to be masculine]. Because often that's what their example is, it's masculine and that's what's effective for that person. ... But yes, I think that that is something that often women will try to be one of the guys and that will lead them down a bad path.

Like personally, I kind of changed my styles when I went through. [Previously]...I tried to be abrupt and abrasive and that didn't work very well. And then you just try to be yourself and you don't have any problems. Like, I don't usually yell, I talk. But when I make decisions, people know it's my decision and I find that I'm maybe a bit more relaxed with subordinates than some of my male peers, like more, you know, easy going. But then I feel that they can come to me more often when they have a problem. I don't know if that's, it just kind of works for you. ... I don't think [female leaders have to] change, no. I think people may ask you to change but I don't think that's necessary...

...You cannot just see how a man does it and do it that way, because it doesn't work, because that's his way. ... And it stems from not trying to be your own person. You're trying to emulate something else. And maybe it works for the young male officers to look at a captain or a major and pick up some things from how he does it and unconsciously or consciously try and do it that way, and have that role model. But for women it doesn't. ... You look silly. You look like you're trying to be someone that you're not. You look like you're trying to be a man. You look like you're trying to use a style that... You look like you're wearing someone else's suit. ... [Female leaders should] just be happy to be there, be comfortable in your own shoes and make decisions based on how you see it. And that will work a lot better for you than trying to emulate someone's style, because style you develop on your own.

I don't think that a leader has to be loud and assertive and aggressive. There are times when that is required, but I think someone that's calm and, can accomplish the same thing, and especially when you have subordinates that will work for you, and you'll get that through having all those other qualities that are required. ... [I don't think it's necessary for a woman to act in a so-called 'masculine' way.]

There are people I know out there that do think so. ... If I do have to change, well then, that's the day that I will decide that this isn't for me because I'm not going to change my ideals about leadership or about certain things to fit the [combat arms]. ... I don't want to be that person. If that's what's required, well then someone else out there can probably do it better than I can. ... I don't believe that someone has to change who they are to, to do the job and I'm sure that there are people out there that if that is required, can suit that without having to change themselves, and so I'm sure there's something else that I can do if, but I don't believe that that's required right now, so. ... So I wouldn't say that women should ever try to be more masculine. I think that there's a place for femininity in the combat arms, and I don't think that we have to be masculine to be successful, and certainly there may be a few more challenges at times being feminine, but I don't, it's certainly not impossible to do it, by acting feminine as opposed to masculine, so... I don't think you have to hide all that [emotions]. I mean, I don't think we should have women out crying giving orders either, you know. There's, you have to be able to control your emotions, but men have to be able to do that as well.

I personally...haven't assumed that there are certain ways that I should be as a leader, based on my gender. ... I think there sometimes is a perception that you have to be almost infallible or you have to be, you might hold yourself to a higher standard because you think you're being scrutinized a bit more, so there are certain, you might act a certain way, whereas if you didn't have, feel that same pressure to perform at the peak level, you might relax a little bit more and be more open to being yourself and using your own leadership style rather than trying to step into some guy's shoes that you're not necessarily capable of following. I've had some male officers that are very aggressive. I would look like an idiot trying to follow in, trying to take that approach. ... I think you're free to be emotional, and I think you're also free to dress like [you want]... I feel as if I'm free to be as an emotional as I want to be or to dress however I want to be... I sometimes feel that people might be surprised that you feel that it's okay to do that.

...You also don't have to go the other way... And be more, more guy than the guys either. You have to be true to yourself and figure it out. ... It's about small little things but you have to keep your own, true to yourself and keep your own thing, as long as it's not something ridiculous [like wearing inch-long, acrylic red nails]. ... So you know, I came in thinking well, you know, you got to yell and scream, but thinking not, I didn't believe in it so I didn't ever really do it... So you know you're kind of brought up thinking that this is, you know, you've got to be upfront and yell and scream and whatever and then you get here and you realize, no. That's what I love about coming here. I had my reservations about the yelling and screaming

kind of flamboyant style, and when I got here and I realized that they don't require that at all and they don't like it, I was like, ah, great, that's perfect, because now I can be myself, and I can be more natural and, you know, not have to put on this kind of persona that wasn't me or a style that wasn't me and I didn't like. So it's so much better for me because you, I can be laid back, you know, and [be myself].

In contrast, the leader quoted below expressed the view that indeed it was necessary, in certain respects, to adopt a masculine style in order to be perceived as an effective leader:

You do in some senses [need to behave in a masculine way in order to be perceived to be an effective soldier]. ... I don't think you can be, I don't think it's positive to be too feminine, quote unquote. I mean, you can't spend hours doing make-up or anything like that. ... I mean, you do have to have a certain degree of, kind of non-sexuality about you.

The leader quoted below gave a more mixed response. Initially, her response was that it was not necessary to “act like a boy,” but later in the conversation, she spoke of the importance of being seen as one of the boys, and of not “sticking out.” As the interview continued, she described herself as a tomboy:

Of course it [isn't] necessary [to act like a boy]. Like, I didn't change how I acted... You know, I was still exactly the same. So, and I still made it through. And still passed my other courses, and still, I think the soldiers at my unit found me an effective leader, if not even a good leader. So, like everyone appears to accept me. So, but yeah, I think that they see me as one of the boys, which is great because you know, I don't want to stick out, right? Like, they still see me as, oh, there's a female officer. But they don't see me as, oh, there's a female officer who's gonna go, got a cut on her finger and cry. ... Well, I was always like a tomboyish person so it wasn't a great change to go to this role for me. But I still have feminine aspects on me. They can see that. But as long as I do the job, they don't care what gender I am.

Followers

As mentioned earlier, a larger proportion of followers than leaders expressed the view that female leaders needed to change (i.e., to adopt a masculine style) in order to be perceived as an effective leader. Some followers were quite explicit about the perceived need for female leaders to become more masculine, and used gendered terms (e.g., “girly-girl”) when discussing this issue. Other followers, however, held this view more implicitly, and identified masculine *characteristics* as important for effective leadership, without explicitly stating that women leaders had to act like *men*. Below is a quote from a follower who was quite explicit about the perceived need to become more masculine:

[If women leaders] come in a girly-girl, they certainly don't stay it very long. They either get out of the military or people change themselves.

Below are quotes from three followers who were more implicit about their views:

Physically, I mean, [effective leaders are] in great shape most of them. I think what we say is, the guy is really tough. I mean...he's hard, you know what I mean, that's what we say and I've had some people in charge of me, I mean, you would be surprised to see an emotion on their face, some of them, I mean, but... ... Like nothing would surprise them or shock them. ... But I guess they've seen a lot and they've been doing it for years and years. ... [In order to progress up the ranks you must be mentally and physically tough, strong.] I mean, you're going to be that way no matter what, I mean, going through here. You're going to turn into that even if you're not when you start out. ... Because even I notice...that you change. I mean, you can't go through 16 weeks out in a field of guys and stuff like that, without changing who you are.

I would think where I work right now, [a woman leader] cannot be, oh, I broke a nail. You just can't do it. You're working around heavy equipment, you're working with grease and oil, and you're going to get dirty, no matter what. You're going to sleep in the woods, there's going to be bugs.

[A woman leader has] really got to be forceful with [their soldiers]. Because of the fact that [she's] female. A lot of people don't, you know, don't like to listen to females. ... That's the way society is. ... A woman in a leadership position...[has to] raise [her] voice a bit more, to come across as, you know, as stronger. Or, you know, just to make sure, okay, she's not kidding around, you know, we've got to get this done.

Several followers held more mixed views on the issue. For example, on the one hand, the follower quoted below expressed the view that, although the changes were difficult to define, there may indeed be some subtle changes that a female leader must make about herself in order to be perceived as an effective leader. However, the follower felt that these changes did not include “acting like one of the guys.” On the other hand, the follower also felt that in order to be successful, a female leader should hang out with the boys every once in a while, and admitted that a “tricky balance” needed to be struck:

Maybe there's some things that [women leaders] need to do in order to be more accepted here, but I don't know what it is. ... Like there's probably little things here and there but I just really don't know. You don't change yourself per se, but you know what to say and when to say it. You know when to say the right things, you know, it's just, but

I don't know. [It's not] acting like one of the guys. No. ... It's probably a little bit everywhere, it's you know, being able to, yeah, have a drink with the boys every once in a while. But you're not a boy, you're not a man. But, you know, they still want you to be able to hang out with them. But at the same token they don't want you doing too much, being too much like them. [It's a tricky balance.]

Later in the conversation, the same follower emphasized:

No, I really don't think that [women leaders have to change and behave like men]. I don't think the men want that either. ... They don't want us to be like men. No, they don't want us to be like them.

But then added this wrinkle:

Like [female leaders] can't be afraid, like if you're going in the field, you can't be afraid of getting dirty or...anything like that stuff, right. But then again, they don't want you to be cursing and swearing and, you know.

Again, it appears, according to the follower quoted above, that a fine balance must be struck between being too masculine, and not masculine enough (i.e., too feminine).

The follower quoted below was the only follower in the study who felt that change in a female leader was unnecessary:

Like I mean, sure, [if you're a female leader] you have to be confident and you have to know what you're doing, but you can't be going out there screeching and saying do this, do that, and acting like a guy because they won't respect it either.

In summary, over one-third of participants (9 of 26) felt that female leaders need to change (i.e., adopt a more masculine leadership style) in order to be perceived as effective. This view was more frequently voiced by followers than by leaders. Most (6 of 8) leaders did not feel that women leaders need to become more masculine, whereas nearly one-half (8 of 18) of all followers felt that women *did* need to change (and almost the same number of followers, 7, gave mixed responses). Thus, it appears that a significant number of women in this study (particularly *followers*) believe that women leaders do need to act more like men in order to be perceived as effective. Also striking, however, is the large proportion of women *leaders* who do *not* feel this way, and who emphasized the importance of being themselves, and of developing their own leadership style. It appears, thus, that the views of leaders and followers on this issue are, on the whole, rather different.

Defining command presence

As discussed earlier, previous research has suggested that female leaders may not be perceived as possessing the same *command presence* as men, and therefore may not be

perceived as leaders to the same extent as men. Thus, in light of this previous research – and in light of the findings discussed above regarding the need for women leaders to adopt a more masculine leadership style – it was interesting to investigate perceptions and discourse around the issue of “command presence” among the participants in this study. In the present research, 8 participants (3 officers and 5 followers), explicitly spoke about the issue of command presence. Although this number is not large, it was nevertheless of interest to note the patterns regarding conceptions of command presence among leaders and followers, particularly in regard to whether these conceptions were more traditional (i.e., masculine) in content, or more alternative (i.e., feminine or androgynous) in content. Among the leaders, 2 of the 3 leaders held alternative views of command presence, and 1 held a more traditional view of command presence. In contrast, most of the followers (3 of 5) held rather traditional notions of command presence, 1 held a more alternative view, and 1 expressed no opinion. Thus, although the sample is small, it appears that leaders and followers may hold differing views regarding what defines “command presence,” as they did with respect to whether or not women leaders need to change or adopt a more masculine (i.e., traditional) leadership style.

Let us first examine the discourse that suggests a more traditional conception of command presence. The following excerpt from a follower, for example, emphasized the notion of “standing tall,” and of having a physical presence, in defining command presence, as well as the notion of standing one’s position:

[What does that mean to have command presence?] Probably just, you know, stand tall. Don't make it look like, you know, you're shying away. ... You want to get this job done that you, you know, you don't want to step on anybody's toes. You've got to watch that. Like if you stand tall, and you say, okay this has got to be done, and don't be kind of, you know, shy and back and everything like that. You've got to stand your position.

The follower quoted below emphasized the ability to “tell people what to do” in defining command presence, or “natural leadership” ability:

...Some people have that natural leadership way about them...[that allows them to] tell people what to do.

In describing a hypothetical female leader’s command presence, the follower quoted below emphasized the importance of possessing self-confidence and being aggressive to the development of command presence:

I think as long as she has the self-confidence and is, you know, aggressive and whatever, I don't want to say aggressive too much, but you know what I mean, not aggressive, but the military aggressive. You always need that, a bit of aggression. But that should be all right.

The following excerpt is from a leader. In this passage, the leader emphasized the ability to address subordinates in a confident manner (i.e., to appear to know what one is doing), to not be timid, and to get subordinates to listen to you and do what you say as important aspects of command presence:

But at first appearance, you know, addressing your subordinates, maybe not having that command presence right away, like that's something like, you can look like you know what you're doing all the time and have no idea. But if you have that command presence, sometimes that's, you know, seen as better than keeping quiet, you know what I mean... ... [Women in general have more trouble having that command presence in comparison to men], I'd say so, yes, because of the way females are, our nature, being just a bit more timid or, you know, yeah, I'd say yeah. ... Sometimes you do need a command presence because if you're out in the field and a decision has to be made and it could be someone's life at stake, you need to have that command presence that someone is going to listen to you and do exactly what you say, you know, and not question it, right? And I think that that's what I think command presence is anyway.

The qualities discussed above – confidence, aggression, the ability to get others to act or the ability to stand one's ground, physical size – all these characteristics reflect more traditional notions of command presence and leadership, that is, more *masculine* notions. Some participants, however, spoke of alternative notions of command presence. The leader quoted below, for example, emphasized the idea that women need to develop their own kind of command presence, which is different from men's:

...Women...don't have a lot of role models for how they should develop their own command presence. And you cannot just see how a man does it and do it that way, because it doesn't work. Because that's his way. And you can't. And it stems from not trying to be your own person. You're trying to emulate something else. And maybe it works for the young male officers to look at a captain or a major and pick up some things from how he does it and unconsciously or consciously try and do it that way, and have that role model. But for women it doesn't. ... You look silly. You look like you're trying to be someone that you're not. You look like you're trying to be a man. ... You look like you're wearing someone else's suit. ... And it doesn't mean that you can't do it. You just have to figure how it works for women.

The leader quoted below actually described her own command presence, or leadership style, as different from that traditionally expected in the combat arms. Although she identified confidence as one aspect of that command presence, she emphasized that aggression and a loud voice are not needed for command presence:

...My [commander] was trying to tell me that I didn't have the same command presence as a man, and yeah, I probably don't, I would agree with that. But I don't know that that command presence is, or the one that we have traditionally expected of combat arms officers, is necessarily required, and I think people definitely have to have a command presence, but I think you can get that through confidence and competence and I don't think it has to be this loud, aggressive leader. I don't know. ... I've never seen a commanding officer raise his voice and they certainly have command presence. ... So...women probably have a different command presence than men, but I don't think it's any worse...or better really, it's just different.

The follower quoted below (whose views regarding whether female leaders need to adopt a masculine style were presented earlier) offered an alternative, more androgynous view of command presence, which she described in terms of a “tricky balance.” She emphasized the idea that women in roles such as teachers or mothers, for example, possess command presence. She also struggled to define exactly what qualities are needed for command presence, although she concluded that command presence involves the ability to say the “right things.” She was adamant, however, in her view that women did not need to act like men in order to be perceived as having command presence, although command presence did, according to her, involve being able to socialize with the boys once in a while:

I certainly think [women] can [be perceived to have the same command presence as men]. ... Look at teachers. They command the classroom, you know. So, you know, moms command the family, you know. Everywhere you look, there's, business, everywhere, politics, lawyers. ... It's just a matter of being, it's being accepted and being able to, maybe there's, see, I don't know how they need to do it. Maybe there's some things that they need to do in order to be more accepted here, but I don't know what it is. Obviously if I had known that, I would have done it for them years ago. ... But just, well I don't know. Like there's probably little things here and there but I just really don't know. You don't change yourself per se, but you know what to say and when to say it. You know when to say the right things...but I don't know. [Is it acting like one of the guys? Being like a guy, being like a man?] No, no, it's not that. ... It's probably a little bit everywhere, it's you know, being able to, yeah, have a drink with the boys every once in a while. But you're not a boy, you're not a man. But, you know, they still want you to be able to hang out with them. But at the same token they don't want you doing too much, being too much like them. [It's a tricky balance.]

Thus, although not entirely consistent in her view, the follower quoted above did offer a challenge to the more traditional notion of command presence. As she saw it, moms and teachers, not just military officers, businessmen and politicians, can possess command presence, and it can be of a different kind from the traditional masculine command presence, but nonetheless powerful.

Leadership styles of the women in this study

Despite the finding that many participants (both leaders and followers) spoke of negative implications associated with a female leader adopting feminine leadership characteristics, all eight of the leaders, when describing their own leadership style, reported that feminine attributes formed part of their style. This is not altogether surprising, as most participants (and all leaders) identified feminine characteristics in their vision of effective leadership, when speaking in general terms. The leaders in this study did not describe their leadership behaviour in exclusively feminine terms, but seemed to emphasize the person-oriented aspects of their leadership when describing their own leadership style. For example, the leader quoted below described intuition as an important aspect of her own leadership style, as well as that of the most effective leaders:

I have to say I'm grounded, with what I want, in how I see things, and just, I decide, I understand what I have to do...and make sure it gets done. I'd say intuition has a very, very important part of leadership and I think the best leaders that I've seen, men and women, are intuitive.

The leader quoted below reported that although her technical skill is probably one of her strengths (a male-oriented trait), she does not consider herself an *aggressive* leader:

I think that [my technical skill] is probably one of my strengths... As for the big aggressive part, you know, I said that is not ever going to come out in me. Like, that's not my leadership style... [I'm a bit more calm and laid back...] I mean if I'm yelling or if I'm, then I'm mad, like there is something really wrong, and someone better be dying or, you know, there is something serious going on if... And, I don't think that's a bad thing.

Another leader described her leadership style as “laid back:”

I'm, tend to be fairly laid back with things that come up... ... Even when I've had to discipline guys or whatever, I'd rather talk about it, listen to what they have to say, and then sort it out. And I prefer to sort it out fairly calmly. I don't yell at the guys, ever. ... I came in thinking well, you know, you got to yell and scream, but...I didn't believe in it so I didn't ever really do it, and besides, I'm a woman so when I scream my voice gets squeaky and I just, the guys just laugh and it's just ridiculous, right, so. So you know you're kind of brought up thinking that this is, you know, you've got to be upfront and yell and scream and whatever and then you get here and you realize no, that's what I love about coming here. I had my reservations about the yelling and screaming kind of flamboyant style, and when I got here and I realized that they don't require that at all and they don't like it. I was like, ah, great, that's perfect, because now I can be myself, and I can be more natural and not have to put on this, you know, kind of persona that wasn't me or a style that wasn't me and I didn't like. So it's so much better for me because...I can be laid back...

Yet another leader spoke of similar themes when describing her leadership style:

I kind of changed my styles when I went through. ...I learned very quickly, like I tried to be abrupt and abrasive and that didn't work very well. And then you just try to be yourself and you don't have any problems. ...I don't usually yell, I talk. But when I make decisions, people know it's my decision and I find that I'm maybe a bit more relaxed with subordinates than some of my male peers, like more, you know, easy going. But then I feel that they can come to me more often when they have a problem. I don't know if that's, it just kind of works for you. I don't think you can really define it. This is this and this is what way you need to lead in the combat arms because I really think its depends on the people that you're working with and the type of person you are.

The leader quoted above also spoke of the gratification she received from developing (or *empowering*) followers:

I'm trying to develop the subordinates underneath me, so working with others and then working and helping improve others. ... And seeing them progress through. Even the years I've been here I've seen people go through the troop and do other things. [It's a gratifying experience.]

The leader quoted below cited her interpersonal skills, including her approachability and ability to assess people, as an important aspect of her leadership style:

[I've been described as] very approachable. ... Troops aren't afraid to come and talk to [me]. ... I like talking to people, I like interacting with people. This [profession] lets me do this on so many levels like, you know, peers, subordinates, superiors, all levels, all backgrounds, and people are always changing, so that I think it has to be my biggest, my greatest satisfaction. ... I guess that would be it overall, the fact that I have one of my best skills I think is my ability to read people and their strengths and weaknesses, basically to assess people and the fact that I get to use that and I get to use it a lot in this profession, I like. ... I'm very personable. ... I'm just a lot more informal than most.

The leader quoted below cited similar views about her leadership style. She identified her ability to understand, to motivate and to listen to subordinates as her most effective leadership qualities:

I know some women who are absolute powerhouses and their style is like, aggressive and they can give orders and like, they can yell at people and jack people up and it works for them. It does. That's not my style. ... I believe that primarily as a leader I try to know and understand those people that I work with, and motivate them according to their personalities. At times I have to be aggressive. Certainly in a field environment. In a field environment, you sometimes you've got to be that yeller and screamer and you've got to give that decisive direction at that time. But I don't believe you always have to be like that. In fact, I think it works better if you're not always like that. And that took me some time to figure that out, too. Because I thought, maybe I should be, you know, because sometimes you've got that picture of an officer who is detached and making the hard decisions all the time and not getting to know people. And some people will tell you that that's a good thing to do, that that is the way that, you know, that officers have a role they need to play and that role is not to get to know people too well because then it's difficult to make the hard decisions. But at the end of the day I have decided myself and there are other people who hold this to be true that you need to know people in order to understand them and in order to motivate them you have to understand them. So it's all complementary. You cannot lead people properly if you don't understand what makes them tick. ... And I'm not saying that I'm the best leader by any stretch of the imagination but that's what works best for me and that's how I get people to perform for

me, so yeah. And I have had like, any compliments that I may have ever received from my subordinates has always been related to the fact that I listened to them.

The leader quoted below described herself as a participative leader, and emphasized her ability to make concessions to subordinates, and to make decisions based on their input, under certain circumstances:

I always thought myself as very much more participative than, you know, this is the way we're going now, unless we're in a situation where we have tight timelines, we need something done. In that case, you know, this is the way we're going and you hop on the bus. We go in this direction. And you know, no debate because it needs to happen now. If I know we've got time to play with, then to me it's important to make sure everybody is onside with you so that they're not fighting you to go in this direction, which just, you know, takes twice as much energy on your part if you've got to pull them along. So, in my view, and this is just me, I'm willing to make concessions to make somebody else feel happier even though I may not think it's going to be as effective that way. I may think I have a better plan. But if, you know, let's say if I was a [commander] and my [warrant] said, but you know, I really think it'll work better this way and he's convinced, you know, instead of being this way we should be this way, and we're going to get to the same end point, I'm the kind of leader who will say okay, we'll change it to go your way. Because at the end of the day, if we're both on the same side, we're going to go better and we're going to go smoother. That I don't feel the need to, you know, I'm right and you move to my way. If I think we can reach the same end state and I know he'll buy into it better, I'm the kind of person who can make that concession, you know. If it's not that important to me, then I'm not out there to say I'm right all the time.

The leader quoted above also described herself as a leader who interacts with subordinates as whole people, and illustrated how this approach can enhance subordinate performance:

If...you're nice, you're friendly, how are the kids, da, da, da, da, da, the individual will respond a whole lot better and will produce better results.

Another leader also described her leadership style in more “democratic” terms:

I myself am more of a democratic leader, for lack of a better word. I get input from all of the knowledgeable personnel, like the senior NCOs, the warrant...and any ideas and I use that to formulate the plan because they've been around for 15, 18 years. They know. And I realize that I come in with a fresh view on things, so I can bring my aspects in, but there's quite a large part in my leadership, or my planning I should say [regarding that input]. But that's the style of leadership that I use is the democratic. I'm not like, all right, this is what's coming up and I'm like, okay, so what could happen? Okay. All right. Let's go with this. ... Men are more concerned with being, I don't know, macho or looking good, whereas I was more concerned about

what they thought should happen, you know? [Some have seen] it as more of a laid back approach. Men are considered, are more assertive, even if they really don't know what they're talking about. Whereas I'm pretty well willing to admit that I don't know what I'm talking about, help me out here. ... I have tried being assertive, like this is what's going to happen. And I just don't feel comfortable using that.

Thus, based on the self-described leadership styles of the women in this study, it is evident that the women leaders in this study view feminine leadership characteristics, such as understanding followers, being approachable, and being democratic, as key to their own leadership effectiveness. These descriptions also suggest that the women leaders in this study have adopted, at least in part, alternative (feminine, androgynous, empowerment) leadership styles that challenge traditional masculine notions of leadership. Further, the descriptions suggest an *integration* of feminine and masculine leadership styles among the women leaders in this study.

Role of the leader in facilitating gender integration

One of the issues explored in this study concerned the perceptions of participants regarding the role of the leader, of *positive leadership behaviours*, in facilitating gender integration. Did the women in this study perceive that the role of the leader was important to successful gender integration, or not? The majority of participants (all 8 leaders, and 13 of 18 followers) indicated that, yes, they believed that the leader plays an important role in facilitating gender integration. Some participants were quite emphatic in stating this view. The quotes cited below are from three *leaders* who held this view:

...If the leader is 100% for the mission, in this case, gender integration, then the troops will say all right, this is definitely something I should be looking at... ...Just like anyone, if you look at things in a positive way, it tends to brush off on other people.

Yeah. Very much so, I think [gender integration is primarily a leadership issue]. But I don't think it's just gender [integration that] is a leadership issue, I think all this stuff, harassment, anything do with... basically change, it's definitely a leadership issue, yeah.

I think that the leader affects things definitely. ... I definitely think that it's a leadership function to help with the smooth integration process.

The quotes cited below are from three followers who viewed the leader as important in shaping gender integration:

[Gender integration does depend on the leader]. It does. Because you get up into the higher ranks and you get some people that are old school that don't believe women should be there and then you get other people that are totally accepting of us and it makes a huge difference.

I think [the success of gender integration] can, for sure [depend on the leader] because if they are a leader, they have their followers, and their followers will follow them, right.

I definitely think that a lot of [the success of gender integration] has to do with the leader.

Interestingly, a few (5) followers felt that the leader was unimportant in facilitating gender integration, or were uncertain or equivocal as to the leader's role. The excerpts quoted below are from four such followers:

I don't think [what the commander of a unit does makes a difference to gender integration].

99.9% of cases, no, [it does not make a lot of difference what the leader thinks about gender integration]. For .001, yes. In only a teeny, tiny percentage.

[In regard to gender integration] I don't think it really matters [what the leader does].

So it's really hard to say there exactly how much [the leader], yeah, how much influence he has over [gender integration]. [It also depends on what the others in your group, your peers...their attitudes...]

In terms of positive leadership behaviours for facilitating gender integration, the three leadership behaviours mentioned the most frequently were: not singling women out (mentioned by 5 of 8 leaders, and 12 of 18 followers); having a positive attitude towards women in combat roles (mentioned by all 8 leaders, and 8 of 18 followers); and setting an example (mentioned by 6 of 8 leaders, and 6 of 18 followers).

The two leaders quoted below emphasized the importance of a leader *not singling women out*:

So that, and just treat them as you would any soldier. Because soldiers are all different, because the men are not all cookie cutter, they're not the same men. Some are strong and some are weak and some are articulate and some are not and some are emotional and some are not. But just...develop that person according to their own individual potential.

I think that the most successful gender integration is just having the women treated the exact same way as the men, so when you have a commanding officer that doesn't differentiate, or bias I guess that is, you know, one way or the other, then I think that is the most successful example. ... I would say that that is probably the best thing for women because I don't think any woman in the combat arms wants to stand out and when you're standing out, then that's, I mean even if you're standing out in a positive way, you don't really want to feel like that, you know. Like no one wants to hear, oh, she's really good for a woman.

The four followers quoted below expressed similar views, about not singling women out:

I know in my company, I'm treated, I'm pushed in with the guys, I mean, I'm not getting special treatment. I'm not, and I think that's better than the way some other units work. ... It's better than being treated special, or [singled out and things like that]...because they respect you a lot more. ... There's no gender discrimination or anything there. I'm just pushed in with the guys and you become one of them.

I have excellent leadership. Amazing, you know. They don't care that I'm a female, they don't [treat me any differently].

...The best thing for a leader to do I think would, not to be, ignore you but not treat you differently...[not single you out].

Yes, yes, I think that's important [for females to be treated the same as everyone, as opposed to being singled out or being separated from the rest of your unit because you're a female]. I don't think that would be working out pretty good, no.

The importance of a leader having a *positive attitude regarding women in combat* was expressed in the following excerpt by a leader:

My commanding officer is one of the most fantastic commanding officers I've ever had the opportunity to work for, and he is absolutely fair. He sets a high standard of leadership and behaviour, and he doesn't really give one hoot whether people are men or women.

Similar views were expressed by the three followers quoted below:

...As long as the leader knows and he's not, oh, you know, I wanted a troop full of men, you know, he's willing to give you the chance and let you prove yourself and you're fine.

...Some of them are old school, which would mean the old army, no females. Don't know how to act around [women]. Are uncomfortable, which in turn makes me uncomfortable. We don't know what to say to each other. They try not to talk to me. It's just this awkward, awkward situation, where you're like, I'm trying to avoid them, they're trying to avoid me. Like, just some of them. Some of them are really good. I know my sergeant that was in charge of our section which was about seven or eight guys, he was great. He didn't care, he was, like, you know, I'm one of them again. So that's what I wanted but a lot of them weren't sure... ...They didn't want to say anything, and you know, it was just awkward.

If somebody has it in their mind that females shouldn't be in the military then that's what they're going to think. I guess I just lucked out in having had good leaders or whatnot that don't care or don't see that.

Concerning a leader *setting the example*, here is what three *leaders* said:

You have to set the example and, you know, if senior leaders aren't setting an example then no one else can follow it.

If the leadership of an organization accepts [gender integration] and makes it standard business, it will be accepted and it will be standard business, because the opinion of the leadership and the modeling of the leadership really does percolate on down.

If [a leader] is accepting and supportive of the whole process [of gender integration] then that will reflect and it will be instilled in the soldiers, in his subordinates for sure. ... And the whole function of leadership is that, that it is influencing people to do things or say things or feel things in certain ways and in that respect if you are a leader that everybody else is supposed to want to emulate or, you know, that you are setting the example, well, you have to set the right example.

Here is what three *followers* said about the importance of a leader setting the example:

...If you see the leader bringing in the females, you know, including them and saying, oh, just because you're a girl doesn't mean you can't do this. If you see that, your troops are more likely to, okay well, if he's doing it maybe we should, you know, it's okay to be getting her involved with this or anything like that. You know, he's including her, well, maybe she can do it.

So I think if a leader is very, for example, very mean to a female then maybe the rest of them are going to think well, he has no respect so therefore I won't. ... But definitely I think if the leader has, their opinions will matter because we look up to them.

How the leaders treat that [female], if they treat them differently, then the boys are going to see her different, and they're not, they're going to get bitter and they're not going to like her. ... It's definitely, it's up to the leader to set, make an example and to treat her exactly like everybody else and then maybe the guys will treat her exactly like everybody else.

Other positive leadership behaviours, mentioned less often by participants, involved the importance of *communicating with followers* (mentioned by 1 leader and 4 followers):

Now, I don't think there's anything wrong with when a [commander] sits down and has his interview with the one or the two women who are in his [unit] to say, listen, you could experience things like this, we've seen something like this in the past. If it happens, let me know. It's unacceptable. Like, that kind of thing, just simplify it and allow them to use the chain of command. (Leader)

You only get feedback if you screw up. And they don't know what to do with you if there's a problem. They don't know how to handle you... But [my leader] never came and asked me though. You know, like he knew I was having problems and all they did was write it on my PERs. They knew there was problems, but one-on-one, I don't think he ever came and talked to me, and just talked to me. It was always in a formal setting when I was either getting interviewed or I was getting in trouble, or it was about, you know, PER, PER, you know what I mean? ... Like, you have to be able to have your people talk to you and tell you what's going on. (Follower)

...My warrant right now, like, he's a great guy... Like he's not perfect by any means, I'm sure. But he's just an all around, he's a nice person. I can go up and say anything to him. We can joke, we can talk, if I have something serious to say, if I'm having a problem with a guy in my troop say, I'll say, well, I don't think, you know, and he'll go okay, we'll sort it out. Like, he's just good at everything. (Follower)

Despite the fact that most participants spoke of the importance of leaders not singling out women, another positive leadership behaviour identified by participants involved the importance of *acknowledging and dealing with gender differences* (mentioned by 1 leader and 4 followers). These gender differences, according to participants, pertained to such issues as learning styles and hygiene matters:

[As a leader] you just have to figure out how people learn something, men or women, and...if they learn different, teach them different. (Leader)

The senior NCOs need to be aware of women's issues, like stupid things, like, you know, sharing showers. ... What about when you're stuck in the field, or you're stuck in a driver's hole for 12 hours, you haven't been able to go out and have a piss? The guys can go piss behind a vehicle. Where are you going to go? Some, I mean, one of my warrants he said he had the one female with him once and he said he used to drive his vehicle out front and she would say you know I have to go the washroom. He said he would pull out a little farther ahead so she could go in front of the vehicle, no one else could see her, which was good. I mean, he handled that, right, but that's the thing, I mean, that's the thing, they have to be able to talk to each other about stuff like that. (Follower)

Possessing *basic leadership competence* was also mentioned as a positive leadership behaviour (by 3 leaders and 1 follower). These leadership competencies included, for example, being able to deal with fraternization issues, sexual harassment, and gender-related logistical issues.

As far as the sexual thing [fraternization] is concerned, that I believe is just an extremely archaic argument because they said the same thing about women coming into the medical profession, they said the same thing about women as leaders in large organizations previously male, and it's worked out fine. I mean all it takes is common sense and it takes discretion on the part of the

member, discretion on the part of the leadership and perhaps a little bit of sensitivity on the side of the leadership to take a look at situations and say no, we want to avoid this one, we want to develop this one. So that is just a problem that we have in life and sure, if you want to hide from the reality of society, you can, but I don't think that the benefits that bringing women in, [that women] bring to the CF, certainly that does not outweigh the benefits that can be gained. (Leader)

I might have a more simplistic view than others, but...I've heard the argument well, you know, then frat becomes this whole issue and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, and what about when we go for shower runs and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. And I'm like, okay, shut it. That's logistics that are easily sorted out, provided anybody is competent. (Leader)

But I think all the supervisors, anybody in a supervisor role should know the harassment policy of the Forces, because that's the only way it will be actually implemented... (Leader)

Mentoring was also seen as a positive leadership behaviour; it was mentioned by 1 leader and 3 followers, including the follower quoted below:

I think you need to have a senior NCO or at least a female master corporal to be able to provide some leadership for the other females, to have someone they can go and talk to. (Follower)

Another positive leadership behaviour concerned the ability to *understand family issues* (mentioned by 1 leader and 3 followers):

I made the conscious decision [that due to family circumstances] I did not want to go away for two months...and so I talked to the CO [who suggested I look after rear party]. ... So I looked after rear party. ... So I mean, and it worked out well. (Leader)

The setting of *gender-free performance standards* was also mentioned (by 2 leaders and 2 followers) as a positive leadership behaviour. (Note that the excerpt below also illustrates the importance of not singling women out.)

Not to allow double standards. That's something that is as important as, developing, like one of the things we have to do is develop every soldier, whether it's a man or a woman, where they are weak, and praise them where they are strong and if, say for example, one of my soldiers is physically weak and it happens to be a woman, then it is my job to help develop her physically, and that's what I mean by [not] allowing double standards. ... So I think that's really important is to hold them to that physical standard...to hold them to it and not say, oh they can't. (Leader)

Not defining gender integration issues as simply a woman's problem was seen as another positive leadership behaviour (mentioned by 2 leaders and 1 follower). In the excerpt below,

the participant, a leader, argued that every individual in a leadership role, not just women, should be knowledgeable about women's equipment and kit:

It is everybody's job to know how everybody is best fitting their kit. That's a corporal and there are sergeants and warrant officers that should [look women] over and [say] here's how it works for you. And, so those, people need to do that. It's not a woman's job. It's their unit.

Significantly, four leaders mentioned *accepting alternative styles of leadership* as a positive leadership behaviour that would enhance gender integration:

My boss gave me the impression that I had to be much more aggressive and that was the whole point of his feedback. He said that I was too calm and seemed uncertain. And I definitely was uncertain. ... But as for the big aggressive part, you know, I said that is not ever going to come out in me. Like, that's not my leadership style. ... I mean if I'm yelling or if I'm, then I'm mad, like there is something really wrong. And someone better be dying or, you know, there is something serious going on if... And I don't think that's a bad thing. [Getting that feedback from my superior] was very...that's a highlight in my career, but it's not a good highlight.

Three leaders, such as the two quoted below, mentioned *refraining from gender stereotyping and from using sexist humour or sexist language* as another positive leadership behaviour:

And there's things that every leader can do that are not simply true for gender integration but are true for, right across the board. For one, never, never ever tolerate...sexist language. You can't tolerate things like that. Now, that doesn't mean that you can't, like if someone's telling a joke that's a funny joke that perhaps has sexual connotations, like that's fine, but truly sexist language or sexist ideas, we can't tolerate, especially as a woman, I can't allow that kind of thing to go on. But by the same token, any kind of racist language, which is something that we deal with now, any kind of religious, anti-religious, certainly none of those things. That's something that's very important at the leadership level, to stomp that kind of stuff out before it starts. We can't allow any kind of race, gender, or religion to be referred to by a nickname of any sort, and if you allow that...and it's so easy for a leader to say, oh, it's just the boys being the boys...

There are certain superior officers that make the odd joke still and I think it really is harmless. But when you constantly make those same jokes in front of, for example, jokes about myself in front of my subordinates, well, what kind of confidence is that instilling in the subordinates, you know, if my superior is making comments about... And whether they be jokes or not, you know, continuous repetition of these things... And to me that says, you know, if he doesn't have confidence in this woman's ability, well then, why should we?

Finally, two followers mentioned leaders *inspiring teamwork* among their female and male soldiers as a positive leadership behaviour that would enhance gender integration:

As long as you've got a good working environment and everything like that, then there's no problem with females. [And again, this may go back to how the leader, the role of the leader in setting the tone, setting the standards, how to behave and all that and work as a team.] You definitely got to work as a team.

[The Canadian Forces should try to make sure that the women and men are working together, doing the same stuff] in a team, yes. ... I think the best way is to work together, yes.

In summary, the majority of participants in this study expressed the view that the leader does in fact play an important role in facilitating gender integration. Participants spoke of a number of positive leadership behaviours that could enhance gender integration, including (in the order of their frequency): not singling women out; expressing positive attitudes regarding women in combat; setting the example; communicating with followers; acknowledging and dealing with gender differences; demonstrating basic leadership competence; mentoring; understanding family issues; setting gender-neutral performance standards; accepting alternative leadership styles; refraining from gender stereotyping or the use of sexist humour/sexist language; and inspiring teamwork between women and men soldiers.

Discussion

Summary of findings

This study found that, when asked to reflect generally upon their visions of effective leadership, both masculine and feminine characteristics figured prominently in both leaders' and followers' accounts. That is, most participants viewed masculine characteristics as important to effective leadership, most participants viewed feminine characteristics as important to effective leadership, and most participants spoke of *both* masculine and feminine characteristics as being important to effective leadership. In fact, most participants, both leaders and followers, referred to each one of these categories of characteristics in their accounts of leadership effectiveness, suggesting that most of the women in this study do not define effective leadership in strictly masculine *or* feminine terms, but see value in possessing *both* masculine and feminine characteristics, attributes which could be applied flexibly to different circumstances. In other words, whether implicitly or explicitly, most leaders spoke of effective leadership in *androgynous* terms, as *integrating* both masculine and feminine characteristics. A similar finding was obtained by Boyce and Herd (2003), who found that female cadet leaders perceived successful officers as having characteristics commonly ascribed to both women and men (see also Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003; Korabik & Ayman, 1989; and Yoder, 1983). Some of the masculine characteristics mentioned by participants in this study as important to effective leadership included the ability of a leader to get the job done; to maintain emotional control; to take action; to be aggressive; to be decisive; to master one's emotions; and to exhibit confidence. Feminine characteristics included a leader's communication skills; compassion; intuition; empathy; approachability; co-operativeness; ability to listen; and willingness to consult with followers. Some participants were explicit about the need for effective leaders to be able to use a variety of leadership styles, both masculine and feminine, in different situations (i.e., the hallmark of androgyny).

Regarding the issue of whether or not participants felt that effective leadership is defined differently for women and men (or whether gender plays a role in defining leadership effectiveness), most participants were somewhat equivocal. Still, there was evidence, among both leaders and followers, of a perception, albeit not always coherent or clear, that gender does play a role in defining leadership effectiveness, whether that be in terms of women bringing unique qualities to military leadership, or in terms of gender differences in leadership style, or in terms of differences in "what it takes" for women and men to be perceived as effective leaders.

Despite the fact that most participants, *when discussing leadership effectiveness in general, without reference to gender*, defined effective leadership at least partly in terms of feminine attributes, most of both leaders and followers (and especially followers) also described negative outcomes (e.g., lack of respect from peers/followers) associated with a female leader exhibiting a feminine leadership style and/or feminine characteristics. For instance, participants warned against a female leader adopting feminine roles or having a feminine physical appearance; they warned against a female leader being "sexually provocative" or

being seen as a “sexual object;” and they warned against a female leader being too caring or compassionate. In contrast, and counter to what would be expected from role congruity theory (Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995), relatively few participants anticipated any negative implications arising from a female leader exhibiting a masculine leadership style and/or masculine characteristics. Those that did, however, warned against a female leader being too “loud or aggressive.”

Furthermore, very few participants spoke of the positive implications of a female leader adopting a feminine leadership style, and followers were even less likely than leaders to do so. Similarly, relatively few participants spoke about the positive implications of a female leader adopting a masculine leadership style, although in this instance, a greater proportion of followers than leaders spoke about the positive implications of masculine leadership. Thus, although most participants, when asked in general about leadership effectiveness, spoke of both masculine and feminine characteristics in positive terms, a somewhat different picture emerged when participants were asked about female leaders. Moreover, when masculine characteristics and feminine characteristics were discussed in the context of *the role of gender in defining effective leadership* (as opposed to the context of *what defines effective leadership in general*), participants perceived negative consequences associated with a female leader adopting particular leadership characteristics, and in particular, feminine leadership characteristics. Indeed, it appears that the more salient issue for participants (particularly followers) concerns the *negative* implications of feminine characteristics, rather than the *positive* implications of masculine characteristics, for a female leader.

This study also suggests that a “catch-22” for women in leadership may still be prevalent. Several participants (6 of 26, and relatively more followers than leaders) perceived negative implications associated with *both* masculine characteristics and feminine characteristics (despite mentioning both masculine and feminine characteristics when discussing, in general terms, their visions of effective leadership!). Although this number represents relatively few participants, the finding nevertheless suggests that the dilemma for women in leadership (e.g., between being seen as too aggressive vs. too timid) may still exist, at least for some, and that leadership for women in the combat arms is still perceived as “a tricky balance.” (For an account of a similar catch-22 described by army women in the CF land trial in the 1980s, in which women felt “damned if you do and damned if you don’t” take on masculine attributes, see Phillippo, 1984.)

One of the key questions examined in this study concerned the issue of whether women in the combat arms, particularly leaders, believe that female leaders must become more masculine in their behaviour in order to be perceived as effective. Interestingly, the view that change is necessary was much more prevalent among followers than among leaders. Most leaders in this study did *not* feel that they must change (i.e., become more masculine) in order to be perceived as an effective leader. Most of the leaders emphasized the importance of being themselves, and of developing their own leadership style, rather than trying to emulate or imitate someone else’s (a man’s) leadership style. A few leaders conveyed how pleasantly surprised they were that they could indeed be themselves within the combat arms, and what a welcome relief it was. Among followers, however, nearly one-half felt that female leaders must become more masculine in order to be seen as effective, and many other followers gave ambiguous responses. Thus, the views of leaders and followers on this issue appear, on the whole, to be rather different.

Another interesting finding concerned perceptions regarding “command presence” among the women in this study, and whether conceptions of what defines command presence would tend to reflect traditional (masculine) notions or more alternative (feminine or androgynous) notions. Although only a few participants spoke explicitly about command presence (i.e., used that term), it appears that leaders and followers may hold differing views regarding what defines command presence, as they did with respect to whether or not women leaders need to change or adopt a more masculine (i.e., traditional) leadership style. That is, a relatively larger number of leaders than followers spoke of command presence in “alternative” terms (e.g., challenged the notion that masculine characteristics, such as aggressiveness and a loud voice, are needed for effective command presence). Some leaders, for example, emphasized the idea that women need to develop their own kind of command presence, different, perhaps, from men’s, but no less effective.

In fact, the findings from this study suggest that women leaders in the Canadian combat arms are developing their own kinds of command presence, and alternative leadership styles. When describing their own personal leadership style, all eight of the leaders in this study talked about characteristics that did not fit neatly into masculine conceptions of leadership. They mentioned being laid back, intuitive; they mentioned the gratification they experienced through developing followers; they mentioned their interpersonal skills, their approachability, their ability to read and understand others, and their ability to listen. The leaders in this study did not describe their leadership style exclusively in feminine terms, but they seemed to emphasize the person-oriented aspects of their leadership style when describing what is most important to their own leadership effectiveness. Furthermore, the descriptions of the women leaders about their own personal leadership style suggest an *integration* of feminine and masculine leadership styles among the women leaders in this study.

This study also identified *positive leadership behaviours* that could enhance gender integration. In fact, most participants felt that the leader does play an important role in facilitating gender integration, although a few followers believed that the role of the leader is unimportant. (Not surprisingly, none of the leaders felt that the role of the leader is insignificant to gender integration!) Participants spoke of a number of positive leadership behaviours that could enhance gender integration, in particular, not singling out women (i.e., not treating them differently from men), expressing positive attitudes regarding women in the combat arms, and setting the example. Other positive leadership behaviours included communicating with followers; acknowledging and dealing with fundamental gender differences (e.g., hygiene issues); demonstrating basic leadership competence (e.g., regarding fraternization, harassment, and gender-related logistical matters); mentoring; understanding family issues; setting gender-neutral performance standards; accepting alternative leadership styles; refraining from gender stereotyping, sexist humour, or sexist language; and inspiring teamwork between women and men. Many of these leadership behaviours have been suggested in previous research (e.g., Davis, 1997; Davis & Thomas, 1998). Most interesting for the present study, however, is the finding concerning the acceptance of alternative leadership styles as a positive leadership practice. If such acceptance were to occur on a significant scale, this could not only enhance gender integration but also contribute to the evolution of leadership, and broader culture change in the military, in a substantial way.

Applying Berry's acculturation framework

The findings of this study can be understood in terms of Berry's (1983, 1989) acculturation framework. As presented earlier, Berry's model includes four options for culture change or adaptation (assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration). According to Berry's model, the option of assimilation emphasizes similarity; it implies a relinquishing of minority group identity and a shift towards the dominant group culture. In contrast, the option of separation emphasizes difference; it implies the maintenance of a traditional/minority group culture outside full participation in the larger society. The third option, marginalization, implies alienation from *both* the traditional/minority group culture and the larger society. However, in the fourth option, integration, both the majority and the minority orientations are equally valued, and both similarities and differences between the minority and the majority groups are recognized and respected. Further, within integration, aspects of the cultural integrity of a minority group are maintained (i.e., there is some resistance to acculturation), but there is also some movement towards becoming an integral part of the larger society (i.e., there is some adjustment). Furthermore, in integration, the minority group changes, but the minority group also influences the majority group, and the existing cultural system, to change.¹²

Previous research (Davis, 1997; Davis & Thomas, 1998; Yoder, 1999) has suggested that *assimilation* may be the most prevalent acculturation option where women in combat are concerned. Thus, the present study sought to assess the current situation, and addressed the following questions: Do women in the Canadian combat arms feel that female leaders must adopt masculine styles of leadership in order to be perceived as effective, or are other (e.g., more "feminine") styles of leadership perceived as equally valued by the CF? Do women's definitions of effective leadership reflect the process of assimilation, in which they accept masculine approaches to leadership, or do they reflect integration, in which women adopt alternative (e.g., feminine, androgynous, empowerment) styles of leadership? Ultimately, can the Canadian combat arms expand or broaden its notions of effective leadership to include alternative styles of leadership, and thus fundamentally change its culture? Or, to what extent has this cultural change already occurred in the CF?

Indeed, there is ample evidence from this study that some form of cultural *integration* has occurred – and does exist – in the Canadian combat arms, at least according to the perceptions of the participants in this study. For example, when speaking in general terms about leadership effectiveness, the majority of women in this study saw value in *both* masculine and feminine leadership characteristics; that is, they spoke of effective leadership in androgynous terms, as drawing on or *integrating* both masculine and feminine characteristics. They valued the ability of a leader to use a variety of leadership styles, whether masculine or feminine, in different contexts, depending on what the situation demanded. As further evidence of integration, most of the leaders in this study did not feel that they must adopt a masculine style in order to be perceived as effective. Rather, they felt that they could be themselves. In a similar vein, some of the leaders in this study held alternative views of "command

¹² According to Berry and Sam (2003), the four acculturation modes are not necessarily mutually exclusive (see also Rudmin, 2003).

presence.” That is, their conceptions of command presence offered an alternative to a strictly masculine conception, providing further evidence of integration. However, perhaps one of the strongest indications of integration is the finding that all eight of the leaders in this study described feminine attributes as important aspects of their own leadership style. In fact, many of the women leaders felt that the attributes that were most critical to their own leadership effectiveness were the feminine or person-oriented attributes. Once again, these women did not describe their leadership in exclusively feminine terms, but it was clear that the women felt that their feminine characteristics were crucial to their leadership success. In short, the women’s views of their own leadership style reflected an integration of masculine and feminine characteristics. Thus, based on participants’ perceptions, there is substantial evidence from this study that true gender integration in the combat arms has, to some extent, occurred.

However, there is also considerable evidence that cultural assimilation, from a gender perspective, is still prevalent in the Canadian combat arms. One piece of evidence concerns the negative implications that participants perceived in relation to female leaders adopting feminine styles of leadership (or feminine characteristics exhibited by female leaders), despite the positive view of feminine characteristics held by participants when discussing leadership effectiveness in general. Participants’ warnings against female leaders adopting “too feminine” a physical appearance is reminiscent of the female cadets studied by Yoder (1999) who shunned their skirts and donned pants in order to blend in with the men (see also Marshall, 1993; and Remington, 1983, whose study of women in the police found that these women assimilated, in behaviour and appearance, to the male police group). Although a few women in the present study (notably, leaders) stated that they felt comfortable, for example, wearing whatever clothes they wished (when not in uniform), the more frequently voiced perception was that women had to be careful about their physical appearance at all times, including how they wore their hair, how much make-up they wore, the type of jewellery that they wore, and the clothes that they wore. Participants’ warnings against female leaders being too caring and compassionate (attributes of a feminine style of leadership) also suggest that gender assimilation is still a force in the Canadian combat arms. As noted earlier, participants also warned against being “too loud and aggressive” (attributes of a masculine style of leadership), but less often than they warned against exhibiting feminine attributes. Additional evidence of assimilation comes from the finding that nearly one-half of the followers (in contrast to the leaders) felt that women leaders must become more masculine in order to be seen as effective. Similarly, followers tended to hold a more traditional (masculine) conception of command presence than leaders tended to hold, although the numbers here were small.¹³ Thus, assimilation, as well as integration, seems to be playing a role in defining the current culture in the Canadian combat arms, based on participants’ perceptions (see also Phillippo, 1984).

The “catch-22” concerning masculine and feminine leadership styles that was perceived by some participants may be viewed in terms of marginalization, for within the framework of the catch-22, there is a sense of alienation from *both* femininity (the minority culture) and

¹³ Apart from differences in officer-NCM status, however, the differences between leaders and followers found in this study may also be due to differences in educational background, specific command/leadership experiences, courses and training, or other factors.

masculinity (the majority culture).¹⁴ In terms of separation, however, this study provided little evidence of this form of acculturation. That is, the women in this study did not appear to form a “feminine culture” *outside* the “masculine combat arms.” However, it may be the case that some of the women in the combat arms have formed their own sub-culture(s), separate in some sense from, but still contained within, the dominant masculine culture. Thus, a more definitive answer to the separation issue awaits future research.

Conclusions and directions for future research

In conclusion, the findings from this study suggest that *both* integration and assimilation are forces currently shaping concepts of leadership in the Canadian combat arms. Although possible evidence of marginalization was also found (the “catch-22”), the primary acculturation forms were clearly assimilation and integration, based on the perceptions of participants as expressed in interviews. In terms of integration, participants spoke of the importance of both feminine and masculine characteristics in defining effective leadership; most leaders did not feel that they must adopt a masculine leadership style in order to be seen as effective, but could be themselves; and all eight leaders in this study described their own leadership style in integrative terms, even emphasizing the importance of their feminine attributes to effective leadership. In terms of assimilation, many participants perceived negative implications in relation to a female leader exhibiting feminine leadership characteristics (despite having defined effective leadership partly in feminine terms). Furthermore, nearly one-half of followers felt that women must become more masculine in order to be seen as effective leaders. Thus, the current situation regarding women, leadership, and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms can be described as complex and somewhat contradictory, with both integrative and assimilative forces in operation. This study also shed light on leadership practices that may facilitate gender integration, in particular, not singling out women; having positive attitudes towards women in combat; and setting the example.

In focusing on women, this study allowed for a better understanding of women’s perspectives, and perceptions, regarding leadership and gender integration. However, future research should also investigate the perspectives, and perceptions, of men in the Canadian combat arms. Future work should also explore the leadership perceptions of other women in the combat arms (e.g., at other army bases across Canada), other military women (including women working in other environments, such as the Air Force or Navy), and military women who have served in operational (particularly war-fighting) environments. Such studies may contribute to a better understanding of Canadian military culture and the process of its change.

¹⁴ For an alternative view of marginalization, according to which marginalization is better understood as “multiculturalism,” see (Rudmin, 2003).

References

- Adams, J. (1984). Women at West Point: A three-year perspective. *Sex Roles, 11*(5/6), 525-541.
- Bakan, D. (1966). *The duality of human existence*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Bales, R. F. (1950). *Interaction process analysis: A method for the study of small groups*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42*, 155-162.
- Berry, J. W. (1983). Acculturation: A comparative analysis of alternative forms. In R. J. Samuda & A. L. Woods (Eds.), *Perspectives in immigrant and minority education* (pp. 66-77). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Berry, J. W. (1989). Acculturation and psychological adaptation. In J. Forgas & J. Innes (Eds.), *Recent advances in social psychology: An international perspective* (pp. 511-520). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (2003). Accuracy in scientific discourse. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 44*, 65-68.
- Boldy, J., Wood, W., & Kashy, D. A. (2001). Gender stereotypes and the evaluation of men and women in military training. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(4), 689-705.
- Boyce, L. A., & Herd, A. M. (2003). The relationship between gender role stereotypes and requisite military leadership characteristics. *Sex Roles, 49*(7/8), 365-378.
- Broverman, I. K., Broverman, D. M., Clarkson, F. E., Rosenkrantz, P., & Vogel, S. R. (1970). Sex-role stereotypes and clinical judgments of mental health. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 34*, 1-7.
- Broverman, I. K., Vogel, S. R., Broverman, D. M., Clarkson, F. E., & Rosenkrantz, P. S. (1972). Sex-role stereotypes: A current appraisal. *Journal of Social Issues, 28*, 59-78.
- Committee on Women in NATO Forces (2003, June). Proceedings from the meeting of the Committee on Women in NATO Forces, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
- Dansby, M. R. (1996). Unpublished notes taken during visit to the Defence Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI), 23-31 January, 1996.

- Davis, K. D. (1997). *Chief Land Staff Gender Integration Study: The Regular Force Training and Employment Environment*. (Sponsor Research Report 97-2). Ottawa, Canada: Personnel Research Team, National Defence Headquarters.
- Davis, K. D., & McKee, B. (October, 2002). *The warrior framework under fire: Challenging traditional debates surrounding the role of women in the military, today and tomorrow*. Paper presented to the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.
- Davis, K. D., & Thomas, V. (1998). *Chief Land Staff Gender Integration Study: The Experience of Women Who Have Served in the Combat Arms*. (Sponsor Research Report 98-1). Ottawa, Canada: Personnel Research Team, National Defence Headquarters.
- Denmark, F. L. (1993). Women, leadership, and empowerment. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 17, 343-356.
- Diekmann, A. B., & Eagly, A. H. (2002). Stereotypes as dynamic constructs: Women and men of the past, present, and future. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26(10), 1171-1188.
- Eagly, A. H., Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C., & van Engen, M. L. (2003). Transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles: A meta-analysis comparing women and men. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(4), 569-591.
- Eagly, A. H., & Johnson, B. T. (1990). Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 233-256.
- Eagly, A. H., Karau, S. J., & Makhijani, M. G. (1995). Gender and the effectiveness of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 125-145.
- Eagly, A. H., Makhijani, M. G., & Klonsky, B. G. (1992). Gender and the evaluation of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 111, 3-22.
- Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Educational Communication and Technology Journal*, 29(2), 75-91.
- Holden, N. J., & Tanner, L. M. (2001). *An examination of current gender integration policies in TTCP countries*. Director Strategic Human Resource Coordination Personnel Operational Research Team & Director Military Gender Integration and Employment Equity ORD Report R2001/01. Ottawa, Canada: Department of National Defence.
- Hollander, E. P., & Yoder, J. (1980). Some issues in comparing women and men as leaders. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 1(3), 267-280.
- Hyde, J. S. (1996). *Half the human experience: The psychology of women*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company.

- Korabik, K. (1993, May). *Strangers in a strange land: Women managers and the legitimization of authority*. Paper presented as part of the symposium entitled "The Legitimization of Women's Authority" at the annual meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
- Korabik, K., & Ayman, R. (1989). Do women managers have to act like men? *Journal of Management Development*, 8(6), 23-32.
- Lamerson, C. (1987). *Integration of women into previously all-male units: A literature review*. (Working Paper 87-2). Willowdale, Ontario: Canadian Forces Personnel Applied Research Unit.
- Marshall, J. (1993). Organizational cultures and women managers: Exploring the dynamics of resilience. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 42(4), 313-322.
- Minister's Advisory Board on Canadian Forces Gender Integration and Employment Equity. (2001). Available online at <http://www.dnd.ca/menu/press/Reports/CFGIEE/INDEX-E.HTM>.
- O'Leary, V. (1974). Some attitudinal barriers to occupational aspirations in women. *Psychological Bulletin*, 81, 809-826.
- Patton, M. Q. (1980). *Qualitative evaluation methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Phillipo, L. M. (1984). *Content analysis of land trial interviews 1980 and 1983*. (Technical Note 17/84). Willowdale, Ontario: Canadian Forces Personnel Applied Research Unit.
- Remington, P. W. (1983). Women in the police: Integration or separation? *Qualitative Sociology*, 6(2), 118-135.
- Rice, R. W., Instone, D., & Adams, J. (1984). Leader sex, leader success, and leadership process: Two field studies. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 69(1), 12-31.
- Rice, R. W., Yoder, J. D., Adams, J., Priest, R. F., & Prince, H. T. (1984). Leadership ratings for male and female military cadets. *Sex Roles*, 10(11/12), 885-901.
- Rudmin, F. W. (2003). Critical history of the acculturation psychology of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. *Review of General Psychology*, 7(1), 3-37.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1993). Reflections on quantification in the study of conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26(1), 99-128.
- Schein, V. E. (1973). The relationship between sex-role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 57, 95-100.
- Schein, V. E. (1975). The relationship between sex-role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among female managers. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 60, 340-344.

- Schein, V. E., Mueller, R., Lituchy, T., & Liu, J. (1996). Think manager – think male: A global phenomenon? *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 17, 33-41.
- Stogdill, R. M. (1963). *Manual for the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire—Form XII*. Columbus: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Tanner, L. (1999). *Gender Integration in the Canadian Forces: A Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis*. Director General Military Human Resources Policy & Planning, Directorate of Military Gender Integration & Employment Equity, & Director General Operational Research Directorate of Operational Research (Corporate, Air & Maritime), ORD Report R9901. Ottawa, Canada: Department of National Defence.
- Vecchio, R. P. (2002). Leadership and gender advantage. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 13, 643-671.
- Vroom, V. H., & Yetton, P. W. (1973). *Leadership and decision-making*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Yoder, J. D. (1983). Another look at women in the United States Army: A comment on Woelfel's article. *Sex Roles*, 9(3), 285-288.
- Yoder, J. D. (1999). *Women and gender: Transforming psychology*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Annex A:

Information Letter: Women, Leadership, and Gender Integration in the Canadian Combat Arms: A Qualitative Study

Dear Participant:

My name is Angela Febbraro and I am conducting a study entitled “Women, Leadership, and Gender Integration in the Canadian Combat Arms: A Qualitative Study.” To assist me with this study, I am requesting 1-2 hours of your time to participate in a one-on-one interview. This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) of Defence R&D Canada – Toronto (DRDC - Toronto) (Protocol Number L-396). I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail, should you choose to participate.

Although the Canadian Forces has made many strides in recent years regarding the integration of women into its ranks, women have not progressed in large numbers to the most senior positions, and gender integration remains a challenge. Despite women’s achievements in the military, and recent policy changes, women’s participation in the combat arms remains an especially challenging area. Further, although women have demonstrated their leadership effectiveness in many settings, questions regarding the appropriateness of female leaders, particularly in the combat arms, remains a contentious issue for some members of the CF. The goal of this research is to contribute to a better and more up-to-date understanding of women in the combat arms, particularly in relation to leadership issues. It will address questions such as: Are there specific leadership behaviours that are considered essential in order for woman leaders to be perceived as effective in the combat arms? To answer such questions, the perspectives of both women leaders and followers will be sought. It is anticipated that information gathered from this study may potentially be used to improve the process of gender integration in the combat arms, the Canadian Army, and the Canadian military as a whole, in order to ensure that organizational policies translate properly into organizational practice.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. It will involve participating in a single one-on-one personal interview to discuss issues of leadership and gender integration in the combat arms, as well as the Canadian army and military as a whole. It will also involve completing a short Biographical Data Form. The interview will be approximately 1-2 hours in duration. All interviews will be conducted at CFB Petawawa, at your unit, by the Principal Investigator, Dr. Angela Febbraro.

The information that you provide in the interview is considered completely confidential and I ask that you do not identify or name specific individuals during your interview. The interview will be recorded and transcribed, with your consent, and will be kept in a secure location to which only researchers associated with this project will have access. The transcript will contain no information identifying individuals. If you wish, you can choose not to be tape-recorded but still participate in an interview. The content of your interview will not be made available or accessible to supervisors and your participation will have no impact on your career. Although your base commander or commanding officer will be aware that this study is taking place, he or she will not be given a list of participant names. After your interview has been transcribed, you will have the opportunity to review its contents (point out any errors, etc.) and to indicate any portions that you would like not be referred to in any reports, publications or presentations (this may include the entire transcript). Results communicated or reported will contain no identifying information. If excerpts from interviews are to be used in reports or publications, under no circumstances will identifying characteristics be reported; where applicable, only aggregate results (i.e., with no identifying information) will be communicated.

The risks associated with your participation in this study are minimal (i.e., the possibility of harm or discomfort is anticipated to be no greater than what you will encounter in your daily life or occupation). However, participation in this research will involve discussing aspects of your work life that you may find uncomfortable. To offset this risk, you may decline to answer any questions, and you may terminate your participation at any time, without penalty. There are no other known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

On completion of this study, a research report will be provided to you, submitted to a variety of journals, and presented to conferences.

If after reading this letter you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information, please feel free to contact Dr. Angela Febbraro at 416-635-2000, Extension 3120.

Thank you in advance for your interest in this project. It is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Angela R. Febbraro
Defence Scientist
DRDC - Toronto

Annex B:

Voluntary Consent Form

Protocol Number: L-396

Research Project Title: Women, Leadership, and Gender Integration in the Canadian Combat Arms: A Qualitative Study

Principal Investigator: Dr. Angela R. Febbraro

I, _____ (name) of _____
(address and phone number) hereby volunteer to participate as a subject in the study, "Women, Leadership, and Gender Integration in the Canadian Combat Arms: A Qualitative Study" (Protocol L-396). I have read the information letter, and have had the opportunity to ask questions of the Investigator. All of my questions concerning this study have been fully answered to my satisfaction. However, I may obtain additional information about the research project and have any questions about this study answered by contacting Dr. Angela R. Febbraro at 416-635-2000, Extension 3120.

I have been told that I will be asked to participate in a single one-on-one personal interview lasting 1-2 hours. I will also be asked to complete a short Biographical Data Form.

I have been told that there is one risk associated with this research. The risk is that this research will involve discussing aspects of my work life that I may find uncomfortable. To offset this risk, I may decline to answer any questions, and I may terminate my participation at any time, without penalty. There are no other known or anticipated risks to me as a participant in this study.

I have been advised that the data concerning me will be treated as confidential, and not revealed to anyone other than the DRDC - Toronto Investigator(s) without my consent except as data unidentified as to source.

I understand that I am free to refuse to participate and may withdraw my consent without prejudice or hard feelings at any time. Should I withdraw my consent, my participation as a subject will cease immediately. In this case, I will have the option of requiring that any data that I have provided be destroyed. I also understand that the Investigator(s), or their designate, may terminate my participation at any time, regardless of my wishes.

Volunteer's Name _____
Signature: _____
Date: _____

FOR SUBJECT ENQUIRY IF REQUIRED:

Should I have any questions or concerns regarding this project before, during, or after participation, I understand that I am encouraged to contact Defence R&D Canada - Toronto (DRDC - Toronto), P.O. Box 2000, 1133 Sheppard Avenue West, Toronto, Ontario M3M 3B9. This contact can be made by surface mail at this address or in person, by phone or e-mail, to any of the DRDC Toronto numbers and addresses listed below:

* Principal DRDC - Toronto Investigator: Dr. Angela R. Febbraro, 416-635-2000, Extension 3120, Angela.Febbraro@ drdc-rddc.gc.ca.

* Chair, DRDC - Toronto Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC): Dr. Jack Landolt, 416-635-2120, jack.landolt@ drdc-rddc.gc.ca.

I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form so that I may contact any of the above-mentioned individuals at some time in the future should that be required.

I grant permission to have my interview tape-recorded.

Participant's signature _____
Date _____

I grant permission to the principal investigator to quote directly from my interview, but without attribution or reference to my identity. I have been informed that I will have the opportunity to review my interview transcript to indicate any portions that should not be quoted in reports, publications, or presentations, and that this may include the entire transcript, even if I give permission to quote from my interview below.

Participant's signature _____
Date _____

Annex C:

Interview Guide (Topic Categories and Sample Questions/Probes)

Introductory Remarks

- Introduce myself, explain who I am, general purpose of the research, its relevance and potential benefit to the military, why I am conducting the interview, general format of the interview and time commitment.
- Review of confidentiality/anonymity (i.e., something you say or part of your experience may be documented in a report, but no identifying information will be included). Your experience will be compared with that of other women and reported in aggregate/with no identifying information.
- Review terms indicated on Voluntary Consent Form.
- Ask if any questions or if any clarification is needed.

Experiences in the Canadian Forces and Combat Arms

- Overview of Canadian Forces career - occupation, training and experience, postings, rank (report dates for enrolment, occupation transfers, all training, postings, promotions, and other historical aspects of the CF career).
- Tell me a little about yourself: how long have you been in the military, your MOC, why you joined the military, etc.
- Experience within the CF/combat arms - best/worst (aspects of being in the military/combat arms), most/least valuable, expectations and actual experience.
- Overall assessment of experience within the CF/combat arms so far. For example, is it meeting your expectations, did you receive enough information prior to entering combat arms?
- Is there anything that would have made your experience different (better or worse)?
- Are there particular qualities or strengths that you feel women (or newcomers) bring to the combat arms that make it more effective?

- In general, how do you think women in the CF/in combat roles are treated? Fairly? Not fairly? Positively? Negatively?
- What are your thoughts on the issue of women in the military, and in particular, women in combat? Probe re: arguments for/against women in combat (e.g., gender differences in physical/emotional characteristics; effects on unit cohesion, morale or performance; distinction between military vs. civilian society; the changing nature of warfare; the "lowering" of standards, other stereotypes, etc.).
- Any recommendations for the Army re: employment of women in combat arms?
- If you knew a woman who was considering going into the combat arms today, what advice would you offer to her?
- Are there any aspects of your experience within the CF/combat arms that we haven't covered that you feel is important to talk about?

Women and Leadership in the Combat Arms/Canadian Forces

- What does the ideal soldier/leader look like?
- How do women fit this ideal?
- What do (is there anything) women have to do to fit?
- Does the definition of the ideal soldier/leader differ in the combat arms compared to the rest of the military?
- Women and different leadership styles? How rewarded? How discouraged?
- In your experience, or observation, are there particular characteristics that women (men) leaders must have, or must exhibit, in order to progress through the ranks (e.g., must they take on masculine characteristics; can they simply "be themselves")?
- What are some examples of positive leadership, that is, leadership behaviours that you feel serve to accommodate women, or that ensure that women (and all CF personnel) are employed to the maximum benefit of a unit?
- Research shows that female officers are promoted at a lower rate than their male counterparts, and that female NCMs are commissioned from the ranks at a lower rate than their male counterparts. Any thoughts on why this might be the case?

Gender Integration in the Combat Arms/Canadian Forces

- In your experience, what works/doesn't work in a mixed-gender environment?
- Follow-up re: what should be done to change that, etc.
- Does CF leadership promote/support a positive mixed-gender environment?
- Do you think that the successful integration of women into the military (especially combat roles) is primarily a leadership issue?
- What can leaders do to facilitate gender integration?
- What should the military do to ensure the successful integration of women into the military/combat roles? (e.g., extra training for women? specific recruitment campaigns? gender awareness training? mentoring programs? (other examples of employment equity?).
- What do you see as the biggest challenges for the integration of women into the military/combat roles?
- Do you feel there is a need for change?
- If so, are you hopeful about the possibility for change?
- What do you see as the central issues to look at when thinking about women in combat/women in the military?

Closing the Interview

- If I have further questions or would like to clarify any points later, do you have any objection to me calling you?
- Are you interested in receiving a report of the findings? (If yes, verify mailing address).
- Thank You - leave business card(s) for potential follow-up.

Annex D:

Biographical Data Form

MOC: (Please check.)

Armoured _____ Artillery _____ Infantry _____ Combat Engineer _____

MOC Number _____

Current position _____

Officer _____ NCM _____

Regular _____ Reserve _____

Have you ever been in the reserves? Yes _____ No _____

Rank:

Private _____ Corporal _____ Master Corporal _____ Sergeant _____

Warrant Officer _____ Master Warrant Officer _____ Chief Warrant Officer _____

Officer Cadet _____ Second Lieutenant _____ Lieutenant _____ Captain _____

Major _____ Lieutenant Colonel _____ Colonel _____ Brigadier General _____

Major General _____ Lieutenant General _____ General _____

Age _____

Number of years in the military _____

Number of years in the combat arms _____

Have you ever held a command/leadership appointment? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how many people were (or are) under your command (including all levels and sub-units if relevant)? _____ military and/or _____ civilian personnel

Please specify which command/leadership appointments you have held:

Deployments (overseas and domestic, including Op name, date, and duration):

Combat arms experience:

Non-combat arms regular force experience:

Are there other women in your subsubunit _____, subunit _____, or unit _____? (If yes, please specify approximate numbers in the blanks.)

Education: (Please check the highest level achieved.)

Less than high school _____ Some high school _____ High school diploma _____
Some post-secondary (college or CEGEP) _____ Postsecondary (college or CEGEP) diploma _____
Some university _____ University degree _____
Some graduate school _____ Graduate degree _____

Did you graduate from a CF military college? Yes _____ No _____

Marital status:

Single, never married _____ Married or common-law _____ Widowed _____
Separated/divorced _____

If any children, number of children _____ and ages of the children _____.

Number of children _____ and/or other dependents (e.g., elderly parents) _____
currently living with you.

If you have a spouse or are living with an intimate partner, is he or she a member of the CF?

_____ N/A
_____ No
_____ Yes, in the Reserve Force
_____ Yes, in the Regular Force

Has any (other) member of your family ever been in the military? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please give details:

Nationality/race/ethnicity: _____

Are you an Aboriginal person (First Nation/North American Indian, Inuit or Métis)?

Yes _____ No _____

Are you, because of your race or colour, in a visible minority in Canada?

Yes _____ No _____

What is your first language:

English

French

Other (please specify) _____

DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA SHEET

1a. PERFORMING AGENCY
DRDC Toronto

2. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

1b. PUBLISHING AGENCY
DRDC Toronto

UNCLASSIFIED

–

3. TITLE

Women, leadership and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms: A qualitative study

4. AUTHORS

Angela R. Febbraro

5. DATE OF PUBLICATION

December 1 , 2003

6. NO. OF PAGES

86

7. DESCRIPTIVE NOTES

8. SPONSORING/MONITORING/CONTRACTING/TASKING AGENCY

Sponsoring Agency:

Monitoring Agency:

Contracting Agency :

Tasking Agency:

9. ORIGINATORS
DOCUMENT NO.

Technical Report TR
2003–170

10. CONTRACT GRANT
AND/OR PROJECT NO.

16kx

11. OTHER DOCUMENT NOS.

12. DOCUMENT RELEASABILITY

Unlimited distribution

13. DOCUMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Unlimited announcement

14. ABSTRACT

(U) The present study examined the perceptions of 26 women in the Canadian combat arms regarding their concepts of effective leadership. Included in the sample were both leaders (8) and followers (18) from each of the four combat arms (infantry, armoured, artillery, combat engineer). The study employed semi-structured qualitative interviews and Berry's (1989) acculturation framework (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalization) to investigate whether women in the Canadian combat arms currently feel that women leaders must assimilate to masculine concepts of leadership (i.e., adopt a masculine leadership style), or whether feminine (person-oriented) leadership attributes (e.g., compassion) and masculine (task-oriented) leadership attributes (e.g., decisiveness) are both valued, reflecting true gender integration. Based on the women's perceptions of effective leadership, the findings from this study suggest that both integration and assimilation are currently in force in the Canadian combat arms. In terms of integration, participants spoke of the importance of both feminine and masculine characteristics in defining effective leadership; most leaders in this study did not feel that they must adopt a masculine leadership style in order to be seen as effective; and all eight leaders in this study described their own leadership style in integrative terms, even emphasizing the importance of their feminine attributes to effective leadership. In terms of assimilation, many participants perceived negative implications in relation to a female exhibiting feminine leadership characteristics. Furthermore, nearly one-half of followers felt that women leaders must become more masculine in order to be perceived as effective. Thus, the current situation regarding women, leadership, and gender integration in the Canadian combat arms is complex and contradictory, with both integrative and assimilative forces in operation. This study also shed light on leadership practices that may facilitate gender integration, such as not singling out women, having positive attitudes towards women in combat, and setting the example.

(U) La présente étude porte sur les perceptions de 26 femmes, membres des armes de combat canadiennes, relativement au leadership efficace. L'échantillon comprenait à la fois des dirigeantes (8) et des subalternes (18) provenant des quatre armes de combat (Infanterie, Arme blindée, Artillerie et Génie). Pour mener cette étude, on a eu recours à des entrevues qualitatives semi-structurées et au cadre d'acculturation de Berry (1989) (assimilation, intégration, séparation et marginalisation). On cherchait à savoir si, actuellement, les femmes appartenant aux armes de combat canadiennes croient que les dirigeantes doivent s'assimiler aux concepts masculins du leadership (p. ex., adopter un style de leadership masculin) ou, si au contraire, elles accordent la même valeur aux caractéristiques (compassion) du leadership féminin (centré sur la personne) qu'à celles (esprit de décision) du leadership masculin (centré sur les tâches), ce qui refléterait une réelle intégration des femmes. Les résultats de l'étude, fondés sur la perception qu'ont les femmes d'un leadership efficace, suggèrent que l'intégration et l'assimilation co-existent dans les armes de combat canadiennes. Au sujet de l'intégration, les femmes ont mentionné l'importance d'inclure à la fois les particularités des femmes et des hommes dans la définition du leadership. La plupart des dirigeantes participant à l'étude n'avaient pas le sentiment de devoir adopter un comportement masculin pour convaincre leurs collègues de leur efficacité. Par ailleurs, les huit dirigeantes ont décrit leur propre style dans des termes qui faisaient référence à l'intégration, insistant même sur l'importance de leurs traits féminins pour garantir un leadership efficace. En ce qui concerne l'assimilation, plusieurs participantes ont l'impression que l'adoption d'un style féminin peut avoir des conséquences négatives. En outre, près de la moitié des subalternes estiment que les dirigeantes devraient se masculiniser pour renforcer leur crédibilité. On peut donc constater que la situation actuelle des femmes, du leadership et de l'intégration des femmes dans les armes de combat canadiennes est complexe et contradictoire, les forces d'intégration et d'assimilation agissant en même temps. L'étude a également mis en lumière des pratiques de leadership qui peuvent faciliter l'intégration des femmes, par exemple, éviter d'isoler les femmes, adopter des attitudes positives à l'égard des femmes au combat et donner l'exemple.

15. KEYWORDS, DESCRIPTORS or IDENTIFIERS

(U) gender and leadership; women in combat; gender integration