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Storming the Ramparts:

Employment Equity and The Military

By

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Facility of Graduate Studies
For the Degree of

Master of Public Administration

Department of Political Studies
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STORMING THE RAMPARTS:

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY AND THE MILITARY

BY

PATRICIA L. BRENNAN

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University

of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree

of

MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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Abstract

This study was conducted with a dual purpose. The first was to explore the theory and history of employment equity in Canada in general and in the Canadian military in particular. The second was to prepare a report on the findings as to why personnel, particularly designated groups under employment equity, choose to leave the military. The intent was to determine if there were significant differences in reasons for leaving between men who make up the majority of the Canadian Forces and designated group members, that in turn could be used to determine if systemic barriers were contributing factors. The study was conducted by comparing data for all who left the military from January 1994 to December 1996 with data from personnel who voluntarily completed an exit questionnaire upon leaving, and then with gender and ethnic information from the 1995 Canadian Forces Diversity Study. Overall the results were consistent for women and men -- both citing family impact as the primary category of reasons for leaving. The results were less consistent among aboriginal peoples and visible minorities who reported higher instances of career dissatisfaction. Caution is advised in interpreting these results as overall, there was a low rate of response from all groups (about 20%), an increased completion rate with rank progression, inconsistent completion rate by occupation and small overall sample of aboriginal peoples and visible minorities. Recommendations for increasing the validity of the exit questionnaire include making completion mandatory, simplifying the questionnaire and the process for completion, targeting designated groups as well as junior personnel and non-traditional occupations to complete the questionnaire, and instituting a program to refer designated groups to the reserves.

Acknowledgements

This study was made possible through the support of the CF Diversity Office and by all who persevered the endless questions.

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1.1 Introduction

Employment equity officially came to the Canadian workplace in 1985, with the passing of Bill C-62 - an Act respecting Employing Equity. This Bill introduced special measures to promote employment equity in the federal public service. The Bill, however, excluded a large sector of federal employees who were considered to be in confrontational or combative occupations, such as the military, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and security services. It was not until a decade later that these groups were officially included in the Act.

This paper will focus on only one of these groups, the military, and on the factors that are likely to influence the success or lack of success of employment equity programs in this somewhat unique organization. While not yet fully subject to the Act, pending a ruling from the Justice department on the military's request to be exempt from actively recruiting people with disabilities, there is a general acceptance that the military will ultimately be subject to the Employment Equity Act in most other aspects.

Few would argue that the military is a unique organization. However, in examining the experience of employment equity programs in general in the Canadian federal public service, and in particular, in male-dominated or segregated occupations, there are parallels that can be drawn and predictions that can be made regarding the likelihood of how employment equity will be perceived and received in the military. This chapter provides a brief overview of the concepts and public policy decisions that led to employment equity legislation in Canada; the experience of employment equity in the federal Public Service in traditionally male or segregated occupations; and the unique organizational culture and the social context in which militaries in general operate.

1.2   Affirmative Action versus Employment Equity

Few workplace laws have gained the scrutiny or criticism that employment equity has. This scrutiny is due to the controversial purpose of the law -- that is to legislate principles of social justice and fairness in keeping with the concept of representative bureaucracy. Employment programs in general are aimed at increasing work force participation by the number of people in the workplace in certain groups, such as racial,

ethnic, women, etc. These programs have alternatively been known as affirmative action or employment equity in Canada. For the purposes of this paper, affirmative action refers to legislation and the network of programs and policies designed to overcome the barriers facing racial and ethnic minorities. Affirmative action programs were introduced in the United States some twenty years early than in Canada and had representational numbers and quotas for disadvantaged groups which were characteristic of early employment equity programs. They came to attract much attention and criticism and were challenged in the courts on the basis of reverse discrimination and by the public service as violating the merit principle. In time, affirmative action programs came to be criticized by proponents and opponents alike as promoting "tokenism" -- that is, they had become ambiguous, aroused negativism, and led to labeling and negative treatment from co-workers.

The Canadian approach to affirmative action has always differed from that in the United States, where quotas were used for racial groups and others not fully represented in the workplace. The Public Service Commission in Canada has opposed the setting of quotas for the employment of under represented groups on grounds that first, it is very difficult to decide which groups or interests in society should be

represented, and secondly, quotas were seen to create two classes of

public servants -- those who received their jobs because they were

meritorious and those who received them because they were members of

an under represented group. The Public Service Commission has,

however, supported the Treasury Board requirements that Departments

set reasonable targets for increasing the representation of target groups

(Kernaghan and Siegel, 1991:534).

Numerical goals for the hiring preference for designated groups

were challenged in the courts as *reverse discrimination*. Reverse

discrimination is alleged where hiring or admission standards are lowered

to provide access to jobs and professional programs. For example, the

Griggs V. Duke Power Co. case established the requirement to validate

any recruitment test in which blacks and whites pass at different rates.

In general, the Supreme Court decisions regarding employment equity

have been supportive of the concept, including preferential treatment of

disadvantaged groups and explicit hiring quotas to remedy historical

and current discrimination and prevent it in the future. Governments

have responded to reverse discrimination charges laid under the

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and have been backed

by the courts, in the idea that Charter rights can be overridden to

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ensure equal treatment through affirmative action or positive discrimination programs (Jain,1991:52). As well, Section 15(1) of the Canadian Human Rights Act allows for special programs aimed at improving employment conditions for disadvantaged groups and states that measures taken to address historical imbalances in the participation of certain groups do not amount to reverse discrimination.

In light of the negativity that came to surround affirmative action, mainly in the United States, employment equity became the preferred term in Canada. This term shifted focus away from numerical targets and quotas, to the removal of *systemic barriers* to allow equality in employment opportunity for targeted groups. Systemic barriers are discriminatory employment practices and procedures equal in intent and application but with a disparate impact on certain groups of workers not directly related to job performance. They are a type of discrimination hidden in the way the system works. It is harder to detect, is usually unintentional and inadvertent, and almost invariably results from policies, practices, selection criteria which affect the protected classes differently (generally to their detriment) (Coates,1977:2). In employment, training and development, discrimination can take several forms: the level at which an individual is hired, the rate of wage increase once hired, the rate

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at which an individual moves up through the organization and the opportunities that are available to the individual to facilitate advancement (Jain,1974:28).

A survey of American federal government employees conducted in 1988 revealed that sexual harassment cost the federal government over $265,000,000 for sick pay, lost productivity, and the replacement of workers who quit due to sexual harassment (Crane,1992:32). Two indicators of systemic barriers are why people leave an organization and their perceived treatment while in the organization. The theory is that marginalized or under represented employees, particularly those who are new, serve as organizational "canaries" -- that is detecting sources of discord or sensing danger in organizations (Phillips et al.,1977:573). The reasons for leaving can be indicators of systemic discrimination for certain groups of people. This is the underlying principle for this study.

However, to begin at the very beginning -- the founding principle of both affirmative action and employment equity is that of *representative bureaucracy*. A leading writer on Canadian public policy, Kenneth Kernaghan, describes the basis for representative bureaucracy in that "the public service should be a microcosm of the total society in terms of a wide range of variables, including race, religion, language, education,

social class and region or origin" (Kernaghan and Siegel,1991:529).

Some fully support this interpretation and advocate preferential hiring and

promotion of members of certain groups until they are represented at

every grade and pay level of the public work force in direct proportion to

their numbers at large (Hampton,1977:155). At the opposite end of the

spectrum, it is argued that no one individual can claim to represent certain

interests or be expected to maintain that advocacy role indefinitely and

therefore dispute the representative bureaucracy principle (Adie and

Thomas,1987:78-9).

The Canadian federal government has chosen a middle ground in

the above debate. It has differed from that of the United States where

quotas were used for racial groups and others not fully represented in the

workplace. Employment equity policy in Canada has not attempted to

establish a demographically comparable representation of all groups, but

to achieve a more proportional representation of under represented

groups. The government has chosen instead to introduce legislation and

institute programs to recruit and train group members who have not

enjoyed equal access to public service employment. The thrust of

Canadian employment equity legislation over the years has been one of

persuasion with each successive Employment Equity Act introducing

additional obligations for employers and granting more powers of enforcement to the Canadian Human Rights Commission. There have been numerous studies, commissions and reports produced on this subject, however, only the most significant in the development of employment equity legislation will be highlighted in this chapter, looking first at women, then at aboriginal peoples and visible minorities.

In the public sector, employment policy priorities since the 1960s have been committed to improving the representation of certain target groups, namely women, aboriginal peoples, members of visible minorities, and persons with disabilities in the federal public service. Aboriginal peoples include First Nation, Inuit and Metis. Visible minorities include members of several groups who may experience discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin or colour, such as Hispanic, Chinese or Black. In general, these four groups constitute what is commonly referred to as the designed groups under the Employment Equity Act.

The majority of commissions convened and reports written on employment equity have been about women. This chapter will only include a few of the major ones which have had a direct impact on the military. In 1963, the Royal Commission on Government Organization (the Glassco Commission) which advocated widespread changes in the

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structure and financial management of government, called upon the government to show "creative leadership in providing equal opportunities for women". In 1970, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended sweeping public policy changes and institutional renewal within the government to improve the social and economic conditions of Canadian women. The Royal Commission also remarked on the small number of trades in which women in the forces were employed -- mainly administrative, technical, and paramedical fields. The Commission directed six recommendations for women in the Canadian Forces (CF). These include standardized enrolment criteria; equal pension benefits for men and women; entry for women into the Canadian military colleges; opening of all trades and classifications to women; termination of practices of prohibiting married women from enrolling; and releasing of service women on the birth of a child (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989:17).

In response, in 1971, the Defence Council directed that service women were to be employed in two-thirds of all occupations in the CF, however not in primary land combat[1] and land combat service support,

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[1] Combat units are those which engage the enemy directly. Combat support units enhance combat units by laying mine fields, providing communications and artillery firepower. Combat service support units repair vehicles, provide fuel, medical services and military policy (or equivalent support in navy and air units).

sea and aircrew duties. This was to ensure service women were not placed in the more hazardous of military duties.

In 1977, the Canadian Human Rights Act laid the legal basis for affirmative action programs in the federal sphere and prohibited discrimination in employment on ten grounds -- race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital status, family status, pardoned conviction, and disability -- either physical or mental. This Act established the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) as the watchdog by empowering it to investigate and attempt to settle complaints of discrimination in public sector employment.

From its inception in 1977 to the present, the Canadian Human Rights Commission has been a decided influence on the federal workplace and also on the personnel policies of the military. It was through a series of Tribunal rulings and subsequent appeals that human rights in the military has evolved. A chronology of cases brought before the Commission by serving or ex-serving military members is contained in chapter 3. In 1983, the CF issued a paper, *The Canadian Forces Personnel Concept*, which stated the CF "as a microcosm of Canadian society, was subject to the pressures of evolving societal attitudes and

norms which might be incompatible with the essential requirements of an operationally effective armed force (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision,1989:25)."

In 1984, the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment, chaired by Judge Rosalie Abella, issued a report that recommended the use of detailed analyses to identify and systematically remove employment policies, practices and procedures which may exclude or place at a disadvantage the four target groups. As early affirmative action programs contained numerical goals for the hiring preference of members in the designated groups, the term affirmative action had come to be associated with numerical goals for hiring preference and thus prompted a negative reaction. The Commission recommended that the term employment equity be adopted to "describe programs of positive remedy for discrimination in the Canadian workplace" (Abella Report,1984:4).

The Abella Commission Report is considered a landmark report by advocates of mandatory enforcement of employment equity. Supporters argue that affirmative action is the measure needed to make employment equity possible (Coates,1977:4). Affirmative action can take several forms in addition to special recruitment and hiring programs, and includes selective training programs, and facilitating programs such as day care

services or modifications in the workplace. The CHRC fully supported the recommendations calling for mandatory employment equity/affirmative action and in 1985, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms -- Section 15, the equality rights section -- further supported the federal government's affirmative action programs.

In June 1985, Bill C-62 - An Act respecting Employment Equity - was introduced in the House of Commons and proclaimed in 1986. It contained special measures to promote employment equity in the federal public service by identifying and removing systemic barriers which keep identified groups out of the workforce. This newer definition of employment equity expanded on previous ones to include the concept of systemic barriers and was to concentrate on equality in employment opportunity, not just representation. The purpose of the Act was:

> *"to achieve equality in the workplace so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities or benefits for reasons unrelated to ability and, in the fulfilment of the goal, to correct the conditions of disadvantage in employment experienced by women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and persons who are, because of their race, or colour, in a visible minority in Canada by giving effect to the principle that employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodation of differences (Canada. House of Commons Bill C-62, Section II)"*.

The Act covered all federally regulated companies with more than 100 employees and the Legislated Employment Equity Program and Federal Contractors Program were introduced to include crown

corporations, banks and transportation and communication companies. The Act excluded large portions of the public sector, including the military, RCMP and the intelligence services. It was not until 1995 that a revised Act provided for the extension of coverage to these groups under an Order-in-Council. That Order-in-Council has yet to be issued pending a ruling by the Justice Department on the CF's request to be exempted from employing persons with disabilities.

Canadian public attitudes towards the military and women in combat have also played a role in supporting these exclusions. As reported in a 1943 survey commissioned by the military, there was considerable disapproval of women serving in the military (Park,1984c:4). However by 1982, opinion polls showed that attitudes had demonstrated a greater acceptance of women in the military and in combat roles (Ibid.:6) among the general population. Whether this shift in attitude was reflected within the military will be further discussed in the following section.

In October 1996, the revised federal Employment Equity Act was proclaimed (Canada. House of Commons Bill C-64, Section II). The revised Act, in addition to inclusion of the military and the RCMP, introduced new core obligations in Section 5 a (ii), which required that

"reasonable progress" must be made toward achieving a representative

workforce and that employers must make "reasonable effort" to

implement the plan.

For aboriginal peoples in Canada, the struggle for equality extends

well beyond the workplace and has its origins in the Indian Act first

promulgated in 1876. In 1969, the federal government tabled a

Statement on Indian Policy that was intended as a blueprint for the future

of native and non-native relations. This paper was vigorously opposed by

aboriginal peoples and was subsequently withdrawn in 1971 (CHRC[2]

Annual Report,1994:27). Two decades later, the same issues were still

in dispute with the government proposing the removal of special status

and aboriginal groups seeking to retain their aboriginal rights within a new

constitution and with self-government. In 1985, amendments to the

Indian Act eliminated sexual discrimination by removing the loss of status

for women who married non-status persons and in 1991, the Royal

Commission Aboriginal Rights was established. In 1995 it issued a

report, *Treaty Making in the Spirit of Co-existence*, that recognized and

affirmed aboriginal rights and emphasized co-existence, mutual

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[2] CHRC is used for brevity in the references in this paper, followed by the year of the report. CHRC refers to Canadian Human Rights Commission Annual Reports which are listed jointly in the Bibliography for the years 1987 to 1997.

recognition, and shared ownership and jurisdiction. For aboriginal peoples

their struggles for a place in society are paramount. Until these basic

rights are settled, employment equity issues will undoubtedly be only a

fringe issue for all but a few of the aboriginal people for many years to

come. You cannot take person who, for years has been isolated both

geographically and socially, bring her/him to the starting line of a race and

then say you are free to compete with all others.

In February 1997, the government commissioned a study, *Visible*

Minorities and the Public Service of Canada, aimed at identifying barriers

to the hiring and promoting of minorities within the federal public service.

The study concluded that the federal government's record in hiring and

retaining visible minority employees was significantly inferior to that of

the private sector. It further stated that visible minorities see the public

service climate as unresponsive and hostile, and that some aspects of the

staffing system effectively prevent visible minority candidates from being

hired (CHRC Annual Report,1997:10). Regarding the CF, it stated that

internal changes were required and that the CF needed to do three things:

implement employment equity; ensure recruits who exhibit intolerance are

not accepted and change or eliminate certain internal traditions --

including initiation rites (Ibid.:11).

1.3 Societal Values and the Workplace

Recent studies from the International Labour Organization and the

Conference Board of Canada (CHRC Annual Report,1997:64-66) indicate

women now constituted 49.5% of the public service. However, while

women's share of hirings was 63%, 72% went into clerical positions

compared to 24% of men.

At 9.2% of the workforce, visible minorities slightly exceeded their

9.1% of availability in the private sector. In the public sector, visible

minorities have not fared as well and only slowly increased from 2.7% to

4.7% over the last 10 years. Of 41 departments with over 200

employees, 20 had less than half of the 9% of the available visible

minorities in the general population. In the private sector, during the past

decade aboriginal peoples' representation increased from 0.7% to 1.2%

and remained well below their 3% availability. In the public sector,

aboriginal peoples' representation increased from 1.8% in 1987 to 2.4%

10 years later, however 15% of these were with Indian Affairs and

Northern Development. Without this Department the percent would fall

to 2.1%. Of 41 departments with over 200 employees, only 12 met the overall availability of aboriginal peoples in the general population, while the remaining departments ranged primarily between 1 and 2%.

Why have employee equity programs shown little overall progress in the past decade? One explanation rests with public attitudes and beliefs. The workplace is a microcosm of societal values and cannot be separated from society as a whole. Attitudes and beliefs originate in the socialization process of each individual and are therefore deeply ingrained. The defining of a "woman's place" for instance, starts early and is deeply ingrained in both men and women well before they reach the workplace. Block and Walker (1982:188) attribute the difference in employment patterns for men and women to three main reasons -- biology, socialization or current family roles. First, there is a performance related innate difference between men and women that keeps some occupations wholly or partially closed to women (e.g. professional sports, police, etc). Secondly, early socialization of men and women tends to prepare them for difference sorts of occupations and thirdly, there is the effect of traditional roles on the job-related attitudes and behaviour of husbands and wives. Over the past twenty years, considerable research has been done on gender issues in public administration and the notion that

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professional women are less committed to work than men has been largely debunked (Phillips et al,1997:564-565). As well, this theory does not account for the lack of progress for male aboriginal peoples and visible minorities in the workplace.

The public service has recognized that programs to overcome artificial institutional barriers to public service employment were of limited use in overcoming attitudinal barriers, notably prejudice against the target groups, which exists not only in the public service but in Canadian society as a whole. In the 1990 report, *Public Service 2000*, on the renewal of the public service, it was proposed to hold managers accountable for the performance of women and minorities in their respective departments and to hold deputies accountable for leading the effort to change the attitudes of their managers (Tellier,1992:70). In the intervening years however, with downsizing and restructuring, departmental energies have been re-directed and PS 2000 has never been fully implemented. Along with steadily declining morale (Klus,1995:7) came downsizing initiatives called the Work Force Adjustment for the public service and the Force Reduction Program for the military. At the same time, a re-skilling of the public service occurred with a decrease of over 17,000 public servants in the lower skill categories of jobs and an increase of almost 14,000 employees

in the higher-skilled management category, scientific and professional category and a and administrative and foreign service category. The public servants who survived the changes are on average older, more educated with better paying jobs and supposedly more representative of Canadian society (Ibid.:5). Another impact on government departments has been the greater reliance on various forms of contracting out such as alternate service delivery or ASD. In theory, a department need not restructure to cut out public employees and replace them with contractors. The implications for decreased accountability in employment equity programs may prove to be significant over time.

While employment equity legislation has increased the awareness of diversity in the workplace, it has also rendered the barriers less obvious than in the past. The barriers are generally more subtle and integrated, forming an intricate pattern of confinement and limitation, rather than opportunity. Adding to the difficulty is the phenomenon of *lip-service*. It is no longer as acceptable as it once was to be open about airing sexist or racist attitudes, but this does not mean they have disappeared. They are simply harder to prove (Task Force on Barriers,1990:60). As well, rules are vulnerable to the will of those who use them. The same set of regulations in two different sets of hands can produce widely different

effects. This is particularly evident in areas of flexibility such as secondment, training, job-sharing, hours of work and so on. Rules can be used to facilitate these areas or to severely restrict opportunities to deviate from the norm.

Many of the pioneer women in the senior ranks of the federal public service felt they had to become as masculine in their management styles to survive (Ibid.:75) or conversely by adopting styles that make men feel comfortable. "Thinking like a man" seems to connotate rationality, lack of emotionality, and hard edged concreteness. "Thinking like a woman" seems to connotate emotionality, frivolity, and sensitivity (Boileau,1972:125) with a masculine style being the more valued.

Another factor unique to employment equity is the different perception between men and women on the effectiveness of the measures now in place. The Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service study showed sharply divergent perceptions of the situation of women in the federal public service between men and women. Women overwhelmingly (67%) believe there is such a barrier, and this is true of women in all occupational categories. An even higher proportion (79%) of women managers in the public service say such a barrier exists. Most men do not agree that women encounter a *glass*

ceiling or invisible barrier in the workplace. This percentage increases with seniority: 62% of men in senior level jobs do not believe women face an invisible barrier. On stereotyping, 65% of men and 52% of women agreed that some jobs are more suited to the skills men have, while some jobs are more suited to women, and 28% of men and 19% of women agreed strongly (Ibid.:53-55).

The military has a further barrier to consider and that is public opinion regarding the role of women in armed forces. From a legal perspective, the Canadian military has argued that excluding women in combat would adversely affect *operational effectiveness* and that this exclusion was a bona fide occupational requirement. A Canadian Human Rights Tribunal decision in 1989 rejected that argument and ordered the CF to integrate women into all combat related jobs in the CF. In a social policy context, it was argued that there is a concern for public reaction should "hostilities subsequently break out, public opinion may prove negative" to women being killed in combat situations (Park,1984b:6).

In a 1943 survey, commissioned by the military to assess public attitudes, there was considerable disapproval of women serving in the military (Ibid.:4). However, five opinion polls conducted for the military from 1978 to 1982 demonstrated a change in attitude toward having

both men and women being subjected to compulsory military service and a greater acceptance of having women participate in the military and being placed in combat roles. The factors for this change in attitude were seen to be the changing status of women in Canadian society, partly due to the requirements of the Canadian Human Rights Act, to the greater participation of women in the workforce, and to the changing nature of war, which in the height of the atomic age, found that women will not, and cannot, be protected from harm's way (Ibid.).

For aboriginal peoples and visible minorities, racism is a fact of life. It is also evident that Canada's population has been visibly changing over the past two or three decades. In 1996, aboriginal peoples and visible minorities combined made up only 12.6% (see Table 2-2) of the Canadian population eligible to enter the workforce while women made up 45%. Under the theory of critical mass[3] the significantly higher proportion of women in the workforce compared to aboriginal peoples and visible minorities may in part account for their progress in comparison to the other two groups. For members of visible minorities, general support for

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[3] Critical mass or proportion of representation is a number that enables a particular group to become a visible part of the community. If critical mass is not reached, successful integration by a minority group into a majority group is problematic. Thus, evidence suggests that unequal group membership does play a role in discouraging minority integration, and therefore, in perpetuating the status quo (Kanter,1977:29,30).

Canada's official policy on multiculturalism is mixed at best. In a

Southam News/Angus Reid poll conducted in 1997, 80% of the

respondents agreed that "Canada's multicultural make-up is one of the

best things about this country" while 40% agreed that "Canada is

changing too quickly because of all the minorities we have now" (CHRC

Annual Report,1996:40). It is in this climate of ambiguity that

employment equity must operate.

1.4   Organizational Culture - The Barrack Room Culture

Organizational climate or culture is described in everyday language

as "how it feels to be a member of the organization". This section

compares the military with other federal departments, as the only other

comparable entities in structure, size and in their obligations to perform a

unique service to the public. In the federal public service in general, the

Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service concluded in 1990

that deeply ingrained cultural and attitudinal barriers were blocking

women from full and equitable participation in the public service. As

previously mentioned, it also reported that the public service loses

proportionally more women than men because of one or more attitudes

which keep women away from advancement and development; a

corporate culture, which seems suffocating, if not hostile; and extreme difficulty in balancing work and family responsibilities. Inhospitable or chilly climates in organizations have been consistently identified in literature on women in management in a wide range of institutions, from universities to the military (Phillips et al.,1997:571).

In a study of organizations in Canada's federal jurisdiction which are required to adopt Employment Equity Programs (EEPs), Leck and Saunders (1992:203-208) found that the degree of success depends on industry characteristics, organization characteristics such as size and organizational structure, and human resource management characteristics such as human resource management department power and presence of human resource management support programs. They also found that results differed across occupational groups and among women with and without dual status (visible minorities, aboriginal peoples and disabled persons). In summary, changes in attitudes tend to be incremental and acceptance of another group is easier if that group shares some common characteristic, i.e., a white female may be accepted more readily in a white male dominated occupation than will a male of another race, or vice versa.

In 1988, women were leaving the Scientific and Professional Category in the federal public service at two and three times the per capita rate of men. Most "leavers" from the federal public service reported a hostile corporate culture and lack of opportunities to advance as reasons for leaving. "The normal model is that of a male, with women still judged against that norm" (Task Force on Barriers,1990:75).

In many organizations, one still sees the traditional "male" or "competitive" style of management. This style values a more authoritarian approach to management, encourages its managers to be "tough" and has a "win-lose" attitude in its interactions with others (Hynna,1997:621). The authoritarian approach to management has become synonymous with a "militaristic" leadership style and what the Canadian Human Rights Commission referred to as the *barrack room* culture. The contrasting approach is an "integrative" approach which, while not the sole preserve of women and other cultures, is more often part of the socialization of women and cultural values of groups such as aboriginal peoples and visible minorities. For women in the CF, policies tended to be paternalistic, with women in "traditional" female occupations such as nursing, finance and administration, and in "safe" environments, given special but not equal treatment.

Somewhat ironically, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, declared by the United Nations in 1948, in the aftermath of the Second World War, formed the foundations of modern human rights. However, the military and the RCMP, the ultimate defenders of Canadian's rights and freedoms, have been exempt from the legislation designed to assist those Canadians who have been traditionally disadvantaged in the workplace.

Organizations such as the military and RCMP can also be characterized as monolithic -- that is, organizations that are homogenous in terms of their cultural demographics. A 1996 Canadian Forces Diversity Study indicated that men made up 85.9% of the regular force. Their organizational structure, management processes and corporate culture generally are not pre-disposed to acknowledging the strengths of diversity. In the military, as with other large institutional employers, recruitment, selection and training is highly centralized, national and hierarchical. Unique to the military however, is the concentration on orientation and lifestyle, which emphasizes the team spirit and team relationship. Militaries require "unlimited liability" from their members which in turn makes the safety of their members, leadership, cohesion and esprit de corps necessary to the operational effectiveness of the unit.

Inherent in "unlimited liability" is the tendency toward "unlimited conformity".

This monolithic characteristic of militaries is not just a Canadian approach, but held more or less universally. Recent comments by Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Pike, the then incoming commander of the multi-national force in Bosnia, that "the Canadian army has lost its ability to fight wars because of political correctness and a "liberal" attitude toward gays and women" (Pugliese,1997:A9) is typical of this universally held viewpoint. In fact, while some other NATO countries have women in their armed forces, many other nations have constitutional law which prohibits women from entering combat service.

The 1996 Canadian Forces Diversity Study, commissioned by the CF to examine members' attitudes towards diversity and equity, found that only 47% of the regular force and 60% of the reserve support multiculturalism, compared to close to 70% of Canadian in general. While 60% saw positive results flowing from employment policies, 17% thought that the policy would destroy the CF way of life (CHRC Annual Report,1997:11). A similar study conducted late in 1993 by the RCMP found that the majority of members (roughly 80%) feel the RCMP should

not abandon any of its traditions, and majority/designated groups do not differ on this matter.

The military had traditionally resisted the principles of employment equity based on the premise of *operational effectiveness*. Operational effectiveness, alternately known as combat readiness or war preparedness, requires personnel policies that must seek to minimize tne risks or hazards to life and limb that combat readiness might, or usually, entails. The Canadian Human Rights Tribunal of 1989 on the integration of women in the Canadian military, rejected the notion that operational effectiveness was a bona fide occupational requirement (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal, 1989).

Arguments against employment equity in the military are typified in the following statement. "To understand the essential difference between military and civilian life -- ask yourself whether you would risk your life for your boss?" (Grant, 1997:A4). In explaining the military ethos, John Reed, Minister for defence procurement in the British Labour Government, says "(a military) depends on intangibles like faith, dedication and personal loyalty to their supervisors, to be able to carry out its functions...the military virtues of cohesion, trust and subordination of the individual to the group interest, the idea of communication and national

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service" (Ibid.). It is the subordination of the individual to the group

interest that can, in the extreme, create an ultra conformist atmosphere,

which in turn, can result in an inhospitable climate for persons deemed to

be outside the group. In the military milieu, where often one works,

resides and socializes with the same people, the effects of exclusion can

be particularly acute. Implicit in this approach is that some groups in

society possess these qualities in greater quantities than others and in the

CF, this has manifested itself in the preference for white, anglo or franco

men. In the case of visible minorities and aboriginal peoples, a study

completed in 1990 on ethnic attitude and recruitment, indicated that in

the CF ethnic minorities have the additional challenge of dealing with not

one but two (English and French) dominant majority groups (Febbraro and

Reeves,1990:29-30).

The Segal Report, commissioned by the Minister of National

Defence in 1986, states that behavior can to some extent be mandated,

with sanctions and rewards as inducements, but attitudinal change may

not keep pace. It further states that leadership and commitment to

integration are essential at the mid and upper levels of command because

it is in the operational units that integration must take place (Canadian

Human Rights Tribunal,1989:60). In a complete reversal from earlier

policies which had opposed employment equity based on operational

effectiveness, a series of new administrative orders have been issued by

the CF in the last five years. These orders state that racism and

harassment in fact impair military effectiveness by eroding cohesion and

esprit de corps and the ability of service members to treat others fairly

and impartially. After a recent spate of reports on harassment and sexual

assault in the CF (O'Hara,1998:14-24), some dating back twenty years,

articles from both the Minister of National Defence and the Chief of the

Defence Staff have been distributed to all departmental employees,

military and civilian, stating in part that:

> "Clearly, we have failed in the past to meet some of our members' needs and
> continue to do so...I want all members of the Canadian Forces, without
> exception, to be made to understand, in the bluntest terms necessary, that we
> are not in the business of hurting, abusing, or exploiting people under our
> protection or in our custody. We are definitely not in the business of hurting,
> abusing, or taking advantage of our own, especially our most vulnerable
> members and those with subordinate status or less power. Where pockets of
> pathological indifference to the rights or dignity of others exist, I want them
> routed out and eliminated" (National Defence.Maple Leaf,1998:18).

Inherent in the success of getting the message to the troops is the

concept of descending hierarchy -- that is, in addition to the policy and

program decisions at the political level, there are the central management

decisions of each department, of each branch and in turn, the

management decisions of each directorate, division and section. As well

there are professional, technical and operational decisions which can

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facilitate or hinder the implementation of a policy (Mallory,1985:47). How this stern message is received and actioned through the chain of command to the lowest levels of the CF in the coming months remains to be seen.

1.5 Occupational Segregation

A 1992 study, which examined 350 employers' reports filed with the Employment and Immigration Ministry from June 1988 to 1992, found that of the marginal equity gains so far, most favoured women and visible minorities. Even these gains were tempered in that these two groups were under represented in several sectors and occupational groups and clustered in low paying jobs (Bonanno,1994:7). This is significant to what can be reasonably expected in the implementation of employment equity in the military. The experience of designated groups in male dominated occupations in the federal public service in general has not been good. Occupational segregation -- for example, the concentration of women and visible minorities into a narrow range of occupations in some federal departments is prevalent in the federal public service after ten years of employment equity legislation.

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In 1967 women made up 27.3% of employees in the public service, but by 1986 women comprised 44% of workers in all occupations in Canada. Progress has been made in many occupations, such as financial and program administration, where women now comprise 40.5% and 52.5% of employees respectively. There are however, many occupations that remain largely closed to women. For example, in 1996, the proportion of air-traffic controllers who were women had grown to only 6.8%. Occupations where women had made virtually no inroads in terms of total numbers included engineering and land survey (8.5%), electronics (2.5%), firefighters (1.5%) and general labour and trades (3.3%) (Hynna,1997:620). Progress was being made at the executive level. In 1967, only three out of the 349 senior officers, or less than 1% were women (Ibid.). Overall, in 1991, women held 17% of upper level manager positions and but were under represented in skilled crafts and trades occupations, where they made up 8% of the work force. Conversely, almost 80% of all clerical workers and 61% of all service workers were women (Department of Employment. Guide for Employers,1991:8).

The results are similar for visible minorities. In a study commissioned by the Canadian Human Rights Commission in 1996, Dr.

Samuel in his report, *Visible Minorities and the Public Service of Canada*, noted that the government's record in hiring and retaining visible minority employees was significantly inferior to that of the private sector. While visible minorities make up 9.4% of the available workforce, they only make up 4.7% of federal employees (CHRC Annual Report,1997:65). A breakdown of visible minorities by department show that seven departments have less than 5% (Justice, Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Finance, Transport Canada, Treasury Board Secretariat, Fisheries and Oceans, National Defence and Canadian Heritage), with Defence second from the bottom with 2.6% (Miller,1997:A4). Aboriginal peoples were the most under represented of all groups -- not only segregated and concentrated by occupation but also by department. A noted earlier, in 1996, 15% of all aboriginal federal public servants worked for the department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada (CHRC Annual Report,1996:66).

1.6 Conclusion

Overall employment equity legislation has been divisive and slow to gain acceptance both within and outside the workplace. While Employment Equity has been a fact in the federal public service since 1985, designated groups have made limited progress in representation and occupational segregation is still a fact of life. Many departments, including those which can be considered "armed", such as the police and coast guard, have proven resistant to change in their recruitment and employment of members of the designated groups. Sexual stereotyping and occupational segregation have stubbornly remained.

The military can, arguably, be described as the penultimate in male dominated or occupationally segregated organizations. Since the 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of Women called for changes in the role of women in the CF, little has changed. That women should not die in combat is more or less a universally held viewpoint and women continued to be excluded from combat and near combat roles until the 1989 Canadian Human Rights Tribunal decision which ordered the CF to increase the role of women. Nearly ten years later, only minute changes in numbers for designated groups is evident.

The resistance to employment equity in segments of the federal public service in general and the monolithic and conformist characteristic of the military makes the path for employment equity especially steep in the CF. It has been primarily through the influences of the Canadian Human Rights Act that human rights and employment equity principles have slowly made their way into the military ethos. Chapter 3 will look at the decisions that have been a catalyst for change and how the military has responded to these external forces.

Chapter 2: The Plan of Attack: Attrition and the CF

2.1 Introduction

While contemporary authorities argue that high and solid walls, termed stovepipes, exist around individual government departments (Kernaghan and Charish,1997:229), the Department of National Defence (DND) has two distinct stove pipes within. DND is somewhat unique in that it is comprised of two separate entities, the Department of National Defence (civilian public service employees) and the Canadian Forces (military). The military has been referred to in many ways over the years, such as the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), the Armed Forces, and more recently, the Canadian Forces (CF) in various writings and Tribunal decisions. For the purposes of this study, the military side of the Department has been and will be referred to as the Canadian Forces or CF. The CF includes the regular force, primary reserve, Canadian Rangers and the Cadet Instructor Cadre (see Annex A). This study concentrates primarily on those released from the regular force, as this is the

component that offers a full-time career. The others offer primarily voluntary, part-time military service.

The civilian and military sides are governed by different and unique regulations -- civilians by all Acts and regulations that apply to Federal Public Servants and the military by orders and regulations derived primarily from the National Defence Act, with some common ones such as the Financial Administration Act. Civilian members of the Department have been subject to the Employment Equity Act since its inception in 1985. These regulatory differences between the two entities of the Department of National Defence have caused some friction and reinforced the stovepipes between the two groups. In 1961, when the first major revision of the then Civil Service Act was enacted, one of its new principles allowed members of the CF and RCMP to compete in public service closed competitions on an equal basis with public servants. This section is different from the Veterans Preference Act which gave veterans who served overseas in the two World Wars the right to claim priority in staffing competitions. All veterans, however, especially aboriginal veterans, did not share equally under the Act. For almost four decades, this policy impacted adversely on employment opportunities for women, and in some circumstances, on opportunities for minority groups

who did not participate in these wars, such as francophone Canadians (Hampton,1977:158). While Veterans Preference Act still exists in legislation, its impact has been diminished over time.

This ability to compete in closed competitions, termed the "Khaki Parachute", contained in Section 2(2) of the Public Service Employment Act, was seen to block the promotions of existing federal public servants and to adversely impact on specific groups and levels both inside and outside of the Department of National Defence. Critics of this revision state that "Section 2(2) of the Public Service Employment Act, is in effect, an extremely successful affirmation action program, entrenched in legislation, and used to provide a "second career" for a group that is, by its nature, almost exclusively male" (Task Force on Barriers,1990:91). In 1994, Section 2(2) was repealed (Tellier,1992:80).

In 1990, the Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service which issued a report entitled *Beneath the Veneer*, was commissioned to look at the progress of women in the federal public service and to study the impact of special programs and measures introduced by the Government. The Task Force looked at the overall participation across occupational groups and at employment and promotion of women in the federal public service. One concern in determining why women failed to

obtain higher levels of various occupational groupings in the public service was to examine why women in certain occupations were leaving. "In attempting to fill a leaky bucket, it makes good sense to first plug up the holes...women's reasons for leaving are important to an understanding of equity in the federal public service" (Ibid.:35). Another more colourful analogy is that marginalized or under represented employees, particularly those who are new, serve as organizational "canaries" -- that is detecting sources of discord or sensing danger in organizations (Phillips et al.,1977:573). A higher rate of leaving among those recently employed could be a strong indication of an organizational malaise.

Using the rationale of the Task Force, this study concentrates on those who leave the regular force and asks if there are significant differences in the reasons for doing so between those in designated groups and those who are not. By determining why members of the designated groups are leaving, programs can be implemented to address those concerns. As well, the study results can provide a comparison to determine if the reasons for leaving change over time, after the implementation of employment equity programs.

In summary, this thesis will examine why military personnel voluntarily leave the CF; if the reasons differ significantly for groups

designated as protected under the Employment Equity Act; and, who subsequently maintain an affiliation with the military through primary reserve service, and if this differs between designated and non-designated groups. The working hypothesis is that by determining why people leave the military and what significant differences, if any, there are in the reasons for leaving between designated and non-designated groups, attrition can be reduced for all groups, but especially for members of the designated groups. The reasons for leaving can also identify systemic barriers in the employment, training and treatment of the designated groups which can, in turn, indicate where changes are needed to address the barriers and thus reduce attrition. If attrition can not be avoided, then the retention of trained personnel can be achieved through continued part-time service in the reserve. To that end, this study also looks at who is joining the reserve after release from the regular force and if designated groups are being retained at the same rate as the non-designated group.

The numbers of aboriginal peoples and visible minorities in this study, as a group, are relatively small. As they constitute 3.5% of the regular and reserve forces combined, it follows that they will constitute only a small percent of all released. As well, figures for these groups are only included for 2 of the 3 years of the study and the reasons for this are

detailed further in this chapter. The small group size however, is important to the findings of the study. It is a basic principle that conclusions based on small samples are less likely to be representative and all else being equal, small changes can have an inordinate effect. Caution is therefore required in interpreting the significance for results for aboriginal peoples and visible minorities.

Chapter 3 examines the effect that the Canadian Human Rights Act has had on the CF, and chapters 4 and 5 contain a detailed analysis of members who left the military from January 1994 to December 1996. A comparison is made between men and women, aboriginal peoples and visible minorities who left, by rank, occupation, and by the reasons they gave for leaving. For this study, designated groups under the Employment Equity Act include only women, aboriginal peoples and visible minorities. Disabled persons are not included as they have not tended to be retained in the military under the *universality of service* principle which is detailed in chapter 3. The CF has requested an exemption for physically disabled persons and this is still before the Justice Department for a ruling.

Chapter 6 matches releasing members with those who joined the Air Reserve during the same time period by rank, occupation, and by

designated and non-designated groups. The conditions of service between the regular and reserve forces can be characterized by full-time/high deployability versus part-time/low deployability. Regular force service demands a high level of deployability and mobility and frequent prolonged absences. Reserve service is characterized by little or no deployability or mobility except on a voluntary bases, increased community involvement and availability of part-time service. It is useful to see if the different terms of employment are attractive to any of the designated groups. The effects of attrition can be reduced by identifying who the differing terms of service attract and if the experience differs between the designated and non-designated groups. While attrition from the regular force may not be reduced, it may be reduced CF-wide through retention in other components of the CF.

The inclusion of the CF in the 1995 Employment Equity Act will place the onus on the CF to demonstrate "reasonable progress" toward achieving a representative workforce. One way to do this is to *stop the leaks* of designated groups from the CF. Based on the findings of this study, recommendations can be made to address the concerns of those leaving and to direct personnel into reserve service for possible transfer back to the regular force at a later date. This study will also establish a

benchmark for comparison to future retention data; provide historical data to track the progress of the CF in implementing Employment Equity; and maximize the use of movement between regular and reserve forces to retain members of the designated groups and trained military personnel.

The Air Reserve was chosen as representative of the reserves for two reasons. First, the reserve forces in Canada are divided into four separate environments, land (Army), sea (Navy), air (Air Reserve), and Communications reserve, which maintain separate personnel databases that are not interconnected nor centrally linked nationally. This makes global data collection on those who join the reserves very difficult. Thus being limited to one reserve, the Air Reserve is the best for comparison as it has the highest reliance on attracting and retaining ex-regular force personnel due to the highly technical and costly nature of training in the aerospace industry. It has been the policy of the Air Reserve, since 1993, to make a concerted effort to attract former regular force trained personnel. It therefore offers the most opportunities for departing personnel to transfer to the reserve, to be employed on a part-time basis to remain current in their military skills and occupation, and to be eligible for transfer back to the regular force at a later date.

2.2 Methodology

The purpose of this study is to determine why military personnel voluntarily leave the CF and if these reasons differ for persons designated as protected groups under the Employment Equity Act. Data on departing members was obtained through the Military Personnel Information System and through the Canadian Forces Attrition Information Questionnaire, which is given to military members to complete on a voluntary basis, and from the self-identification survey conducted by the CF in March 1995.

In the CF, release is the administrative action which causes a member to cease to be a member of the CF and is either compulsory or voluntary. A compulsory release is initiated by the CF, whereas a voluntary release is initiated by the member. There are four compulsory categories (Misconduct, Unsatisfactory Service, Medical and Service Completed) and one voluntary category (Voluntary) as prescribed in Queens Regulations and Orders (QR & O) 15.01. This is further amplified in Canadian Forces Administrative Order (CFAO) 15-2 (Annex A, Modification 12/97:2) which assigns each release category an item number and an alphabetical letter. The focus of this study is on voluntary releases which include items 4(a), 4(b), 4(c) and 5(c). All other release items are initiated by the CF and while items such as 5(d) (often training

failures) and 5(f) may prove interesting as to the rate of releases between men and the designated groups, they are not purely voluntary releases and beyond the scope of this study.

Table 2-1

Canadian Forces Releases
From January 1994 to December 1996

Release Item	Number of Releases	Percent of Releases
1(a) to (d) - Misconduct 2 (a), (b) - Unsatisfactory Service 3 (a), (b) - Medical 5 (a) - Retirement Age 5 (b) - Reduction in Strength (By Rank) 5 (d) - Not Advantageous Employable 5 (e) - Irregular Enrolment 5 (f) - Unsuitable for Further Service	4124	20.4%
4 (a) - On request with Annuity 4 (b) - On request and Completion of Period of Service 4 (c) - On request - Other Causes	6345	31.4%

5(c) - Completed Service Required or
            Force Reduction Plan (By Occupation
            or Establishment Change)
	9735	48.2%

Totals	20,194	100.0%

Overall voluntary releases made up 16,080 (79.6%) of the 20,194 releases from January 1994 to December 1996 (See Table 2-1).

The period of 1994 to 1996 was chosen for several reasons.

While the CF was not officially included in the Employment Equity Act

until 1995 and the self-identification survey was not completed until the same year, gender data have been readily available through the Military Personnel Information System database. For aboriginal peoples and visible minorities, the self identification survey was not completed until March 1995, and release and questionnaire data were not available in 1994, therefore, the findings of this study for these groups are applicable to 1995 and 1996 only. Information from 1994 for men and women was nevertheless retained to set benchmarks for pre- and post-employment equity influences even though this was not possible for aboriginal peoples and visible minorities. All statistics for 1995 and 1996 are complete and can be used to provide a basis for future comparisons for all groups.

Personnel data for this study were provided by the CF through and with the support of the CF Diversity office, the Directorate of Gender Integration, and the Personnel Research Team in October 1997 (Department of National Defence, Data Files P97015C1, P97015C2). Release data was then cross-referenced by service number with the Air Reserve database for re-enrolments into the Primary Reserve for the same period.

The CF, through the CF Diversity Office, conducted a self-identification survey to determine the representation of aboriginal people and members of visible minorities (Chouinard and Chaisson,1995:18-22). The survey was distributed to all effective strength members of the regular force and primary reserve and the results are recorded at Annexes B and C. As reported in the Canadian Forces Personnel Newsletter 11/96, 1.4% of the 98,483 CF respondents (Regular and Reserves) said they were aboriginal peoples and 2.1% said they were part of a visible minority. Women currently compose 14.1% of the CF (Regular and Reserves). Compared to the Canadian population of 17-52[4] year olds, 3.2% are aboriginal peoples, 9.4% are members of visible minorities and 45% are women (Department of National Defence.Personnel Newsletter 11/96:7) (See Table 2-2). In 1995, in the regular force, women made up 9.5% of the officers and 12.2% of non-commissioned members (Bender et al.,1995b(Officers) and 1995b(NCMs):21-22) while aboriginal peoples, both male and female, were .009% officers and 1.7% non-commissioned officers and visible minorities were 2.3% and 1.5% respectively (Ibid.:18,21).

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[4] This age band is considered the segment of the Canadian population eligible for recruitment into the CF.

Table 2-2

Canadian Forces Diversity Study Results

Group	Percent of Canadian Forces	Percent of Canadian Population (17-52)
Women	14.1%	45.0%
Aboriginal Peoples	1.4%	3.2%
Visible Minorities	2.1%	9.4%

Information on leaving the CF was obtained from the Canadian

Forces Attrition Information Questionnaire which is completed on a

voluntary basis by releasing personnel. Questionnaires are administered

at the local level. Service members who are being processed for release

under items 4(a), 4(b), 4(c), and 5(a) of the QR&O 15.01 are directed to

the Wing/Base Personnel Selection Officer to complete the exit

questionnaires which are then placed into envelopes, sealed and handed

in (Parker and Lyon,1988).

The voluntary completion rate for the questionnaire was about 20%

(Tables 4-1,5-1). While the sample size could be ample if the respondents

were random, the major concern was that the sample is representative of

the groups and occupations that are being studied. As completing the

exit questionnaire is voluntary, it is also likely that the study will reflect

only the reasons for personnel who are inclined to complete

questionnaires[5] and not representative of the majority of those who left the CF. As well, representation for visible minorities and aboriginal peoples is small and may not be representative of why these groups leave. This being said, this study matches release data from the Military Personnel Information System with diversity data from the CF Diversity Study and compares these data sets with exit questionnaire data for the first time. While incomplete, it will be both useful now and in the future for comparisons or examinations of effectiveness of employment equity programs.

The questionnaire is partly based on the Mobley (1982) Expanded Turnover Process Model (Lyon,1987) and designed to monitor voluntary attrition within the CF. It was divided into six sections:

a. Reasons that contribute to the leave decision (e.g., postings, pay, promotion opportunities) including the listing of the three most important reasons, in order of priority;

b. Comparisons between CF and civilian life on a variety of important attrition-related issues (e.g. lifestyle, pay, benefits);

c. Measures of Military Occupation Code satisfaction;

[5] In general, volunteers tend to be better educated, have higher social status and are more sociable than nonvolunteers (Chadwick et al,1884:173).

d. Measures of CF satisfaction;

e. preparation for transition to civilian life; and

f. Descriptions of leavers using a variety of important individual, organization, and extraorganizational characteristics (e.g., sex, rank, etc.).

2.3 Summary

The 1995 extension of the Employment Equity Act to include the CF will place the onus on the Department to demonstrate "reasonable progress" toward achieving a representative workforce in the CF. One means of achieving that goal is by *stopping the leaks* of designated group members from the CF by examining why members leave the CF and what, if any, significant differences exist between the reasons for men and for designated groups. Actions can be taken to address the concerns of those who leave and to increase CF wide retention through employment with the reserves. This study can also be used as a benchmark to track future progress in the retention of personnel in designated groups.

Chapter 3:   The Enemy Within - Barrack Room Culture: The Military and Human Rights

3.1 Canadian Human Rights Act

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was issued by the United Nations in 1948, in the wake of the Second World War. In the 1950s, some specific anti-discrimination laws were enacted, and in 1960, the Canadian Bill of Rights was adopted, which set out basic civil and political rights. In 1977, the Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA) was enacted. As noted earlier, the Act prohibited discrimination in employment on ten grounds -- race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital status, family status, pardoned conviction, and disability, either physical or mental. In 1982, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was made part of the Canadian Constitution. The Charter guaranteed not only equality rights and a broad range of political rights and civil liberties, but Section 15 also supported the federal government's affirmative action programs.

While Employment Equity legislation was not specifically applied to the military until 1995, over the years numerous complaints were brought before the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) by former or

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currently serving military members. The CHRC, established in 1977 to administer the Canadian Human Rights Act, has influenced the modification of many policies and practices in the last decade or so, which were determined to be discriminatory under the Canadian Human Rights Act. One of the most significant has been the direction that all military occupations be opened to women, with the exception of submarine service, and to create and implement policies against sexual and personal harassment (Department of National Defence Annual Report, 1993-94:1-1).

For the purposes of this chapter, only women, visible minorities, aboriginal peoples will be included. For the CF, disabled persons are currently excluded from employment under the *universality of service* principle described in detail in section 3.2.

3.2   Disabled Persons

Under the *universality of service* or *soldier first* principle, the CF has maintained that the special nature of the military profession requires that all members, no matter what occupation, must be physically capable of carrying out their duties in a combat situation. In Canada, the basis for the universality principle is found in subsection 33 of the National

Defence Act (NDA) which states that the term universality means these standards apply to every member of the CF, regardless of occupation, rank or posting. Every member of the CF must be able to perform general military duties outside of the scope of their respective military occupations and in relation to the member's safety, the safety of others and the success of the mission, and be able to perform unpredictable, arduous physical tasks with little or no notice, regardless of irregular, limited (hard ration), or missing meals altogether.

The CHRC has not agreed with the universality principle and, since 1989 a series of judicial rulings and appeals, has gone back and forth alternately supporting the CF or the CHRC position. In 1989, in both *Gaetz v. Canadian Armed Forces* and *Galbraith V. Canadian Armed Forces*, a review tribunal in the first case and a tribunal in the second supported the CF position and decided that the respective disabilities (diabetes and surgical removal of the large intestine) presented a risk that the complainants might suffer injury and endanger their own safety and that of others (CHRC Annual Report,1989:1).

In *Rosin V. Canadian Armed Forces*, Mr. Rosin was denied the opportunity to complete a parachute training course as a military cadet because of a CF regulation requiring participants to have vision in both

eyes. The Tribunal directed that the complainant be allowed to complete the course and that any rules restricting people with monocular vision be rewritten or suspended (CHRC Annual Report, 1989:52).

For some years, the majority of disability cases placed before the CHRC named the CF as respondent. In *Hebert v. Canadian Armed Forces*, Ms. Hebert was refused enrolment in the regular officer training program because of poor vision. The Commission subsequently ordered the CF to stop applying an uncorrected visual acuity standard to physiotherapists. The CF lost a similar case in *McAlpine v. Canadian Armed Forces (Attorney General of Canada v. McAlpine and Canadian Human Rights Commission)* in that the complainant had not been hired by the CF because of her pregnancy. In another case, *Morgan v. Canadian Armed Forces*, the complainant alleged that he had been discriminated against when he was denied re-enrolment in the CF because he was perceived to have a disability (brain damage). The tribunal concluded that this was a discriminatory practice and it ordered that Mr. Morgan be re-enrolled and paid for lost wages (CHRC Annual Report, 1989:55).

Other disability complaints arose when individuals were denied enlistment or re-enrolment in the CF because of a particular physical characteristic or disability. In *Rivard v. Canadian Armed Forces,* the

tribunal held that the CF acted in good faith and that, having

demonstrated a bona fide reason for their exclusionary rule under the

universality of service principle, they had no duty to accommodate Mr.

Rivard (CHRC Annual Report 1990:61). In another decision, *Bouchard v.*

Canadian Armed Forces, the tribunal found that the CF had discriminated

against Mr. Bouchard by releasing him because of kidney stones and a

related weight condition. The tribunal was not satisfied that the safe and

efficient performance of Mr. Bouchard's duties as a cook required that he

meet what amounted to a minimal risk standard (CHRC Annual Report,

1990:62). The Commission stated that;

> "there are many service jobs, from cooks and clerks to musicians and librarians,
> where the incumbents are highly unlikely to perform strenuous physical tasks,
> whether in peace or war. Moreover, technological advances to military and other
> hardware have greatly changed the ways in which modern warfare is conducted,
> and a contemporary fighting force must be more than just a physical elite. The
> forces are one of Canada's largest employers, and the Commission cannot
> accept that guarantees against discrimination based on disability that are in force
> universally in this country should not apply to them (CHRC Annual Report,
> 1991:28-9)."

While the CF practice of releasing personnel who are seriously

over weight has ceased, the CF has maintained universality of service as

a bona fide occupational requirement. A subsequent Review Tribunal

reversed the original tribunal decision in *CF v. Bouchard*, finding that the

CF had demonstrated a bona fide occupational requirement, and

concluded that the safety of people with this illness would depend on their having immediate access to hospital care in an emergency. It also judged that an individual in the CF who was likely to suffer from this illness could place other members in jeopardy. The Commission asked for a review of this decision in the Federal Court of Appeal, however it lost the appeal (CHRC Annual Report,1991:74).

In *Thwaites v. Canadian Armed Forces,* the complainant was released from the CF after being denied promotions, career courses and active duty because he tested positive for HIV. The CF was ordered to compensate the complainant but subsequently appealed the Tribunal ruling (CHRC Annual Report,1992:87). In two other cases against the CF, the Federal Court of Appeal reversed tribunal rulings which had gone in favour of complainants -- *Beaulieu v. Canadian Armed Forces* and *St. Thomas v. Canadian Armed Forces* supporting the universality of service as a bone fide occupational requirement (Ibid.:89).

In 1992, under the disability exempting clause, which is the positive duty on organizations to show reasonable accommodation of special needs short of undue hardship, it was determined that the CF could not be required to accommodate individuals with particular needs if these conflicted with the CF policy of universal "war readiness" or

universality of service, regardless of the member's circumstances or military occupation (CHRC Annual Report, 1992:21-2).

In 1994 and 1995, the issue of disability continued to dominate the CHRC agenda in relation to the CF, with the Commission contending that the principles of 'reasonable accommodation' and 'undue hardship' were not being applied to the CF in that people with relatively minor disabilities were unable to obtain or retain a post in the CF. The CF continued to maintain that the special nature of the military profession requires that all their members, no matter what occupation, must be physically capable of carrying out their duties in a combat situation. Another series of Tribunal decision reversals, *Robinson v. CAF, Husband v. CAF, Clarke v. CAF, Irwin v. CAF,* further upheld that universality of service was a bone fide occupational requirement. Tribunals and courts tended to support the position that the requirement is legitimately set out by Parliament in the National Defence Act and that "the statue binds", thereby overriding the principles of reasonable accommodation (CHRC Annual Report, 1995:29). However, in reaction to the *Husband* and *Robinson* cases, the Commission sponsored a Bill through the Senate (Bill S-5) which

enshrined the notion of reasonable accommodation[6] which was passed in

May 98. The Bill provides a more concrete definition of undue hardship

for reasonable accommodation and introduces *interest based mediation* in

early resolution cases and gives the CHRC authority for direct intervention

in cases where retaliation is evident. In March 1997, the CF allowed

aboriginal peoples to wear their hair in braids as a religious

accommodation policy (National Defence.Maple Leaf,1998:4).

Employment equity has had some impact however on the continued

employment of disabled service members outside the military, but within

the federal Public Service as civilian employees. A regulation was

recently passed that allows service members, disabled due to past service

in a special duty area, such as United Nations missions, and released from

the CF as a result, to be given priority for employment in the public

service of Canada. Under the Employment Equity Special Measures, a

program is being developed for others who have been disabled due to

past service in a special duty areas since 1949, to be referred as

candidates for available federal public service jobs before recruiting from

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[6]Duty to accommodate refers to the obligation of an employer, service provider or union to take reasonable
steps to eliminate disadvantage to employees, prospective employees or clients resulting from a rule, practice,
or physical barrier that has or may have an adverse impact on individuals or groups protected under the
Canadian Human Rights Act or identified as a designated group...Needs that must be accommodated result
from factors such as disability, sex, age, family status, ethnic or cultural origin and religious belief
(CHRC:1997).

the general public begins (National Defence. Defence 2000 News,1997:11).

3.3 Women

After the passing of the Canadian Human Rights Act in 1977, the CF began a five-year evaluation of Service Women in Non-Traditional Environments and Roles (SWINTER) in 1980.   The evaluation was established to determine if employment opportunities for women in the CF could be expanded.   Servicewomen were employed on a trial basis in selected, previously all-male, "near-combat" units. The CF argued that operational effectiveness may be affected by mixed genders in an intimate and closed society, such as a ship, if the "bonding" necessary for effective combat response did not take place (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal:1989,22). Overall, CF evaluations of the trials found that a satisfactory level of social integration was achieved only in the air environment (Saudino,1984;Stewart,1984;Park,1984a; Park,1985;Phillipo and Park,1985).

Women were found to perform jobs competently at sea in a supply vessel, but neither in the sea nor land trials was there satisfactory social

integration. Women complained about the fishbowl effect, while men claimed that women lacked the necessary physical stamina and combat motivation and that they received special attention, i.e., favouritism. The Human Rights Tribunal in 1989 dismissed these findings stating that "because women were not assigned combat duties in the SWINTER Trials and because combat cannot be easily simulated, the trials could not, and did not provide any data of an acceptable social science kind (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal,1989:24).

In 1984, just prior to implementation of the first Employment Equity Act, service women represented 8.2% of the CF strength of 81,472 and constituted the largest proportion of women ever to serve in Canada's military. They were employed in two-thirds of all trades and officer classifications, however, they were excluded from primary land combat and land combat service support, sea and aircrew duties (Park,1984b:1).

In 1985, the Association for Women's Equity in the Canadian Forces was formed by a group of primarily ex-service women. As service members are restricted from political activity on their own behalf by provisions under the National Defence Act, the group felt there was a need to address women's concerns from outside the CF. The Association

provided information to a 1985 parliamentary committee on equality

rights which discussed the role of women in the CF. The Parliamentary

Committee produced a report, *Equality For All*, which recommended that

all trades and occupations be open to women in the CF. In 1986, the

Canadian Forces Charter Task Force on Equality Issues was set up to

determine the effect on the CF of government policies concerning

employment of women, sexual orientation, mandatory retirement, physical

and mental disability and marital status, among others. The Task Force

recommended that a program be developed to provide detailed policy

guidance and leadership training concerning mixed-gender employment.

In 1986, the CF issued two new orders (CFAOs 49-14 and 49-

15) which opened all occupations and units to women with some

exclusions. These exclusions included twenty-one units including

submarines, destroyers, armoured, artillery and infantry units. Of these,

five were opened up some months later. As a result of a lengthy

grievance and Human Rights investigation which was initiated by an ex-

service woman and member of the Association for Women's Equity in the

Canadian Forces, improved maternity benefits for servicewomen (CFAO

56-29) were approved in 1992 (Davis,1996:27).

In 1987, the Minister of National Defence announced new mixed gender trials called CREW (Combat Related Employment of Women) to assess the risks of employing women in all units and occupations now closed, with the single exception of submarines where the absolute lack of privacy was the determining factor. The 1989 Human Rights Tribunal disagreed that more trials were required and directed that the CREW trials be used as a means to implement gender integration. The Tribunal concluded that there were no valid operational reasons for excluding women from combat-related jobs in the CF. *Gauthier, Houlden, Gauthier and Brown V. Canadian Armed Forces* concerned three persons who complained they were individually refused entry to combat arms or combat support employment. The fourth complainant was a man who alleged that the limitation of combat duty risk to men discriminated against them. In this case, the Human Rights Tribunal ordered that all combat-related positions (except on submarines[7]) be opened to women within the next ten years. It stated that:

> "of about 100 military occupations opened to non-commissioned members of the regular forces, 29 are closed to women (i.e. a 100% restriction against women), 16 are open to both men and women (i.e. gender free), and 55 have varied restrictions. For example, the minimum male requirement (MMR)[8] for airframe

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[7] This restriction is found in virtually all European countries which otherwise permit women in combat roles.

[8] In wartime, the pool of personnel in any given occupation must provide for replacement of personnel lost or injured in combat. This has resulted in setting a minimum male requirement (MMR) or content within the total personnel strength of each trade or occupation. The minimum male percentage is fixed and determines the

technician was 40% originally and now is 8% (but in fact 89% of the trade is male). In other technician jobs the MMR was 30% and now is 6%, but the reality is that the male population in these trades is usually well over 85%. Even in the administrative clerk occupation, where the original MMR was 50% of the total established positions, and is now 32%, males occupy 68% of the positions. In the 35 military occupations for officers, 6 are closed to women, 13 are open and 16 are restricted. For example, the MMR for pilot positions is 40% but the male complement in fact is 90% (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal,1989:11)."

The CF unsuccessfully argued that the policy and practice of excluding women was based on a bona fide occupational requirement -- that is "operational effectiveness". The Tribunal directed the CF bring about complete integration within ten years. The Tribunal order, which has the force of a Federal Court order, also required the CHRC to monitor the CF's progress in this area.

As a result of the Tribunal decision, the Minister's Advisory Board on Women in the Canadian Forces, later changed to the Minister's Advisory Board on Gender Integration in the CF, was established in 1990 by the Minister of National Defence to monitor the integration of women, and released its first report in 1991. In general, the report found that progress was continuing in that women were now represented in all combat-arms occupations; they were also flying combat fighter aircraft and serving in most naval occupations at sea. Service-wide problems, however, identified instances of harassment that were unreported,

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number of positions to be filled by either men or women within an occupation. The combat arms occupations, for example, accept only males, while the dental occupations have 100% gender-free positions.

harassment that was reported but not investigated, the absence of an effective and flexible pregnancy leave replacement policy, and the need for assistance with family responsibilities to help women in the military cope with their other commitments (CHRC Annual Report,1991:40).

A second report, issued in November 1992, stated that despite advances here and there, there was clearly substantial resistance to accepting women in a broad range of military roles. The Board reported that hostility to women and various forms of related harassment were pervasive in the CF and that harassment of some form has been reported by women everywhere in the CF. For example, several complaints were filed against the CF by female members of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment of Canada). Because of their sex, the women were not permitted to wear highland dress and participate in events such as the Trooping of the Colours on the occasion of the visit of the Queen Mother. A settlement was reached under which the CF authorized the wearing of highland dress by all members of the Black Watch (CHRC Annual Report,1991:69).

The Board report cited further examples where both co-workers and leaders simply wanted women out of the service. This was expressed through denigration of women's participation that ranged from irritating

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comments or insults to sustained verbal attacks intended to destroy the confidence of female members. The Board visited units in which male non-commissioned officers and other ranks blamed and criticized female members with complete impunity. It concluded that there was "no difference between the sexist form of bigotry observed in these locations and blatant racism" (CHRC Annual Report,1992:48). The Chief Commissioner of the CHRC met with the Minister of National Defence in July 1992 to discuss the report of the Board and the response from the new Minister was to defend the status quo. However, in 1998, amid fresh allegations of sexual harassment and assault, the Minister appointed a civilian ombudsman who reported directly to the Minister and established a harassment hotline.

By 1994, five years into the period set out for complete integration, the Commission expressed concerns about the pace of change. The commission requested detailed statistical information on the recruitment, deployment and promotion of male and female members into combat and combat-related positions. In December 1994, the Chief of the Defence Staff accepted a 9-point action plan, referred to as "Op Minerva" (named after Minerva, the Roman Goddess of war and wisdom), towards gender integration and in January 1995, a new division under the Director

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General of Military Careers was created. This division merged human rights policy, gender integration and employment equity, and the advisors on legal aspects of human rights matters and complaints. In June of 1995, the CF distributed a revised and considerably expanded policy on harassment (CFAO 19-39).

The 1995, the CHRC reported that more than half of the thirty-one combat occupations contained fewer than ten women, and in all they accounted for only 1.4 percent of the non-commissioned members and 3.7 percent of the officers. As total numbers in the CF decline, a critical mass of female members becomes even more important. At present, the problem is particularly pronounced for non-commissioned members in the Land and Maritime Commands (Army and Navy respectively), and there is no sign it is being rectified, as ordered by the Tribunal (CHRC Annual Report,1995:46).

The 1996 CHRC Annual Report found that little progress has been made since the 1989 direction. It states that:

"In 1995-96, forty-four percent of the officers recruited into the Sea Command {Navy} were women, compared to eleven percent of the officers recruited into Land Command. During the same period, Air Command hired nineteen men but no women officers. In 1995-96, only two of the Commands, Sea and Land recruited non-commissioned members....Sea command with eleven percent

female recruitment, Land command with 3 percent. In 1989, 0.7 percent of non-commissioned members in Land Command were women; in 1996, the figure was 0.8 percent. The percent in Sea Command increased from 0.9 percent in 1989 to 2.6 percent in 1996. The Commission has made it very clear to the Canadian Forces, at the most senior levels, that the integration of women is not receiving the attention it needs. Incidents involving the treatment of a woman officer that came to light around the end of the year seemed to suggest that the Armed Forces culture was still far from welcoming to women members (CHRC Annual Report,1996:52-3)."

3.4 Aboriginal Peoples and Visible Minorities

In 1995, a Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples issued a report, *Treaty Making in the Spirit of Co-existence*, and in 1997, the report entitled *Visible Minorities and the Public Service of Canada* was released. As previously mentioned, the government's record in hiring and retaining aboriginal peoples was slightly better than the private sector by 1.2% however, visible minorities were significantly inferior to the private sector by 4.5% (CHRC Annual Report,1997:65-66). The latter report also found that visible minority employees see the public service climate as unresponsive and hostile.

Due to the unique role of the CF, early complaints against the CF on race and nationality were often more complex than in the general population and often became the objects of a special procedures under the Canadian Human Rights Act. Generally when recruiting, most fair employment practice laws forbid any inquiries on employment forms or in

interviews which would indicate a discriminatory policy. It is an unfair labour practice to require the applicant to furnish information pertaining to race, colour, creed, religion or national origin, unless for national security. In *Celestin V. Canadian Armed Forces* and *Saxena V. Canadian Armed Forces*, the complainants claimed they were denied employment because they were unable to get the necessary security clearances because of their national or ethnic origin. However, the CF's position was that the practices in question were based on considerations relating to the security of Canada (CHRC Annual Report, 1989:44). With the end of the Cold War the number of countries that are considered a security threat has been significantly reduced.

In the case of *Swan V. Canadian Forces*, one of the central issues was whether jokes, slurs and comments are acceptable if the victim (an aboriginal man in this instance) does not appear to object to them or even participates in the joking (CHRC Annual Report, 1996:55). A Tribunal ordered the CF to improve the way they respond to complaints of harassment and to amend their harassment policy so that investigations are conducted, wherever possible, by personnel outside the complainant's chain of command (Ibid.:85). In June 1995, the CF issued a revised policy on harassment (CFAO 19-39) which placed responsibility on all

levels of command to take action whether the victim comes forward or not.

In 1994, a Commission of Inquiry was called to investigate the conduct of Canadian military peacekeeping personnel during the UN mission to Somalia in 1992-3 (CHRC Annual Report,1996:46). As a result of the findings, the CF instituted an overhaul of the military justice system, including a national investigative unit and a CFAO (19-43) was created on Racist Conduct (National Defence Annual Report:1993-94:3). This order prohibited racist conduct both within and outside of the CF by prohibiting membership or participation in the activities of a racist group or organization which reflects adversely on the loyalty or reliability of a CF member, or may jeopardize the security of CF personnel and materiel. However, as noted earlier, a recent series of articles (O'Hara,1998:14-24) and media coverage of allegations of sexual harassment, sexual assault and cover-ups going back at least two decades, has called into question the CF policy of handling its own investigations before turning cases over to civilian authorities.

In March 1995, the CF conducted a self-identification survey to determine the representation of aboriginal people and members of visible minorities in the regular and reserve forces. The results are listed in

Chapter 2, Table 2-2. The survey showed that representation of visible minorities (2.1%) and aboriginal peoples (1.4%) in the CF is lower than in the overall recruitable Canadian population (9.4% and 3.2% respectively) but it would appear to be consistent with the proportion of visible minorities born in Canada (Chouinard and Chaisson,1995:vi). The data from this survey is the basis for this study.

3.5 Summary

While the 1985 Employment Equity Act did not extend to military personnel, neither did the CF embrace employment equity principles of its own volition. The Canadian Human Rights Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, through the CHRC, have been the driving forces and have had a significant impact on policy in the CF in regard to harassment and employment of women, aboriginal peoples and visible minorities. Disabled persons have been excluded under the universality of service principle. The CHRC as well as other lobby groups, have resulted in an expanded role for women in the military. Primarily through the media, a public and often painful, awareness of harassment and racism in the CF has developed and the leadership of the CF has at last been engaged in the issues with a commitment both from the Minister of National Defence and

the Chief of the Defence Staff to change the mind set of the military.

The recent actions in Somalia resulting in the Somalia Inquiry and the

series of allegations of sexual harassment and assault in the military,

while deplorable, have profoundly shaken the military to its core and have

created a receptiveness to change that may have otherwise taken years

to happen.

Chapter 4: The Casualties - First Wave: Voluntary Releases

4.1 Introduction

With the impending inclusion of the CF in the 1995 Employment Equity Act, the onus will be placed on the military to show "reasonable progress" toward achieving a representative workforce. One area in addressing "reasonable progress" is to ensure that the separation rates of designated groups are not proportionally higher than non-designated groups. One means of doing this is to determine why people leave. The reasons for leaving can identify where dissatisfaction lies and if there are systemic barriers within the organization. The next two chapters look at personnel who voluntarily left the CF -- some purely at their own request, and some who accepted a buy-out package. They have been tabulated separately to identify any differences or similarities between the two groups in general, or between both sets of designated groups in particular.

In the CF, Section 23 (1) of the National Defence Act states "The enrolment of a person binds that person to serve in the Canadian Forces until he/she is, in accordance with regulations, lawfully released". Section 30, further states that except in cases of national emergency or

when on active service, members may be released on request. Members who request release in this manner will normally be assigned release items of 4(a), 4(b), or 4(c) (CFAO 15-2, Annex A,Mod 12/97:2). Of the 20,194 releases from January 1994 to December 1996, 6345 (31.4%) fall into this category.

This chapter looks at who voluntarily released in groups of men and by designated group under the Employment Equity Act. For this study, the group of men includes all males who did not self-identify as being part of a designated group and the designated groups include women, aboriginal peoples and visible minorities. The aboriginal people and visible minority groups include both males and females. The overall numbers for these groups are already small and any further reduction in numbers by separating out males and females would not provide valid data. Voluntary releases are also reported by rank and military occupation to see what differences, if any, occur between the groups.

4.2 By Group

The reasons for leaving were given upon release over a three year period by persons who voluntarily completed the exit questionnaire. Of the 6345 personnel voluntarily released, 1336 (21.1%) completed

Canadian Forces Attrition Information Questionnaires. The questionnaire

gives 46 reasons for leaving and then asks respondents to rate the three

most important reasons. The focus of this study is to compare the

reasons given by the four groups -- men, women, aboriginal peoples and

visible minorities. The individual questions and the combined results for

all respondents are listed at Annex D.

It is significant to note that the number of personnel who

voluntarily completed questionnaires each year steadily declined for all

groups except visible minorities, who remained relatively constant but

well below the average. Due to the voluntary nature of completing the

questionnaire, it is not possible to speculate on why this has occurred.

Overall, women completed the questionnaire at a higher rate than men,

while aboriginal peoples and visible minorities completed the questionnaire

at a considerably lower rate. The results are listed below in Table 4-1.

There are two significant limitations to the conclusions that can be

drawn from these data. First, responses for all groups are not random,

but self-selected. As previously noted, volunteers tend to have similar

characteristics and it is likely that the responses in the study reflect only

the reasons for people who are inclined to complete questionnaires and

are not representative of the majority of those who left the CF. The

second limitation is that representation for visible minorities and aboriginal peoples is small and also may not be representative of why these groups leave. However, these are the only data available on these groups at this time, and they are still useful in providing a basis on which to compare future studies.

Table 4-1

Questionnaire Completion Rate

	Men	Women	Aboriginal Peoples	Visible Minorities
94 Questionnaires	488	110	3	0
Releases	1710	293	7	2
%	28.5%	37.5%	42.9%	--
95 Questionnaires	378	46	8	3
Releases	1672	213	31	24
%	22.6%	21.6%	25.8%	12.5%
96 Questionnaires	269	45	6	6
Releases	2203	254	55	46
%	12.2%	17.7%	10.9%	13.0%
Total Questionnaires	1135	201	17	9
Total Releases	5585	760	93	72
%	20.3%	26.5%	18.3%	12.5%

The most important reasons for voluntarily leaving the CF over the three year period for men who completed the questionnaire were:

1. I want to increase my family stability by establishing roots in one community (21.6%);

2. I do not want to be separated from my family (18.5%);

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3. I want more challenging work (14.5%);

4. I am going back to school (14.4%); and

5. I am spending too much time away from home (13.8%).

For women, the most important reasons were:

1. I do not want to be separated from my family (27.4%);

2. I am going back to school (25.4%);

3. I want to stay at home and raise my family (19.9%);

4. I want more challenging work (18.4%) tied with My CF career

   conflicts with my spouse's career (18.4%).

In summary, responses for men and women are similar and tend to reflect the stereotypical roles of men and women in society. As noted earlier, while both groups expressed concerns with separation from family, men expressed the need to provide family stability while women expressed the need to stay at home and raise the family, and to defer careers in favour of their spouse. Both groups cited going back to school and wanting more challenging work concerns.

Responses from female and male aboriginal peoples and visible minorities were diverse and no one reason was predominant. The numbers of completed questionnaires for these groups were small. If these two groups are combined (n = 25), the overall results are as follows:

a. I am going back to school (24.0%);

b. I do not get credit for a job well done (20.0%);

c. I am spending too much time away from home (20.0%);

d. My immediate supervisor is not competent (20.0%); and

e. I am not in an occupation that is useful for future civilian employment (16.0%).

The responses for the combined groups differ from those of the men and women groups in that career dissatisfaction is more predominant in the reasons for leaving. This combined group also completed the questionnaire at a lower rate than both men and women. Further study is needed in this area to determine if these responses are, in fact, representative of aboriginal peoples and visible minorities, and if so, why they express a higher level of career dissatisfaction than men or women.

4.3 Reasons by Category

One difficulty that has become apparent when dealing with 46 reasons for leaving is that many are similar and this tends to widely disperse the results over a number of similar reasons. Of equal difficulty is attempting to place the 46 reasons into categories when some statements can be open to interpretation. Three such statements are: "I

do not get credit for a job well done" (Question 10), "My work performance is not evaluated fairly" (Question 15), or "I cannot get the MOC {occupation} I want" (Question 17). These may well be tied to systemic barriers such as bias in performance evaluation standards or in selection standards for occupations or advancement. Or, these could be construed to indicate job dissatisfaction in general, to be a possible indication of job dissatisfaction based on the occupational options for some groups, or on the workplace atmosphere. To address this ambiguity, the reasons for leaving have been reported in two ways. First, in groups with reasons 10 and 15 as career dissatisfaction and with reason 17 as a working condition dissatisfaction. Secondly, the results have been tabulated with these three reasons in the discrimination category (in the shaded area) for the reasons explained below. The categories of Civilian/Other Career Potential remain unchanged in either scenario. The results are listed in Table 4-2 below.

When reasons are grouped into similar categories, the results do not change significantly from those reported individually by each group. For men and women, the most important reasons are family impact and career dissatisfaction, with family impact significantly higher for women. For aboriginal peoples the most important reason was civilian/other career

impact while for visible minorities, career dissatisfaction was significantly higher.

Under the concept of systemic barriers and equality in employment opportunity, one nagging question in interpreting the results of this study is whether some questions may inadvertently be indicators of discrimination in employment practices. System barriers are discriminatory employment practices and procedures equal in intent and application but with a disparate impact on certain groups of workers not directly related to job performance. Systemic barriers are a type of discrimination hidden in the way the system works. It is harder to detect, is usually unintentional and inadvertent, and almost invariably results from policies, practices, selection criteria which affect the protected classes differently (generally to their detriment) (Coates,1977:2). In employment, training and development, discrimination can take several forms: the level at which an individual is hired, the rate of wage increase once hired, the rate at which an individual moves up through the organization and the opportunities that are available to the individual to facilitate advancement (Jain,1974:28).

If the statements in 10, 15, and 17 are interpreted to indicate possible discrimination and placed in that category, leaving the CF for

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reasons of discrimination rises significantly for each group, however remains the lowest category for all but visible minorities. As these three reasons significantly raise the percentages in each of the four groups, further study with a larger sample is needed as to why these reasons are consistent across the groups and in fact, are higher for men than for women in the discrimination category.

Table 4-2

Grouping of Reasons For Voluntary Releases

Grouping	Men	Women	Aboriginal Peoples	Visible Minorities
Civilian/Other Career Potential 8,12,14,21,27,31,36,37,43	25.2%	17.4%	34.7%	14.8%
Family Impact 2,9,13,20,30,38,41,44	27.5%	37.3%	22.5%	11.1%
Career Dissatisfaction 1,3,5,6,10,15,26,28,29,32, 35,46	27.8%	29.2%	22.4%	44.5%
Compensation/Working Condition Dissatisfaction 4,7,17,18,19,22,23,24,25, 33,34,40,42	14.8%	13.1%	16.3%	22.2%
Discrimination 11,16,39,45	4.7%	3.0%	4.1%	7.4%
Career Dissatisfaction 1,3,5,6,26,28,29,32,35 46	23.0%	24.1%	14.3%	37.1%
Compensation/Working Condition Dissatisfaction 4,7,18,19,22,23,24,25,33, 34,40,42	13.6%	12.7%	14.3%	22.2%
Discrimination 11,16,39,45 10,15,17	10.7%	8.5%	12.4%	14.8%

Note: The first two categories are not repeated in the shaded categories as they remain unchanged by the movement of questions 10, 15 and 17 to other categories.

4.4 By Rank

The rank of departing members is important in that position in an organization is at least as important a determinant of organization experiences as gender. That is, higher levels of management tend to experience the climate as less constraining than those at lower levels (Phillips et al,1997:571). Overall, the rate at which exit questionnaires were voluntarily completed increased with rank (Annex E). Female non-commissioned members (NCMs)[9] averaged a significantly higher rate of completion than male NCMs, while female and male officers were the same. Numbers of completed questionnaires for aboriginal peoples and visible minorities were more widespread. Greater percentages of officers than NCMs completed questionnaires for aboriginal peoples, and no officers completed questionnaires for visible minorities. Officer Cadets were the most under represented group for completion of questionnaires for men and women with none for aboriginal peoples and visible minorities.

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[9] NCM means any person, other than an officer enrolled in the CF. Other terms apply to certain ranks such as Junior Non-Commissioned Officers for the ranks of Corporal, Master Corporal and Senior Non-Commissioned Officer for Sergeant. Ranks of Warrant Officer, Master Warrant Officer and Chief Warrant Officer are referred to as Warrant Officer. For simplicity, the term NCM will be used to refer to the above groups.

The most important reasons for leaving by rank, when grouped by category of rank are as follows:

a. **Junior non-commissioned members**, (n = 552),

I am going back to school (13.1%);

b. **Senior non-commissioned members**, (n = 245),

I want to increase my family stability by establishing roots in one community (15.5%);

c. **Junior officers**, (n = 190),

I am going back to school (9.5%); and

d. **Senior officers**, (n = 86), four reasons were tied as follows:

1) I am unlikely to get promoted (7.0%).

2) I want to increase my family stability by establishing roots in one community (7.0%).

3) I have been offered a job that pays more (7.0%).

4) I am taking full advantage of my pension and potential civilian salary (7.0%).

When grouped by rank, results for women were not significantly different from men with the exception of Corporal/Leading Seaman rank whose most important reason was to go back to school (19.7%) and the rank of Private/Ordinary Seaman/Able Seaman rank whose reasons were:

a.   My CF career conflicts with my spouse's career (18.4%); and

b.   I want more challenging work (15.8%).

The results for aboriginal peoples and visible minorities were too diverse to be significant with the exception of Corporal/Leading Seaman aboriginal peoples whose most often chosen reason was not being in an MOC {occupation} that is useful for future civilian employment (50%).

In summary, the senior groups of both officer and NCM ranks voluntarily completed the questionnaire at a higher rate and the study results could reflect the tendency senior personnel to see the organization in a more positive way than those who are more junior. If viewed as the organizational "canaries", it is important to determine why both junior officers and NCMs (junior aboriginal peoples and visible minorities in particular) do not see the CF as a lifelong career. These groups also need to be targeted for a higher completion rate of the questionnaire to ensure this result is representative of these groups.

4.5 By Occupation

Personnel released during the period of the study included 105 NCM and 15 officer occupations. For simplification, occupations have

been reported by branch grouping as listed in the Canadian Forces

Recruiters Handbook (Chapter 7, Annex B, 7B1-7B6). Breakdowns of

occupations by branch are detailed at Annex F.

The results strongly indicate occupational segregation, especially

for women. For instance, men accounted for 95% or higher of releases

for officers in the Air Operations, Armour, and Infantry branches and for

98% or higher of releases for NCMs in the Artillery, Infantry, Land

Electrical and Mechanical Engineering, and Military Engineering branches.

Women officers account for 38% of releases in the Logistics branch and

33% in the Medical branch (86.8% Nurses). Women NCMs account for

24% of releases in the Logistics branch, 28% in the Medical branch, 37%

in the Administrative branch, and 44% in the Dental branch. In the

Communications branch, women made up 14% of all releases, however

40% of the Teletype Operators. While the statistical data available for

the period of the study did not report strength by military occupation and

gender, the fact that women made up approximately 10% of the regular

force (Chouinard and Chaisson,1995:12) and only 13.6% of all releases

for the period indicates that women requested release at a slightly higher

rate and that occupational concentration of women in traditional

occupations still exists. In most instances, the numbers for aboriginal

peoples and visible minorities were small and diverse. Further study is needed with a larger population to determine if these results are representative.

The results of releases by occupation for officers are as follows:

a. **Air Operations.** For men respondents, the most frequent responses were being offered a job that pays more (14.3%) and increasing family stability by establishing roots in one community (12.2%). For women, the most frequent reason was wanting more challenging work (60.0%) and for visible minorities, not being adequately compensated for overtime (50.0%) and spending too much time away from home (50.0%).

b. **Logistics.** For men, the most frequent response was wanting to increase family stability (71.4%), and for women, CF career conflicting with my spouse's career (71.4%).

c. **Medical.** For men, the most frequent response was wanting to increase family stability (59.1%) and for women, being unlikely to get promoted (33.3%).

d. **Military Engineering.** For men, the most frequent response was wanting more challenging work (37.5%) and wanting to increase

family stability (31.3%), and for women, going back to school (66.7%).

For non-commissioned members, the results were as follows:

a. **Administration.** For men, the most frequent response was not wanting to be separated from family (31.6%) and for women, being under too much stress (20.8%).

b. **Air Operations.** For men, the most frequent response was being offered a job that pays more (24.7%) and not getting the postings asked for (22.1%), and for women, going back to school (54.6%).

c. **Logistics.** For men, the most frequent responses were not wanting to be separated from family (22.1%) and wanting to increase family stability (19.3%), and for women, not wanting to be separated from family (32.0%) and wanting to stay at home and raise my family (32.0%).

d. **Medical.** For men, the most frequent responses were going back to school (42.9%), not wanting to be separated from family (39.3%) and wanting more challenging work (28.6%), and for women, going back to school (38.4%), wanting more challenging work (30.8%) and not wanting to be separated from family (30.8%).

For aboriginal peoples, it was not being in a MOC {occupation} that is useful for future civilian employment (60.0%).

e. **Naval.** For men, the most frequent responses were spending too much time away from home (25.5%), not wanting to be separated from family (25.5%), and going back to school (24.5%). For women, it was going back to school (25.7%) and CF career conflicting with my spouse's career (20.0%), while for visible minorities, it was spending too much time away from home (50.0%) and being under too much stress (50.0%).

Overall, occupational groupings complete the questionnaire at different rates. While the Navy made up 18% of the regular force in 1995 with the Army at 42% and the Air Force at 40% (Chouinard and Chaisson,1995:12), the Naval branch has the highest number of respondents for all Branches. This may be attributable to the fact that the Navy is the smallest command and has only two bases which may facilitate completion of the questionnaire, whereas the other commands have a much larger and more diverse structure, including field units and squadrons, from which to glean this information. The results are as follows:

a. **Officers.** Men (33.1%) and women (46.7%); and

b.   **NCMs.** Men (32.8%) and women (46.7%).

The lowest number of respondents for Branches is as follows:

a.   **Officers.** Air Operations (17.6%); and

b.   **NCMs.** Armour (8.5%), Infantry (10.0%) and Artillery (10.3%).

In summary, the reasons for leaving vary considerably by occupation. Some branches such as Air Operations reflect the global employment market for male trained pilots and aircraft technicians, however, may also indicate career dissatisfaction in the designated groups. Those who stated that they left because they wanted more challenging work need further analysis to determine if they were dissatisfied with the current structure of the military occupation or if they felt they were being unduly limited in what they could accomplish. In the medical occupation, women report career limitations which are consistent with the limited occupational career potential for nurses in the CF and with the traditional occupational segregation of women into the nursing profession, among others. For many occupations there were few completed questionnaires and these occupations need to be targeted for more complete information, especially newly opened occupations such as combat arms.

4.6 Summary

In summary, the reasons for leaving the CF were different between the groups. The most important reasons for men were family stability and separations. For women, they were separation from family and returning to school, and for the combined aboriginal peoples and visible minority groups, they were returning to school and general job dissatisfaction. When the reasons are grouped, family impact is the greatest concern for men and women, while civilian and other career potential and career dissatisfaction are a greater concern for aboriginal peoples and visible minorities. This may be a significant finding and needs to be studied with a larger sample. The grouping of reasons into categories at this point is somewhat arbitrary and needs further study to be conclusive.

Of note however, is that while the completion rate of the questionnaire is relatively constant across the groups, it is still nevertheless, relatively low, capturing only one fifth of all releases for the period. Responses tend to be concentrated by rank, with senior officers and senior NCMs completing the questionnaire at a higher rate than junior officers and junior NCMs. The lowest rate is at the very junior officer and NCM ranks. The same is true by occupation in that some occupational

groupings are better represented than others. The Naval branch accounts for only 18% of the regular force but for one third of all respondents, while the combat arms grouping (Infantry, Artillery and Armour) which makes up 42% of the regular force constitutes less than ten percent of all respondents. Better reporting on reasons for leaving in these traditionally male occupations is essential to any retention program.

To more fully assess what programs can be implemented to address the concerns of those leaving, a greater representation from all ranks and occupational groupings is needed through the targeting of these groups for greater completion rates of the questionnaire.

In summary, there is a danger in generalizing why people voluntarily leave the regular force based solely on the reasons reported in this study. The self-selected nature of completing the questionnaire and the lack of follow up or personal exit interviews, such as was done by the Task Force on Barriers to Women, leave large gaps in the information that is needed to draw firm conclusions. It appears that the reasons reflect the attitude of the mainstream and not necessarily those who are junior in rank or who are in ground breaking occupations. While there are limits to the conclusions that can be drawn from the study due to the small number of aboriginal people and visible minority respondents and the volunteer

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nature of the respondents, the study suggests job dissatisfaction for all groups. This needs to be examined further to determine if the military occupation structure or if the perceived career potential is more of a concern for designated groups in those occupations. To be effective, any conclusions drawn from why personnel leave the military must include better representation from the designated groups.

Chapter 5:   The Casualties - Second Wave:
                     Force Reduction Program (FRP)

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter details the reasons for leaving for purely

voluntary releases. This chapter looks at those who left to take

advantage of the buy-out package and compares the results of the two

groups. In addition to voluntary releases requested by the member,

detailed in Chapter 4, release can also be initiated by the CF or by a

member who has come to the end of a fixed period of service[10]. This

chapter looks at releases for men, women, aboriginal peoples and visible

minorities who released after a fixed period of service, or under the Force

Reduction Program (FRP). Under the FRP, while the occupations and

ranks to be reduced were selected by the CF, members in these

occupations and ranks were given the opportunity to volunteer for FRP

release. This chapter compares the reasons for leaving for the groups

who released under this item to see if the reasons differed significantly for

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[10] A fixed period of service is service where a member's compulsory release date is not associated with the member's retirement age or length of service under Queens Orders and Regulations 15.17 or 15.21.

the three designated groups. As well, it compares the results between the voluntary and FRP groups.

As both the releases for the end of a fixed period and FRP were assigned a release item of 5 (c) (see Table 2-1) but not differentiated in the database, and as FRP statistics completed by the CF (Bender et al:1995b,1996) indicate that FRP releases make up the vast majority of 5 (c) releases (90.5%) for the period of this study, these are being treated as one group. Of the 20,194 personnel released from January 1994 to December 1996, 9735 (48.2%) were released under item 5(c).

5.2 Force Reduction Program (FRP)

The Minister of National Defence announced in the fall of 1991, a reduction of the Regular Force by approximately 8,000 personnel--from 84,000 to 76,000 personnel within three years. This was followed by the 1994 Defence White Paper and the 1995 Federal Budget which further dictated reductions to a total of 60,000 personnel in the Regular Force over four years.

In response to the Minister's announcement, the Force Reduction Program (FRP) was introduced in 1992. It included a compensation and benefits package for individuals in military occupations targeted for

deletion or reduction in numbers. The results of the 1994, 1995 and
1996 FRP have been documented by the CF, focusing on who
volunteered to take the FRP by rank, years of service, official language
group, and gender. Over the three year period, studies showed that
female non-commissioned members (NCMs) who were eligible for FRP
took the package at slightly higher rates than for men, however, the
effects of the FRP on the male and female NCM Trained Effective
Strength were not very significant. The same trend was reported for
female officers (Bender et al:1995a,1995b,1996). This study expands on
the current documentation on FRP releases to include aboriginal peoples
and visible minorities as well as looking at what reasons all groups gave
for leaving.

Information on female participation was readily available through
the Canadian Forces Personnel Statistical Report. However, this was not
the case for the two other designated groups in this study. The Military
Personnel Information System database only contained gender information
until 1995, at which time a self-identification survey was conducted by
the CF, and data from that survey enabled the inclusion of aboriginal
peoples and visible minorities, and their reasons for leaving in this study.

5.3 By Group

The reasons for leaving were recorded by persons who voluntarily completed the exit questionnaire. Of the 9735 FRP releases, 1236 completed the Canadian Forces Attrition Information Questionnaire over the three year period. The combined results from all FRP respondents are at Annex G. The number of FRP released personnel who completed the questionnaire doubled in number for 1994 to 1995, and decreased slightly in 1996.

When compared to the voluntary group (Chapter 4, Table 4-1), the FRP groups of men and women, completed the questionnaire at a slightly lower rate while the aboriginal peoples and visible minorities groups completed it at a higher rate, with aboriginal peoples at an increase of 5.7%. A breakdown by year and group is at Table 5-1 below, with comparative voluntary group data from Table 4-1 shown in gray.

Again, it is necessary to caution as to the limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn from these data. First, responses for all groups are not random, but-self-selected and secondly, representation for visible minorities and aboriginal peoples is small and may not be representative of the group as a whole. However, as these are the only

data available on these groups at this time, they are useful in establishing benchmarks against which future studies can be compared.

Table 5-1

Questionnaire Completion Rate

	Men	Women	Aboriginal Peoples	Visible Minorities
94 Questionnaires	402	33	1	0
Releases	1923	162	1	3
%	20.9%	20.3%	--	0%
95 Questionnaires	707	148	7	5
Releases	3418	525	42	33
%	20.7%	28.2%	16.7%	15.2%
96 Questionnaires	591	134	21	9
Releases	3158	549	78	48
%	18.7%	27.0%	26.9%	18.8%
Total Questionnaires	1700	315	29	14
Total Releases	8499	1236	121	84
%	20.0%	25.5%	24.0%	16.7%
Voluntary Group	20.3%	26.5%	18.3%	12.5%

The most important reasons for accepting the FRP and leaving the military for men include:

a.   I am taking full advantage of my pension and potential civilian salary (32.4%):

b.   I want to increase my family stability by establishing roots in one community (24.3%);

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c.   I am unlikely to get promoted (16.8%); and

d.   My work performance is not evaluated fairly (13.2%).

For women, the most frequently given reasons were:

a.   I do not want to be separated from my family (24.8%);

b.   I am going back to school (21.3%);

c.   I want to stay home and raise my family (18.4%); and

d.   I am unlikely to get promoted (16.2%).

In summary, these are consistent with the voluntary group except that for men, the most chosen reason reflects the opportunities that the FRP buy-out package presented that were not available to voluntary releases. This was not an important reason for women. For women, family concerns and returning to school were more important. Unlike the voluntary group, both men and women in the FRP group expressed concerns for future promotions and men also cited concerns for fair work performance evaluation.

Responses from male and female aboriginal peoples and visible minorities were diverse and with no one reason being predominant. The numbers of completed questionnaires for this group were too small to be conclusive, however if these two groups are combined (n = 46), the overall results are as follows:

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a. I am taking full advantage of my pension and potential civilian salary (19.6%);

b. I don't expect to get an offer of re-engagement (15.2%);

c. Future postings in my MOC {occupation} are unattractive because of the nature of the work (13.0%); and

d. I am not getting equal pay for equal work (10.9%).

The combined aboriginal peoples and visible minorities FRP group completed questionnaires at a higher rate than the combined voluntary group, however, the reasons for leaving between the groups were not similar. While the responses for the combined groups are diverse, they also differ significantly from those of men and women, and are centered more on job dissatisfaction than on family. This is consistent with the voluntary group and may indicate barriers to job dissatisfaction. This needs further study by targeting these two groups for a higher response rate on the questionnaire.

Overall, the reasons for leaving either voluntarily or by taking advantage of the buy-out package vary between the groups. The reasons given by men and women in both the voluntary and FRP groups were similar regarding family concerns and separations. The FRP group for both men and women, however, reflects a higher overall expression of

career dissatisfaction. For aboriginal peoples and visible minorities, career dissatisfaction dominates the reasons for leaving.

5.4 Reasons by Category

As detailed in chapter 4, the difficulty with the 46 reasons is that the results are widely dispersed over several statements that are the same or similar. As well, some reasons can be interpreted in more than one way. If the 46 reasons for leaving are grouped into the same categories as was done for the voluntary group, (Section 4.3, Table 4-2), the breakdown is as listed below in Table 5-2.

When the reasons are grouped into similar categories, men overall reported career dissatisfaction as the most important reason, and women reported family impact with career dissatisfaction a close second. Aboriginal peoples reported working conditions and family impact as most important, while visible minorities reported career dissatisfaction as the main reason for leaving.

As discussed in the previous chapter, some reasons may be possible indicators of discrimination hidden in systemic barriers. If the statements in 10, 15 and 17 are interpreted to indicate possible discrimination and placed in that category, leaving the CF for reasons of

discrimination rise significantly for each group. As these three reasons

alone significantly raise the percentages in each of the four groups, for

both voluntary and FRP releases, and especially for aboriginal peoples and

visible minorities, they may or may not indicate discrimination. If the

questionnaire was redesigned to make these categories separate and

distinct so that the respondent was clear on what was being asked, this

question would be answered.

Table 5-2

Grouping of Reasons For FRP Releases

	Men	Women	Aboriginal Peoples	Visible Minorities
Civilian/Other Career Potential 8,12,14,21,27,31,36,37,43	21.7%	19.4%	16.2%	15.0%
Family Impact 2,9,13,20,30,38,41,44	22.1%	29.1%	23.0%	10.0%
Career Dissatisfaction 1,3,5,6,10,15,26,28,29,32, 35,46	31.2%	28.1%	21.6%	47.5%
Compensation/Working Condition Dissatisfaction 4,7,17,18,19,22,23,24,25, 33,34,40,42	20.1%	18.7%	24.3%	17.5%
Discrimination 1,16,39,45	4.9%	4.7%	14.9%	10.0%
Career Dissatisfaction 1,3,5,6,26,28,29,32, 33,34,40,42	24.8%	22.6%	12.2%	30.0%
Compensation/Working Condition Dissatisfaction 4,7,18,19,22,23,24,25, 33,34,40,42	19.0%	24.3%	24.3%	15.0%
Discrimination 1,16,39,45 10,15,17	12.7%	11.0%	24.3%	30.0%

5.5 *Comparison of Voluntary and FRP Reasons*

Between the voluntary and FRP groups the results for men were similar. Men in the voluntary category reported career dissatisfaction, family impact, and the civilian career potential while FRP men reported a higher incidence of career dissatisfaction, with civilian career potential and family impact reversed. Women in the voluntary and FRP categories reported similar reasons for leaving, with family impact and career dissatisfaction accounting for 60 to 67% of all responses.

For aboriginal peoples, civilian career potential is the most important reason for the voluntary group, while compensation and working conditions and family impact are the most important reasons for the FRP group. For visible minorities, for both the voluntary and FRP groups, career dissatisfaction is the most important reason. Aboriginal peoples and visible minorities released under the FRP reported reasons of discrimination at a much higher rate that all other groups. The results are below in Table 5-4. The results would indicate that these two groups are less content with their military careers and working conditions and this

finding needs further study to determine why this is so and how retention for these groups could be improved.

Table 5-4

Voluntary Versus FRP Releases

	Men		Women		Aboriginal Peoples		Visible Minorities	
	Vol	FRP	Vol	FRP	Vol	FRP	Vol	FRP
Civilian/Other Career Potential 8,12,14,21,27,31,36,37,43	25.2	22.4	17.4	19.4	34.7	16.2	14.8	15.0
Family Impact 2,9,13,20,30,38,41,44	27.5	21.1	37.3	29.1	22.5	23.0	11.1	10.0
Career Dissatisfaction 1,3,5,6,10,15,26,28,29,32, 35,46	27.8	32.1	29.2	28.1	22.4	21.6	44.5	47.5
Compensation/Working Condition Dissatisfaction 4,7,17,18,19,22,23,24,25, 33,34,40,42	14.8	19.5	13.1	18.7	16.3	24.3	22.2	17.5
Discrimination 1,16,39,45	4.7	4.9	3.0	4.7	4.1	14.9	7.4	10.0
Career Dissatisfaction 1,3,5,6,26,28,29,32, 33,34,40,42	23.0	24.8	24.1	22.6	14.3	12.2	37.1	30.0
Compensation/Working Condition Dissatisfaction 4,7,18,19,22,23,24,25, 33,34,40,42	13.6	19.0	12.7	17.9	14.3	24.3	22.2	15.0
Discrimination 1,16,39,45 10,15,17	10.7	12.7	12.4	11.0	12.4	24.3	14.8	30.0

5.6 By Rank

As the ranks under FRP were selected by the CF for reduction or deletion, rank information is not especially relevant as to why people

leave, except to determine how questionnaire data may be affected by the distribution of the rank of the respondents. Overall, there is an incremental increase in the percentage of respondents from junior to senior ranks with junior NCMs at 19.6% and senior officers at 23.5% (Annex H). This is consistent with the volunteer group and better representation of all rank levels is needed to ensure a fair representation of reasons for leaving. This is particularly important to find out why junior people are leaving the CF.

5.7 By Occupation

As the occupations under the FRP release were also selected solely by the CF for reduction or deletion, occupations are not indicative as to why personnel released, except to determine how exit questionnaire data may be affected by the occupation of the respondents. For example, disproportional reporting from any one occupation may be reflected in the reasons that are given.

As before, personnel released during the period of this study include 105 NCM and 15 officer occupations and occupations have been reported by branch groupings as listed in the Canadian Forces Recruiter's

Handbook (Chapter 7, Annex, B1-7B6). Breakdowns by branch are detailed at Annex I. The results reflect the findings of the voluntary group in indicating the occupational segregation of women. For example, men accounted for 97% or higher of officer of releases for Air Operations, Artillery, Land Engineering/Mechanical Engineering, Military Engineering and Naval branches and 92% or higher of NCMs in Air Operations, Armour, Artillery and Naval branches. Women officers accounted for 56% of releases in the medical branch and women NCMs accounted for 38.8% of administration clerks. These military occupations have been traditional occupations for women since the 1970s and this result is indicative of this grouping.

This same occupational segregation is evident with aboriginal peoples and visible minorities (n = 48). Officers in these two groups made up 3.9% of Naval releases and 1.8% of Air Operations releases, which accounts for 58.3% of officer releases in these groups. For aboriginal people and visible minority NCMs (n = 205), 25.4% were in the Logistics branch, 10.2% in the Air Operations branch and Naval branches.

As with the voluntary group, the Naval branch has the highest response rate for all Branches with:

a.   **Officers.** Men (28.8%), visible minorities (50%); and

b.   **NCMs.** Men (33.0%), women (56.7%), aboriginal peoples (30.8%) and visible minorities (50.0%).

The lowest proportion of respondents for Branches is as follows:

a.   **Officers.** Dental (15.8%), Administration (16.7%), and Medical (18.0%);

b.   **NCMs.** Infantry (5.3%) and Band (6.4%).

5.8 Summary

Overall, aboriginal peoples and visible minorities completed the questionnaire at a higher rate than for the same group who released voluntarily. For men, the top reason for leaving reflected the advantages of the buy-out package followed by family stability. For women, separation from family and returning to school were prime considerations. The reasons for aboriginal peoples and visible minorities were inconclusive.

When reasons were combined by related groupings, the main concern for men was career dissatisfaction; for women, family impact; for aboriginal peoples, compensation and working condition dissatisfaction; and for visible minorities, career dissatisfaction. For both aboriginal peoples and visible minorities, while still the least chosen reason, there

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was a significant increase in the percent that cited discrimination reasons for leaving. This result suggests that these groups are less content with their military occupations and careers and this needs further study if retention is to be achieved. It would seem that there are some potential indicators of a higher level of job dissatisfaction for these groups. The questionnaire should be simplified as to the number and nature of the questions on why the person is leaving and what it would take to keep her/him in the CF. There is an incremental increase in the completion rate of the questionnaire with rank progression and some occupational branches such as Naval have a high response rate, while others, such as Infantry have an extremely low rate. As with the voluntary group, it is essential to target the junior ranks and non-traditional occupations to identify systemic barriers.

5.9 Recommendations

The greatest difficulty with the results of this study is how representative the findings are. Recommendations to increase the usefulness and validity of the exit questionnaire in identifying systemic barriers are as follows:

a.   Make completion of the exit questionnaire mandatory. All

respondents in the study were self-selected, which may in

fact be affected by the characteristics of volunteers and

reflect only the reasons for leaving of those who are more

positive, or more inclined to fill out questionnaires. Almost

80% or more of all groups are not represented.

b.   Simplify the exit questionnaire and the process of

completion. The process of completing an exit questionnaire

needs to be simplified by handing each departing member a

questionnaire during the release procedure, not requiring the

individual to go to a separate section. The form has too

many categories for responses. It needs to be divided into

fewer categories that clearly indicate the intent of the

question. Fewer and more direct questions are needed to

ensure the results are reliable. Questions which gather the

respondents' perceptions on key areas such as enrolment,

employment, training and career opportunities should be

included and in categories which clearly indicate to the

respondent what information is being sought and why. As

well, indications as to whether the member would be agreeable to a follow up interview is needed.

c.   <u>Target members of designated groups or other groups of interest to complete exit questionnaires and exit interviews</u>. While women overall have the highest percent of completed questionnaires for all groups, "completers" still constitute only 30% of the women who are leaving. While targeting visible minorities and aboriginal peoples is more complex, ensuring as many personnel as possible complete the questionnaire should increase the responses for all groups. The exit questionnaire should also target junior officers and NCMs especially at recruit and basic occupational training schools. It is essential to find out why entry level recruits do not choose to remain in the military and to evaluate the potential of systemic barriers of recruiting and training programs. The same is true for targeting those leaving the non-traditional or male dominated occupations. It is important to find out why women, as well as male aboriginal peoples and visible minorities leave these occupations, again to identify systemic barriers inherent in these occupations.

d.   <u>Initiate a program to direct target groups into the primary reserve</u>. While members of target groups may wish to release from the regular force, service in the primary reserve will keep their military skills current and will enable them to transfer back to the regular force at a later date. Under the assumption that a greater number of minority group members will give them the critical mass to become a visible members of a community, retention in the reserve service with the option of returning to the regular force will assist with acceptance of these groups in the CF overall. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

In summary, it is clear that the present exit questionnaire and the self-selected method of gathering information on why members leave the regular force is not as effective as it could be. At first glance, it indicates that family concerns are the primary reasons for men and women to leave. Recent revelations in the media have clearly indicated that for many women this is not always the case and that those who left for other reasons have had to carry their message to another forum to be heard. The diverse reasons for aboriginal peoples and for visible minorities are

more indicative of a non-supportive climate or inability to achieve a satisfying career. These discrepancies need to be investigated and addressed if an effective employment equity program is to be designed and implemented in the military.

While not as conclusive as initially anticipated, this study has suggested that something more needs to be done both within the military and on release to make the CF a more hospitable and equitable workplace.

Chapter 6:   The Fall Back Position:
Transfer to the Reserve

6.1 Introduction

One means of reducing overall CF wide attrition rates for
designated groups is to encourage those individuals to join the primary
reserve upon release from the regular force. Members of the Regular
Force who release under Items 4(a), 4(b), 4(c), 5(a), 5(b) and 5(c), may
apply for direct transfer to the Reserve Force (CFAO 15-2, Annex A:2).
The army, navy and air reserve units have a structure of occupations and
designation which are mirror images of the regular force.

Members who leave the regular force, especially for family reasons,
should be attracted by the differing conditions of service between the
regular and reserve forces. The regular force is characterized by a high
frequency of deployment, high mobility through frequent relocation, and
frequent prolonged absences. Reserve employment has little or no
deployability unless the member volunteers, low mobility, increased
community involvement and part-time work. The reserve should appeal to
personnel who left the regular force for family stability or family impact

reasons. As well, reserve service will keep military skills current and allow the member to transfer back to the regular force at a later date.

The reserve force is divided into four separate environments — Army, Navy, Air Force and Communications--one with four separate headquarters. Each maintains their own personnel databases which are neither interconnected nor centrally linked. This makes data collection on those who join the reserve very difficult. For this reason, this study concentrates only on the Air Reserve. The Air Reserve is the second smallest of the four environmental reserves, with about 2000 personnel. However, due to the highly technical nature and prolonged and costly training required for air operations, it has been the policy of the Air Reserve for the past several years to attract fully trained ex-regular force personnel. This is not as much the case with the army and naval reserves which recruit primarily untrained youth. Members were matched by service numbers with those who released during the period of this study, to those who subsequently joined the Air Reserve during the same period.

6.2 By Group

Group Members Joining the Air Reserve
January 1994 to December 1996

	Men	Women	Aboriginal Peoples	Visible Minorities
Enrolled	458	78	4	9
Percent	85.4%	14.5%	.07%	1.7%
Completed Questionnaires	77	18	--	--
Percent	16.8%	23.1%	--	--

Overall, those who joined the Air Reserve upon release from the CF were those who reported the three most important reasons for leaving as follows:

a. I am taking full advantage of my pension and potential civilian salary (27.4%);

b. I want to increase my family stability by establishing roots in one community (24.2%); and

c. I do not want to be separated from my family (22.1%).

For women, the three most important reasons were equally chosen as follows:

a. I do not want to be separated from my family (27.8%);

b.   I am going back to school (27.8%); and

c.   My CF career conflicts with my spouse's career (27.8%).

Overall, there is a correlation between the reasons given for leaving the regular force (family stability and family impact) and those who joined the reserve, however, none of the aboriginal peoples or visible minorities who joined the reserve had completed an exit questionnaire upon release. During the period of the study, men made up 85.6% of those who released and 85.4% of those who joined the Air Reserve, while women made up 12.1% of those who released and 14.5% of those who joined the Air Reserve. Aboriginal peoples and visible minorities made up 1.33% of those released and 1.77% of those who joined the reserve. All groups enrolled into the Air Reserve in a slightly higher proportion than those for releases from the regular force except men who were only slightly lower. This may indicate that the voluntary nature of reserve service and reduced commitment is attracting these groups and this could be confirmed through a mechanism such as the introduction of an entry questionnaire upon joining the reserve, which would assist in addressing the overall retention rate in the CF.

6.3 By Rank

The majority of those who joined the Air Reserve after release from the regular force were NCMs. Men made up 81% of NCMs and 92.6% of officers. Women made up 18% of NCMs and 7.3% of officers. All aboriginal peoples who joined the Air Reserve during this period were NCMs, while visible minorities were evenly distributed between officers (55.6%) and NCMs (44.4%).

6.4 By Occupation

The occupations of the Air Reserve are limited to those that are required to conduct and support air operations such as aircraft maintenance, infrastructure support and administration. In the largest category for officers, the Air Operations Branch, men make up the majority of those transferred to the Air Reserve in operational roles − 99.2% officers and 88.5% NCMs. Women officers made up 37.5% in the Medical branch, 27.8% in Logistics but less than 1% in Air Operations. Women, aboriginal peoples and visible minorities combined (n = 91) made up only 16% of officers who joined and 7.2% of all NCMs.

Women NCMs, in particular, were grouped into the traditional occupations of administration (53.7%) and Logistics (26.8%).

6.5 Summary

There is a correlation between those who gave family impact reasons for leaving the regular force and those who subsequently joined the Air Reserve. As the Air Reserve accepts ex-regular force personnel who are already trained in military occupations, it is not surprising that the patterns of male dominated and occupational segregation are being repeated in the Air Reserve. However, the majority of women, aboriginal peoples and visible minorities who joined were NCMs and women, in particular, tended to be grouped into a few non-operational occupations. Less than 5% of all designated groups were in Air Operational occupations however, 48.7% were in administration and 41% were in Logistics occupations.

6.6 Recommendations

The study has revealed that the opportunities for women, visible minorities and aboriginal peoples were slightly increased in the Air

Reserve. Recommendations to increase the number of designated and target groups who accept reserve service include:

a. <u>Direct target groups to the reserve upon release from the regular force</u>. Departing members should be advised of conditions of reserve service and target groups especially directed to the reserve, where feasible.

b. <u>Institute hiring on employment equity principles at the reserve unit level</u>. The decision to accept a candidate is made at the local unit level and local reserve recruiters should be educated on employment equity principles.

c. <u>Develop an entry questionnaire for ex-regular force personnel joining the reserve</u>. If the member completed an exit questionnaire, it should correlate with the findings. If a member did not complete an exit questionnaire, the entry questionnaire will fill the gap in information.

Chapter 7:   *Retrenching: Conclusion*

7.1 Recommendations

With the impending inclusion of the military in the Employment Equity Act, the CF now has a legal obligation toward achieving a representative workforce. While the Canadian Human Rights Act has had an ongoing impact on CF policies regarding harassment, racism and expansion of the role and benefits for women, the equality process has been primarily a reactive one on the part of the CF.

The main recommendations from this study, detailed in previous chapters are:

    a.   <u>Make completion of the exit questionnaire mandatory</u>. By examining why military personnel voluntarily leave the CF and how this differs between the various designated groups in the military, programs can be implemented to address the concerns of these groups. However, less than 20% of all releasing personnel voluntarily complete the questionnaires. The findings of this study were that the reasons between men and women were reasonably homogeneous but were

more diverse for aboriginal peoples and visible minorities and included returning to school, career dissatisfaction and time away from home. Further study with larger groups is needed to determine why these differences occur for these groups and what can be done to address the concerns.

b.   <u>Target junior officers and NCMs and non-traditional occupations</u>. The second major problem with the study is that respondents are self-selected, not random. While the average rate for voluntary completion of the exit questionnaire is consistent across the groups, women have the highest overall response rates, men and aboriginal peoples were similar, and visible minorities were the lowest. The number of respondents is less consistent with rank and occupation. The rate of completion of the questionnaire increased with rank progression and is unevenly distributed throughout the occupations. It is likely that the results have been influenced by this fact and are not truly representative of why junior people leave. In order to ensure a more complete and balanced assessment of why people leave the CF, efforts must be made to encourage a higher number of

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overall respondents and more consistent rate of completion across the ranks and occupations. It is especially important to target non-traditional occupations.

c.   <u>Target designated group members for transfer to the reserve</u>. The reserves, with their part-time work, low mobility and low deployability, should present an attractive and more flexible work option. Those of the designated groups who do join the air reserve, are concentrated into the NCM ranks and in a few non-operational occupations. In order to evaluate why this is happening, the attitudes of the designated groups need to be assessed more fully possibly through an entry questionnaire and initiate an evaluation of the local selection process for the Air Reserve. A similar study should be conducted for the army and navy reserves.

In summary, for the use of reasons for leaving to be an effective tool in increasing retention of designated groups in the military, programs to address the expressed concerns need to be developed by placing a greater emphasis on having departing members from all ranks and occupations complete exit questionnaires; and, by implementing a program to enhance the selection process for the Air Reserve in

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designated groups and to expand the employment opportunities for

designated groups. The current system of voluntary completion of the

exit questionnaire has not provided conclusive data on why the majority

of personnel who voluntarily release from the military are doing so. With

the exception of visible minorities, there is little indication of widespread

discrimination or systemic barriers from the study results however, it is

known to exist through those who have gone to the media to get their

stories heard after they have left. In order for the exit questionnaire to be

an effective indicator of where the problems are, it must be revamped to

give the "canaries" their voice or they will continue to sing in other

forums.

In conclusion, what can be predicted for the future of employment

equity principles and programs in the CF? In my opinion, the military has

come to a fork in the road. The CF has not previously been subject to

employment equity legislation nor has it embraced the principles willingly.

Other similar male-dominated federal departments have shown a dogged

resistance and little progress in ten years. Unlike these departments

however, the military has recently had to endure a series of damning

revelations that cannot be ignored. However, the same hierarchical

structure and sense of pride of organization that has resisted employment

equity or diversity can be the means to implement employment equity measures. The strength of a united chain of command is unique to the military and can move armies when needed. Few other organizations have the power to discipline members who do not follow orders. If the leadership of the CF is strong and committed, the military has the potential to make gains in the equitable treatment and opportunities for all its members that other more diverse and fragmented departments do not. Only time will tell.

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Components of the CF

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                        │  CANADIAN FORCES    │
                        └─────────────────────┘
        ┌───────────────────────┼───────────────────────┐
┌─────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────┐
│  REGULAR FORCE  │   │   RESERVE FORCE     │   │  SPECIAL FORCE  │
└─────────────────┘   └─────────────────────┘   └─────────────────┘
                            │
                      ┌─────────────────────┐
                      │  PRIMARY RESERVE    │
                      └─────────────────────┘
                            │
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                            ├───│    Naval Reserve    │
                            │   └─────────────────────┘
                            │   ┌─────────────────────┐
                            ├───│    Army Reserve     │
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                            │   ┌─────────────────────┐
                            ├───│     Air Reserve     │
                            │   └─────────────────────┘
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                            └───│ Communication Reserve│
                                └─────────────────────┘
                      ┌─────────────────────┐
                    ──│ Cadet Instructor List│
                      └─────────────────────┘
                      ┌─────────────────────┐
                    ──│      RANGERS        │
                      └─────────────────────┘
                      ┌─────────────────────┐
                    ──│Supplementary Ready Reserve│
                      └─────────────────────┘
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Annex B
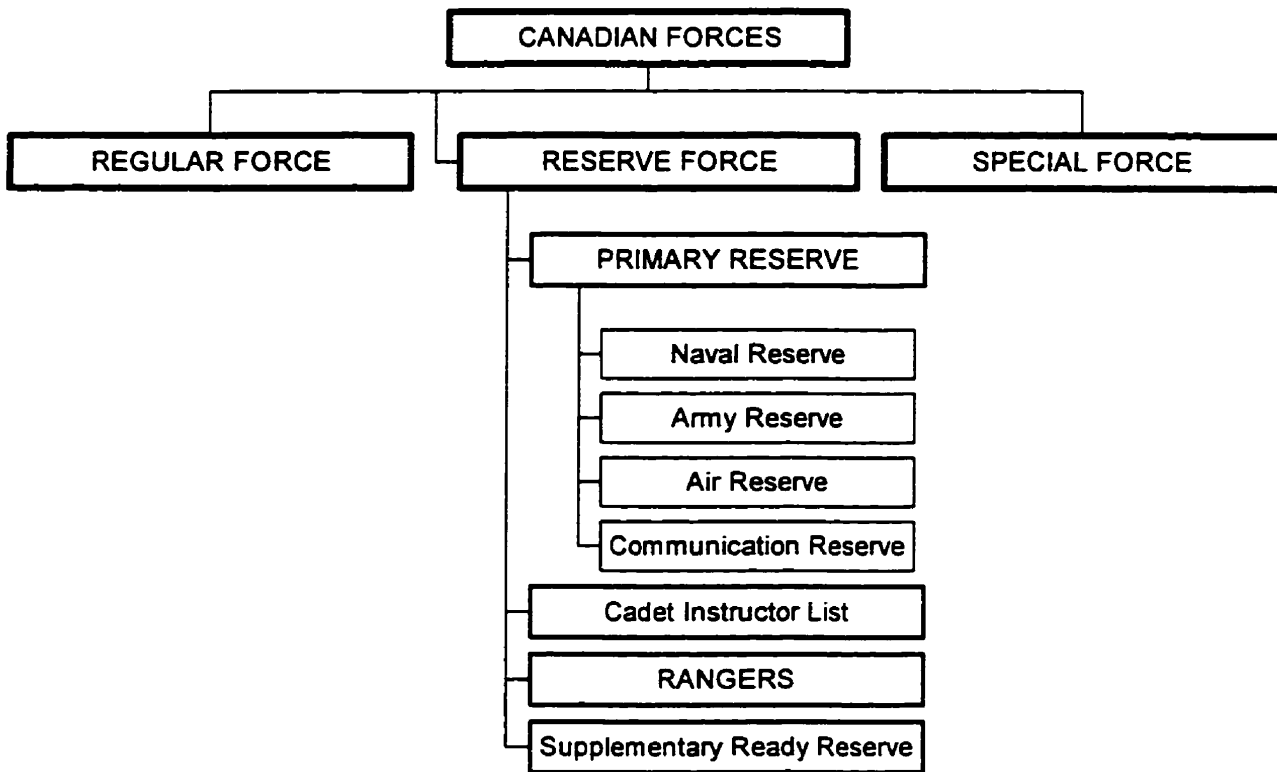
Aboriginal People by Years of Service

Years of Service	Regular	Reserve	Total
0-4	139(12.4%)	174(64.0%)	313(22.4%)
5-9	351(31.2%)	59(21.7%)	410(29.4%)
10-14	261(23.2%)	22(8.1%)	283(20.3%)
15-19	211(18.8%)	8(2.9%)	219(15.7%)
20-24	83(7.4%)	3(1.1%)	86(6.2%)
25-29	57(5.1%)	6(2.2%)	63(4.5%)
30 and up	21(1.9%)	0(0.0%)	21(1.5%)
Total	1,123(100.0%)	272(100.0%)	1,395(100.0%)

(Chouinard and Chaisson, 1995;Table XII,18)

Annex C

Visible Minorities by Years of Service

Years of Service	Regular	Reserve	Total
0-4	203(16.7%)	563(70.6%)	766(38.0%)
5-9	392(32.2%)	156(19.5%)	548(27.2%)
10-14	281(23.1%)	50(6.3%)	331(16.4%)
15-19	212(17.4%)	18(2.3%)	230(11.4%)
20-24	61(5.0%)	9(1.1%)	70(3.5%)
25-29	40(3.3%)	1(0.1%)	41(2.0%)
30 and up	30(2.5%)	1(0.1%)	31(1.5%)
Total	1,219(100.0%)	798(100.0%)	2,017(100.0%)

(Chouinard and Chaisson,1995;Table XXI,22).

Annex D

Canadian Forces Attrition Information Questionnaire[1]
Voluntary Releases
By Rate of Response

1.   *I have had too many postings. (.004%)*
2.   *My CF career conflicts with my spouse's career. (2.7%)*
3.   *I want more challenging work. (5.2%)*
4.   *I am not being adequately compensated for overtime. (2.0%)*
5.   *My most recent military posting does not make good use of my knowledge and training. (3.0%)*
6.   *Future postings in my MOC {occupation} are unattractive because of the nature of the work. (2.6%)*
7.   *I have difficulty living on what I earn in the CF. (1.8%)*
8.   *I was offered a civilian job with more responsibilities. (3.9%)*
9.   *Postings are disruptive to my children's education. (1.4%)*
10.   *I do not get credit for a job well done. (2.1%)*
11.   *I have been discriminated against. (1.9%)*
12.   *I was offered a civilian job with better job security. (1.3%)*
13.   *I want to stay at home and raise my family. (2.7%)*
14.   *I was attracted to a civilian job with more fringe benefits. (2.0%)*
15.   *My work performance is not evaluated fairly. (2.5%)*
16.   *Younger service members get promoted faster than I do. (.007%)*
17.   *I cannot get the MOC {occupation} I want. (1.3%)*
18.   *My hours of work are too long. (.007%)*
19.   *My MOC {occupation} is, or is becoming obsolete. (1.2%)*
20.   *I am spending too much time away from home. (4.8%)*
21.   *I have been offered a civilian job with less responsibility. (.001%)*
22.   *I am under too much stress. (1.8%)*
23.   *I don't expect to get an offer of re-engagement. (.007%)*
24.   *I have not been provided with the tools or equipment I need to do my job properly. (1.1%)*
25.   *I don't like my physical work conditions. (.009%)*
26.   *My immediate supervisor is not competent. (1.9%)*
27.   *I am not in a MOC {occupation} that is useful for future civilian employment. (2.3%)*
28.   *My supervisor lacks interest in his/her subordinates. (1.3%)*
29.   *I am unlikely to get promoted. (3.6%)*
30.   *I want to increase my family stability by establishing roots in some community. (7.3%)*
31.   *I have been offered a job that pays more. (1.5%)*
32.   *I do not get along with my co-workers. (.002%)*
33.   *Likely future postings are unattractive because of their location. (2.3%)*
34.   *I want to avoid compulsory release. (.003%)*
35.   *I cannot get the postings I asked for. (2.8%)*
36.   *I am going back to school. (5.2%)*
37.   *I am taking full advantage of my pension and potential civilian salary. (4.3%)*
38.   *My spouse is unwilling to move to a new posting location. (1.1%)*
39.   *I do not want to work in a mixed gender unit. (.001%)*
40.   *I do not want to work in an operational role. (.003%)*
41.   *I am leaving because of compassionate circumstances. (2.4%)*
42.   *My career is limited because of my medical category. (.004%)*
43.   *I am going into business for myself. (3.6%)*
44.   *I do not want to be separated from my family. (6.9%)*
45.   *I am not getting equal pay for equal work. (1.6%)*
46.   *My role in the military is undervalued/unappreciated in Canadian society. (2.1%)*

Voluntary Releases by Rank

Rank	Men		Women		Aboriginal Peoples		Visible Minorities	
	Release	Questionnaire Completed	Release	Questionnaire Completed	Release	Questionnaire Completed	Release	Questionnaire Completed
Non-Commissioned Ranks (NCMs) _Junior NCMs_ Private, Ordinary Seaman, Able Seaman	1129	170	110	38	15	2	10	2
Corporal, Leading Seaman	1541	278	274	66	46	6	31	5
Master Corporal, Master Seaman	465	109	61	15	7	2	7	2
Sergeant, Petty Officer 2	500	116	67	23	9	4	4	--
Warrant Officer, Petty Officer 1	450	109	34	10	3	--	5	--
Senior NCMs Master Warrant Officer, Chief Petty Officer 2	324	89	7	1	3	--	3	--
Chief Warrant Officer, Chief Petty Officer 1	139	35	1	1	1	1	1	--
Sub Total	4548	906 19.6%	554	154 27.8%	84	15 9.7%	61	9 14.8%
Officers _Junior Officers_ Officer Cadet	170	9	165	3	1	--	1	--
Second Lieutenant, Acting Sub-Lieutenant	42	8	6	3	--	--	--	--
Lieutenant, Sub-Lieutenant	34	11	8	3	--	--	1	--
Captain, Lieutenant(Navy)	489	119	115	34	5	1	7	--
Senior Officers Major, Lieutenant Commander	215	59	12	4	2	1	2	--
Lieutenant-Colonel, Commander	76	22	--	--	1	--	--	--
Colonel, Captain (Navy)	11	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sub Total	1037	229 22.1%	206	47 22.8%	9	2 22.2%	10	0 0%
Overall Totals	5585	1135 20.3%	760	201 26.5%	93	17 18.3%	72	9 12.5%

Releases By Military Occupation

A=Number of Releases, B=Number of Completed Questionnaires

Officers

BRANCH	Occupation	Men		Women		Aboriginal Peoples		Visible Minorities	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Administration	Personnel Administration	6	3	5	1	0	0	0	0
Air Operations	Aerospace Engineering	39	16	7	3	0	0	0	0
	Air Navigator	33	3	2	1	0	0	1	0
	Air Traffic Control	10	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
	Air Weapons Control	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Pilot	201	30	4	1	1	0	2	0
	Totals	289	49	17	5	1	0	3	0
Armour	Armour	40	9	1	0	0	0	0	0
Artillery	Artillery	40	7	6	1	1	0	0	0
Chaplain	Chaplain	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Pastoral Associate	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Totals	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Communications/Electronics	Communications and Electronics	73	22	14	5	1	1	1	0
Dental	Dental	24	4	7	1	1	0	1	0
Infantry	Infantry	73	18	3	0	0	0	1	0
Intelligence	Intelligence	8	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Land Electrical and Mechanical Engineering	Land Electrical and Mechanical Engineering	25	8	4	1	0	0	0	0
Legal	Legal	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Logistics	Logistics	53	14	32	7	1	0	0	0
Medical	Health Care Administration	13	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Physical Therapy	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0
	Medical	96	16	12	0	0	0	2	0
	Medical Associate	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Nursing	5	2	33	8	1	0	1	0
	Social Work	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
	Pharmacy	4	0	10	5	0	0	0	0
	Totals	121	22	59	15	3	1	4	0
Military Engineering	Engineers	7	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
	Airfield Engineers	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Military Engineering	46	14	5	2	0	0	0	0
	Totals	56	16	7	3	0	0	1	0
Naval	Maritime Engineering	76	27	6	0	0	0	1	0
	Maritime Surface/Sub-Surface	75	23	18	2	1	0	1	0
	Totals	151	50	24	2	1	0	2	0
Personnel Selection	Personnel Selection	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
Postal	Postal	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public Affairs	Public Affairs	9	2	6	2	0	0	0	0
Security	Security	6	3	2	1	0	0	0	0
Training Development	Training Development	8	1	3	2	0	0	0	0
	Overall Totals	1000	234	194	47	9	2	11	0

Non-Commissioned Members

BRANCH	Occupation	Men		Women		Aboriginal Peoples		Visible Minorities	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Administration Clerk	Administration Clerk	134	38	78	24	3	0	4	1
Air Operations	Aero Engine Technician	23	7	3	2	0	0	0	0
	Aerospace Control Operator	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Airborne Electronic Sensor Operator	10	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Airframe Technician	17	3	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Air Defence Technician	8	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
	Air Traffic Controller	17	3	3	0	1	0	0	0
	ACS Technician	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Aviation Technician	20	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	AVN Technician	16	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
	AVS Technician	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Avionics Technician	9	5	3	0	0	0	0	0
	Communications and Radar System Tech	27	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Flight Engineer	28	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Instrument Electrical Technician	12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Integral Systems Technician	17	3	4	1	0	0	0	0
	Machinist	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Metals Technician	46	8	2	1	1	0	0	0
	Meteorological Technician	9	4	6	2	0	0	0	0
	Photographic Technician	21	7	2	0	0	0	0	0
	Refinisher Technician	23	5	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Safety System Technician	29	7	4	2	0	0	0	0
	Search and Rescue Technician	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Air Weapons System Technician	16	2	3	2	0	0	1	0
	Totals	272	77	34	11	3	0	3	0

Armour	Crewman	187	16	1	0	3	0	4	0
Artillery	Artilleryman	159	12	1	0	5	0	2	0
		34	8	0	0	1	1	0	0
	Totals	193	20	1	0	6	1	2	0
Band	Musician	10	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
Communications and	Communications Technician	21	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Electronics	Communicator Research	23	4	9	1	0	0	1	0
	Lineman	41	6	2	0	0	0	1	0
	Radar Technician	9	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Radio Operator	99	19	12	2	1	0	0	0
	Radio Technician	17	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Teletype and Cipher Technician	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Teletype Operator	24	4	16	3	0	0	0	0
	Terminal Equipment Technician	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
	SIS Technician	17	2	2	0	0	0	1	0
	ATIS Technician	18	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	LCIS Technician	13	1	3	0	0	0	2	0
	Totals	286	55	46	6	2	0	5	0
Dental	Dental Clinical Assistant	12	1	11	4	0	0	1	0
	Dental Equipment Technician	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Dental Laboratory Technician	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Dental Hygienist	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
	Totals	18	3	14	4	0	0	1	0
Infantry	Infantryman	837	84	3	0	17	0	11	0
Intelligence	Intelligence Operator	34	11	1	0	0	0	0	0
Land Electrical and	Electro-Mechanical Technician	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mechanical Engineering	Fire Control System Technician (Land)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fire Control Technician (Electronic)	9	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fire Control Technician (Optronic)	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Vehicle Technician	178	30	2	0	6	0	2	1
	Weapons Technician (Land)	16	4	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Material Technician	19	4	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Totals	232	45	3	0	8	0	2	1
Logistics	Ammunition Technician	26	7	3	1	0	0	2	1
	Cook	165	25	30	5	3	1	1	0
	Finance Clerk	52	9	22	5	1	0	0	0
	Mobile Support Equipment	143	17	18	2	3	1	0	0
	Steward	70	21	11	4	0	0	0	0
	Supply Technician	359	58	125	32	5	0	7	2
	Traffic Technician	21	3	6	1	0	0	0	0
	Totals	676	140	215	50	12	2	10	3
Medical	Aero Medical Technician	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Laboratory Technician	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
	Medical Assistant	116	23	48	13	4	2	1	0
	Operating Room Assistant	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Preventative Medicine Technician	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	X-ray Technician	5	3	0	0	1	1	0	0
	Totals	134	28	52	13	5	3	1	0
Military Engineering	Construction Engineering Technician	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Construction Engineering Procedures Tech	10	2	3	2	0	0	0	0
	Construction and Maintenance Technician	37	11	0	0	1	1	1	0
	Electrical Generating Systems Technician	19	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Electrician	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Field Engineer	146	22	2	0	4	2	1	0
	Field Engineer Equipment Operator	24	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Fire Fighter	66	15	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Map Reproduction Technician	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mechanical Systems Technician	22	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Plumber Gas Fitter	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Refrigeration and Mechanical Technician	12	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Stationary Engineer	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Structures Technician	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Topographical Surveyor	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Water, Sanitation and POL Technician	10	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Totals	388	72	7	2	6	3	3	0

Annex F

Naval		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Naval	Boatswain	95	25	3	1	4	1	3	1
	Clearance Diver	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Clearance Diving Technician	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Electrical Technician	25	8	0	0	1	1	1	1
	Hull Technician	44	8	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Marine Electrician	43	11	2	1	1	0	0	0
	Marine Engineering Artificer	20	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Marine Engineering Mechanic	63	31	2	0	1	0	1	0
	Marine Engineering Technician	101	34	1	0	0	0	1	1
	Naval Acoustics Operator	62	16	10	5	2	1	0	0
	Naval Combat Information Operator	91	27	15	8	0	0	1	0
	Naval Electronic Sensor Operator	81	29	7	3	2	1	2	0
	Naval Radio Operator	62	22	19	7	0	0	4	0
	Naval Electronics Technician (Acoustics)	24	9	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Naval Electronics Technician (Communication)	32	12	1	1	1	1	0	0
	Naval Electronics Technician (Systems)	21	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Naval Electronics Technician (Tactics)	31	10	2	2	0	0	0	0
	Naval Signalman	52	17	5	5	0	0	1	1
	Oceanographic Operator	9	1	5	2	1	0	0	0
	Naval Weapons Technician	55	22	1	0	0	0	1	0
	Totals	910	298	75	35	13	5	15	4
Physical Education Recreation	Physical Education and Recreation Instructor	15	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
Security	Military Policeman	120	16	17	5	4	0	1	0
Postal	Postal Clerk	18	2	6	1	1	0	0	0
	Overall Totals	4546	901	553	154	85	15	61	9
	Officer and NCM Totals	5099	1135	747**	201	93	17	72	9

A=Number of Releases, B=Number of Completed Questionnaires

**Total 760 - Less 13 Officers not yet assigned occupations.

Canadian Forces Attrition Information Questionnaire[1]
FRP Releases
By Rate of Response

1.   I have had too many postings. (.8%)
2.   My CF career conflicts with my spouse's career. (2.2%)
3.   I want more challenging work. (3.7%)
4.   I am not being adequately compensated for overtime. (1.5%)
5.   My most recent military posting does not make good use of my knowledge and training. (3.2%)
6.   Future postings in my MOC (occupation) are unattractive because of the nature of the work. (2.6%)
7.   I have difficulty living on what I earn in the CF. (1.8%)
8.   I was offered a civilian job with more responsibilities. (.9%)
9.   Postings are disruptive to my children's education. (1.9%)
10.   I do not get credit for a job well done. (2.8%)
11.   I have been discriminated against. (2.1%)
12.   I was offered a civilian job with better job security. (.002%)
13.   I want to stay at home and raise my family. (1.8%)
14.   I was attracted to a civilian job with more fringe benefits. (.6%)
15.   My work performance is not evaluated fairly. (4.2%)
16.   Younger service members get promoted faster than I do. (1.4%)
17.   I cannot get the MOC (occupation) I want. (1.4%)
18.   My hours of work are too long. (.5%)
19.   My MOC (occupation) is, or is becoming obsolete. (3.3%)
20.   I am spending too much time away from home. (1.8%)
21.   I have been offered a civilian job with less responsibility. (.002%)
22.   I am under too much stress. (1.9%)
23.   I don't expect to get an offer of re-engagement. (3.7%)
24.   I have not been provided with the tools or equipment I need to do my job properly. (1.1%)
25.   I don't like my physical work conditions. (.6%)
26.   My immediate supervisor is not competent. (1.9%)
27.   I am not in a MOC (occupation) that is useful for future civilian employment. (1.4%)
28.   My supervisor lacks interest in his/her subordinates. (1.7%)
29.   I am unlikely to get promoted. (5.7%)
30.   I want to increase my family stability by establishing roots in some community. (7.8%)
31.   I have been offered a job that pays more. (1.2%)
32.   I do not get along with my co-workers. (.001%)
33.   Likely future postings are unattractive because of their location. (2.6%)
34.   I want to avoid compulsory release. (1.3%)
35.   I cannot get the postings I asked for. (1.9%)
36.   I am going back to school. (3.4%)
37.   I am taking full advantage of my pension and potential civilian salary. (10.1%)
38.   My spouse is unwilling to move to a new posting location. (1.2%)
39.   I do not want to work in a mixed gender unit. (.001%)
40.   I do not want to work in an operational role. (.6%)
41.   I am leaving because of compassionate circumstances. (1.1%)
42.   My career is limited because of my medical category. (.9%)
43.   I am going into business for myself. (3.9%)
44.   I do not want to be separated from my family. (4.4%)
45.   I am not getting equal pay for equal work. (1.3%)
46.   My role in the military is undervalued/unappreciated in Canadian society. (2.7%)

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[1] National Defence. (1992). Canadian Forces Attrition Information Questionnaire (CFAIQ). Third Edition. Willowdale: Canadian Forces Personnel Applied Research Unit.

FRP Respondents by Rank

Rank	Men		Women		Aboriginal People		VisibleMinorities	
	Release	Questionnaire Completed	Release	Questionnaire Completed	Release	Questionnaire Completed	Release	Questionnaire Completed
Non-Commissioned Ranks (NCMs) _Junior NCMs_ Private, Ordinary Seaman, Able Seaman	133	20	26	4	1	0	0	0
Corporal, Leading Seaman	1595	302	381	88	41	7	15	3
Master Corporal, Master Seaman	1274	234	221	64	22	9	12	1
Sergeant, Petty Officer 2	1600	296	245	58	32	5	13	1
Senior NCMs Warrant Officer, Petty Officer 1	856	195	55	15	5	2	5	1
Master Warrant Officer, Chief Petty Officer 2	536	110	12	4	2	1	6	1
Chief Warrant Officer, Chief Petty Officer 1	293	59	1	1	2	1	2	1
Sub Total	6287	1216 19.3%	941	234 24.9%	105	25 23.8%	53	8 15.1%
Officers _Junior Officers_ Officer Cadet	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Second Lieutenant, Acting Sub-Lieutenant	37	0	10	6	0	0	1	0
Lieutenant, Sub-Lieutenant	126	34	37	12	0	0	0	0
Captain, Lieutenant(Navy)	1325	286	225	55	15	3	25	6
Senior Officers Major, Lieutenant Commander	487	115	20	7	0	1	4	0
Lieutenant-Colonel, Commander	173	40	3	1	0	0	1	0
Colonel, Captain (Navy)	59	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
General, Commodore	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sub Total	2212	484 21.8%	295	81 27.5%	16	4 25.0%	31	6 19.5%
Overall Totals	8499	1700 20.0%	1236	315 25.5%	121	29 24.9%	84	14 16.7%

FRP Releases by Occupational Branch

Officers

A=Releases, B=Completed Questionnaires

BRANCH	Men		Women		Aboriginal Peoples		Visible Minorities	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Administration	74	11	10	3	0	0	0	0
Air Operations	999	202	59	14	8	2	11	0
Armour	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Artillery	63	18	0	0	1	0	0	0
Chaplain	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Communications/Electronics	125	36	15	4	2	0	1	0
Dental	46	7	11	2	0	0	1	0
Infantry	11	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Land Engineering/Mechanical	133	35	6	0	0	0	1	1
Logistics	335	73	84	26	1	0	1	0
Medical	75	6	97	25	3	1	7	1
Military Engineering	32	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Naval	229	66	4	1	1	1	8	4
Personnel Selection	15	6	5	2	1	0	0	0
Physical Education	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Postal	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Security	41	11	6	1	0	0	1	0
	2221	482	298	78	17	4	31	6

Non-Commissioned Members

BRANCH	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Administration Clerk	379	87	251	82	10	0	6	2
Air Operations	1642	346	154	48	14	5	7	0
Armour	33	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
Artillery	115	21	0	0	1	1	2	0
Band	151	9	36	3	0	0	0	0
Communications/Electronics	909	186	123	21	8	4	3	0
Dental	68	20	19	4	0	0	2	0
Infantry	95	5	0	0	2	0	1	0
Intelligence	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Land Electrical/Mechanical	386	87	9	6	5	2	1	0
Logistics	1263	199	240	44	33	5	19	2
Medical	101	13	19	0	0	0	0	0
Military Engineering	213	29	9	2	2	1	0	0
Naval	515	148	30	17	13	4	8	4
Physical Education/Recreation	89	9	12	1	2	0	1	0
Postal	18	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Security	291	56	35	9	12	3	2	0
	6273	1218	938	237	104	0	43	0
Overall Totals	8494	1700	1236	315	121	29	84	14

Transfer to Air Reserve by Rank

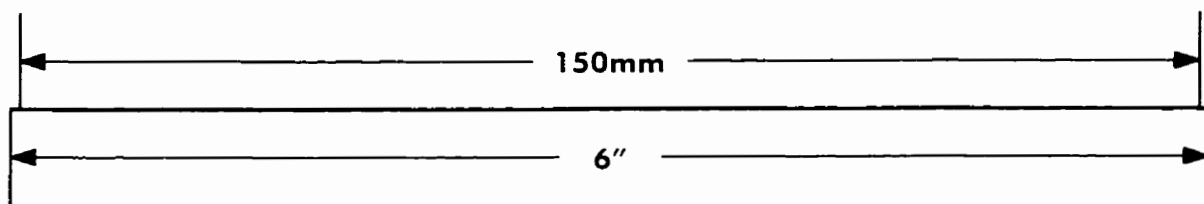| Rank	Men	Women	Aboriginal Peoples	Visible Minorities
Non-Commissioned Ranks (NCMs) _Junior NCMs_				
Private, Ordinary Seaman, Able Seaman	1	3	0	0
Corporal, Leading Seaman	55	30	3	0
Master Corporal, Master Seaman	66	16	0	2
Sergeant, Petty Officer 2	78	13	1	1
Senior NCMs Warrant Officer, Petty Officer 1	51	1	0	0
Master Warrant Officer, Chief Petty Officer 2	32	2	0	2
Chief Warrant Officer, Chief Petty Officer 1	10	0	0	0
Sub Total	293	65	4	5
Officers _Junior Officers_				
Officer Cadet	0	0	0	0
Second Lieutenant, Acting Sub-Lieutenant	0	1	0	0
Lieutenant, Sub-Lieutenant	2	1	0	0
Captain, Lieutenant(Navy)	114	10	0	3
Senior Officers Major, Lieutenant Commander	35	1	0	1
Lieutenant-Colonel, Commander	12	0	0	0
Colonel, Captain (Navy)	2	0	0	0
Sub Total	165	13	0	0
Overall Totals	458 85.4%	78 14.5%	4 .07%	9 1.7%

Transfer to Air Reserve By Military Occupation

Officers	Men	Women	Aboriginal Peoples	Visible Minorities
BRANCH				
Administration	10	1	0	0
Air Operations	118	1	0	4
Artillery	2	0	0	0
Communications/Electronics	11	0	0	0
Dental	0	1	0	0
Intelligence	1	0	0	0
Logistics	13	5	1	0
Medical	5	3	0	0
Military Engineering	2	1	0	0
Physical Education	0	1	0	0
Security	3	0	0	0
	165	13	0	4

Non-Commissioned Members	Men	Women	Aboriginal Peoples	Visible Minorities
BRANCH				
Administration Clerk	13	15	2	1
Air Operations	123	16	0	0
Artillery	3	0	0	0
Band	8	2	0	0
Communications/Electronics	39	6	0	0
Intelligence	1	0	0	0
Land Electrical/Mechanical Engineering	9	0	0	0
Logistics	60	22	0	3
Medical	3	0	0	0
Military Engineering	18	1	0	0
Naval	5	1	0	0
Physical Education/Recreation	1	0	0	0
Security	8	2	2	1
	291	65	4	5
	458	78	4	9

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

150mm

6"