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THE SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF WOMEN OFFICERS WHO
HAVE LEFT THE NEW ZEALAND ARMY

"I haven't seen any advantages to being female"

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Society is recognising the benefits of gender diversity in leadership teams and considerable research exists to support this (Boulton, 2017; Buckingham, 2014; Egnell, 2013; Escobar, 2013; Hoogendoorn, Oosterbeek, & van Praag, 2013; Hunt, Layton, & Prince, 2014; MOD, 2014; Morenzo-Gomez, Lafuente, & Vaillant, 2018; Parsons, 2018). Sexual harassment and bullying is at the forefront of many conversations worldwide, following in particular, the #metoo movement. The NZ Army and the wider NZ Defence Force is no exception, and has come under fire in recent years for its treatment of women (Lawrence, 2018a, 2018b; Livingston, 2017; RadioNZ, 2018; Weekes, 2016). Despite the NZ Army lifting all gender related restrictions in 2000, the proportion of women has remained stagnant at around 13% (Parsons, 2018; Weekes, 2002) for the past two decades.

This research examines the social well-being of women officers who have left the NZ Army. A case study approach was used, utilising three forms of data; NZ Army recruiting video advertisements, insider research as I am a member of this group, and interviews with 20 ex-serving women officers. The research is framed with the theoretical concept of social well-being (Keyes, 1998) and this is integrated with the theoretical concepts of authentic leadership and embodied leadership.

It was found that recruiting material used during the 1990s and 2000s focused on men. Men were consistently observed doing more physical and command related tasks compared to women. While all of the interviewed women spoke positively about their

overall experience in the NZ Army and were all thankful for the opportunities and training received, a number of challenges were identified and discussed. Many of the women officers experienced or observed harassment and gender discrimination. The women identified that the NZ Army trains and forces its leaders to adopt a masculine approach to leadership. In contrast, almost all of the women interviewed conceptualised and exercised leadership in a more feminine manner. Conflict existed, as the women's feminine approaches were not always valued. This reduced their social well-being and many of the women felt pressured to be more masculine, and therefore, lead in a manner that was less authentic to them. Women officers were judged on their physical appearance which includes their dress and grooming and their physique. Physical performance had an even bigger impact on their social well-being as the NZ Army appears to be very unforgiving of people with low levels of physical performance. This was a particular issue for women with injuries and women struggling with their fitness following the return from maternity leave.

All of these findings provide significant evidence to suggest that the NZ Army does not provide an environment that generates social well-being for women officers. This leads to many women officers being worn down and eventually leaving, and therefore does not support the NZ Army's desire to recruit and retain more women, continuing to limit diversity at the senior level. Recommendations to the NZ Army include: broader representation of women in recruiting advertisements, safer channels for making complaints, a review of the masculine leadership approaches taught at training establishments, introduction of camouflage uniform that fit women's bodies, and better integration back to physical activities following maternity leave.

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Table of contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of contents	1
List of tables	8
List of figures.....	9
1.0 - Introduction	10
1.1 - My service in the NZ Army	11
1.2 – Theoretical framing	14
1.3 - NZ Army officer context: Recruitment, training & postings	16
1.4 - Women in the NZ Army.....	18
1.4.1 - Why does the NZ Army need women?.....	20
1.4.2 – NZ Army intent to recruit and retain more women	25
1.5 - Chapter summary.....	26
1.6 – Thesis outline.....	27
2.0 - Literature review.....	30
2.1 - Social well-being.....	30
2.1.1 - History of social well-being.....	30
2.1.2 - Keyes (1998) social well-being model	32
Social integration	34
Social acceptance	38
Social contribution	40
Social actualisation.....	41

Social coherence	43
Applications of the model	45
2.1.3 - Why use social well-being as a framework?.....	47
2.1.4 - Interpretation and application of Keyes’s (1998) social well-being model in this research.....	47
Social acceptance: Interpretation and application	50
Social actualisation: Interpretation and application.....	55
2.2 - The experiences of women leaders	56
2.2.1 - Overview	56
Harassment and discrimination	57
Balancing work and family	59
Leveraging feminine qualities	59
Adopting a masculine approach	63
Women have to repeatedly prove themselves.....	64
Mentors and networks.....	65
2.3 - The experiences of women and women leaders in the military.....	67
2.3.1 - Overview	67
2.3.2 - Gender hegemony in the military	67
2.3.3 - Women leaders in the military	70
2.4 - Authentic leadership	76
2.4.1 - Overview	76
2.4.2 - Issues with the theory of authentic leadership.....	78
2.4.3 - Authentic leadership and my research.....	84
2.5 - Embodied leadership.....	85
2.5.1 – Overview of the physicality of leadership	85
2.5.2 - Physical appearance and leadership	86
Dress and grooming	87
Physique	90

2.5.3 - Physical performance and leadership	94
2.6 - Chapter summary	100
3.0 – Methodology	104
3.1 - Philosophical Approach	104
3.1.1 - Overview	104
3.1.2 - Methodological framework: Case study.....	108
3.2 - Research methods.....	112
3.2.1 - Data sources	112
Insider research.....	113
Recruiting videos.....	117
Gathering the data	118
Analysing the videos.....	119
Interviews.....	121
Ethics	121
Participant selection.....	122
Interview protocols	124
Interview transcript analysis	126
3.3 - Academic rigour	131
3.3.1 - Credibility.....	132
3.3.2 - Dependability.....	133
3.3.3 - Confirmability	134
3.3.4 - Transferability.....	135
3.4 - Chapter summary	136
4.0 – No visibility	137
4.1 - NZ Army recruiting videos.....	137
4.1.1 – ‘Arm me with a future’	138
4.1.2 – ‘Armed to make a difference’ - part one	144

4.1.3 – ‘Armed to make a difference’ - part two	146
4.1.4 - ‘Virtual Viv’.....	150
4.1.5 - ‘Have you got what it takes?’ – volleyball	152
4.1.6 - ‘Have you got what it takes?’ – humanitarian.....	154
4.1.7 - ‘Have you got what it takes?’ – would you unlock the door?	156
4.1.8 - ‘Get what it takes’ – general list officers	157
4.2 – Social well-being: Key messages.....	164
4.3 - Chapter summary	169
5.0 - No voice.....	171
5.1 – “I didn’t understand how some of the guys could have mothers the way they were speaking about other women”	171
5.2 – “I haven’t seen any advantages to being female”	182
5.2.1 – “People say women add value to this unit environment. I don’t agree” ..	184
5.2.2 – “It’s definitely not a course for female officers”	190
5.2.3 – “That massive double standard”	197
“I find that a male’s indiscretions can be excused a lot easier”	197
“What about him over there? I know he’s with a soldier, but he’s ok and I’m not. What’s that about?”	204
5.3 – “It’s another spotlight on women”	216
5.4 – “So you’ll have to work twice as hard as these men”	221
5.5 - “The Army is a greedy organisation and if you’re going to serve, you need to be willing to do what you’re told”	225
5.5.1 – “Well what am I supposed to do with my children for seven weeks?”	226
5.5.2 – “We were passing ships in the night”	232
5.5.3 – “I left because I no longer wanted to be so beholden”	234
5.6 - Chapter summary	236
6.0 – The clash of the masculine versus the feminine approach.....	238
6.1 – “How do they teach us to be leaders?... It’s very masculine – there’s no doubt about that”	239

6.2 – “I wouldn’t say I run off a dictatorship model. I’m very much inclusive... I run a joint leadership model”	242
6.2.1 – “Leadership for me is leading by example”	243
6.2.2 – “[The leader] places the good of the team before anything else”	244
6.2.3 – “Being a leader is also about being able to get trust and build that team relationship”	247
6.2.4 – “A more collaborative type approach isn’t weak, it’s actually a better way to lead”	249
6.3 - “My OC really just didn’t agree with my style of leadership”	252
6.3.1 – “Well, I’m a human”	253
6.3.2 – “The military as a whole does suppress that whole bubbly... skill set”	255
6.3.3 – “I basically got told I cared too much, and well, a leader shouldn’t care as much”	259
6.4 – “I wasn’t allowed to be me. I felt I had to be somebody that wasn’t true to me”	268
6.4.1 – “I was conforming, conforming to be this masculine leader”	269
6.4.2 – “I’m way nicer now [outside the Army]”	276
6.5 - Chapter summary	278
7.0 – The wrong body.....	280
7.1 – “Every single woman, no matter what your shape or size, has a tight shirt across your hips that makes you look less tidy than the men do”	280
7.1.1 – “I was very envious of the civilian women who could wear whatever they liked and look glamorous”	282
7.1.2 – “I never fit my uniform as well as some other members of the Army”	287
7.2 – “Look, the easiest way, by far, to have credibility in the Army is just to be able to run far and carry lots of stuff”	291
7.2.1 – “I couldn’t be the slow female”	293
7.2.2 – “She’s all good, she can pack march”	296
7.2.3 – “You simply don’t have the same strength as a male”	300
7.2.4 – “I got an injury... so I couldn’t deploy and that made me feel like a second class citizen”	303

7.2.5 – “I never felt like I was worthy because I couldn’t pass a goddam 2.4km run”	307
7.3 - Chapter summary	309
8.0 – Conclusion	312
8.1 – Summary of findings.....	314
8.1.1 – Impact of ‘no visibility’	314
8.1.2 – Impact of ‘no voice’	316
8.1.3 - Impact of ‘the clash’	318
8.1.4 – Impact of ‘the wrong body’	320
8.2 – Contributions to knowledge	322
8.2.1 - Methodological contribution.....	322
8.2.2 - Social well-being: Theoretical contribution.....	323
8.2.3 - Authentic leadership: Theoretical contribution	324
8.2.4 - Embodied leadership: Theoretical contribution	325
8.2.5 - Experiences of women leaders: Theoretical contribution	325
8.3 - Practical contribution	327
8.3.1 - Recommendations to the NZ Army	328
Short-term.....	328
Medium-term.....	328
Long-term.....	329
8.4 – Limitations and further research.....	330
8.5 – Final word from Insider Ellen.....	331
References.....	335
Appendix 1: Social well-being studies.....	355
Appendix 2: Experiences of women leaders studies	358
Appendix 3: Authentic leadership studies	361
Appendix 4: Physical appearance and leadership studies	362
Appendix 5: Physical performance and leadership studies	364

Appendix 6: Example of journal notes following an interview	365
Appendix 7: Information sheet for research participants	367
Appendix 8: Consent form	369
Appendix 9: Interview question guide	370

List of tables

Table 1: Approach used in this research to define masculine & feminine	61
Table 2: Coding of recruiting videos according to clothing worn and activity performed	120
Table 3: Number of men and women conducting each type of activity	165
Table 4: Number of men and women conducting each type of activity: Detailed	166
Table 5: Summary of key social well-being messages for women, used by the NZ Army	168
Table 6: Summary of findings from key studies focusing on the social well-being model (Keyes, 1998)	355
Table 7: Summary of findings from studies focusing on the experiences of women leaders	358
Table 8: Summary of findings from studies focusing on authentic leadership	361
Table 9: Summary of findings from studies focusing on physical appearance and leadership	362
Table 10: Summary of findings from studies focusing on physical performance and leadership	364

List of figures

Figure 1: Relationship between social well-being, authentic leadership, embodied leadership and the experiences of women leaders, situated within the masculine hegemonic environment of the NZ Army	15
Figure 2: Three sources of data.....	112
Figure 3: White boards and magnets for inductively determining themes.....	130
Figure 4: Images used in the 'arm me with a future' campaign	139
Figure 5: Images depicting social integration	140
Figure 6: Images used in the 'armed to make a difference' (part one) campaign	145
Figure 7: Images used in the 'armed to make a difference' (part two) campaign	148
Figure 8: Images used in the 'Virtual Viv' campaign	151
Figure 9: Spectrum of dress: from NZ Army officer (me) to Virtual Viv to Lara Croft ..	151
Figure 10: Images Used in the 'have you got what it takes?' (volleyball) campaign	153
Figure 11: Images used in the 'have you got what it takes?' (humanitarian) campaign	155
Figure 12: Images used in the 'have you got what it takes?' (would you unlock the door?) campaign	157
Figure 13: Images used in the 'get what it takes?' (general list officers) campaign.....	159

1.0 - Introduction

In 2018, New Zealand celebrated the 125th anniversary of Kate Sheppard's pioneering woman's suffrage movement; making New Zealand the first country in the world to grant women the right to vote. We have a woman Prime Minister who is only the second world leader to give birth while in office. New Zealand was the first ABCANZ (America, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand cooperation of allied militaries) country, alongside Canada, to open all of its military disciplines to women; more than a decade ahead of the other three countries (CAF, 2014; Cavallaro, 2018; M. Ford & Blunden, 2015; Morris, 2018). Our country has made considerable progress towards gender equality; however, there is still a long way to go.

One organisation in particular, the New Zealand (NZ) Army, has still struggled to improve its percentage of women. The proportion of women has remained relatively stagnant at around 13% (Parsons, 2018) for the last two decades, despite the NZ Army's stated objectives to increase this percentage (Army, 2015). This is lower than the average of 16% for the Royal New Zealand Airforce (RNZAF) and 21% for the Royal New Zealand Navy (RNZN) during a similar period (MOD, 2014). Sexual harassment and bullying is at the forefront of many conversations worldwide, following in particular, the #metoo movement. The NZ Army and the wider NZ Defence Force (NZDF) is no exception, and has come under fire in recent years regarding bullying behaviour and sexual harassment (Lawrence, 2018a, 2018b; Livingston, 2017; Weekes, 2016), including several reported incidents in 2018 at The Army Depot, where new recruits are trained (RadioNZ, 2018). A

2018 NZDF internal engagement survey revealed that 5% of staff still feel unsafe in the work place (Devlin, 2018).

My research focuses on the NZ Army and specifically, the experiences of women officers who have left the NZ Army. As a member of this group, I distinctly remember noticing that a significant number of women officers had left, or were leaving, the NZ Army at a similar point in their career; around the ten year mark. I was intrigued as to why so many of us were leaving. I had a wonderful time while serving and I speak very highly of my NZ Army career, yet I am very happy with my life following my departure. What was, or is, going on, that makes so many women officers leave? This research explores the experiences of women officers who have left the NZ Army. It specifically seeks to understand how socially well women officers were while serving in the NZ Army.

1.1 - My service in the NZ Army

I personally served in the NZ Army for ten years. I am a woman and I joined at 18 years of age. I graduated as an officer into the Royal New Zealand Engineers (RNZE) and left at the rank of Captain (officer) in 2013. My memories of my time in the NZ Army are extremely positive, I am proud of the career I had and I actively promote it as a fantastic career for young women to consider.

My officer training was conducted at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) and the Royal Military College (RMC) – Duntroon, both in Canberra. Two NZ Army officer cadets are awarded this scholarship exchange each year. During this period, I conducted

brief exchange periods in Japan and Indonesia and upon graduation at ADFA, and again at RMC, I was awarded one of the top three prizes in my class, out of approximately 100 cadets. After graduation, I attended the School of Military Engineering, in Sydney. When I returned to New Zealand, I was posted to 25 Engineer Support Squadron as the Construction Troop Commander, where I led approximately 50 soldiers (carpenters, electricians and plumbers – only one was a woman). During this posting, I deployed to Antarctica, Niue, the UK and the Cook Islands. I was then posted to 2 Field Squadron as the Reconnaissance and Liaison Officer and deployed to Afghanistan and Tuvalu. My final posting was to Defence Recruiting as the commander for the Lateral Recruiting Cell (recruiting people from foreign militaries). I genuinely had an amazing ten years and am extremely grateful for the experiences I had.

I most definitely made mistakes during my career and was disciplined accordingly. In general though, I was a high performer with good fitness, leadership and tactical grades and as a result, was selected for numerous overseas deployments. My performance appraisals from superiors were generally very positive and my 360 degree reporting from the soldiers within the teams I led were also positive. The reason I have provided this background is not to boast about my achievements – it is to demonstrate that I had a successful career in the NZ Army. I believe it is necessary to provide context so that, as a reader, you can understand that I am not telling my story from the perspective of someone who struggled, or did not fit in. I am not conducting this research from a bitter or disgruntled position; I left the NZ Army feeling extremely lucky to have had such an exciting and enjoyable ten year career. My story is from the perspective of someone

who thoroughly loved their time, and who performed at a high standard throughout their career.

When asked why I left the NZ Army, I give the same response to most people. I had achieved my prime objectives (to command soldiers and deploy on overseas operations) and decided that I did not want to remain in the NZ Army long term. Another reason is that I wanted more stability in my life. I spent more than seven of my ten years serving outside of New Zealand. While this was incredibly exciting and rewarding at the time, being away from home is not something I wanted to do on a regular basis going forward. Since leaving, I have had several significant life events occur; events that I am not sure would have happened in the same way if I had remained in the NZ Army. I have married and we have a baby and three puppies.

Since starting this research, I have come to realise that while these reasons for leaving are still valid, my motive for leaving the NZ Army goes deeper than this. There were numerous times in my career that I was criticised by my commanders for having a leadership approach that was too friendly or too bubbly. On occasion, I was told to 'tone' myself down, and over time, I felt like the NZ Army was not ok with me being fully Ellen. These thoughts did not pervade my mind during my service and I did not give light to them until after leaving the NZ Army. It is looking back that I realise how this had begun to wear me down and I am conscious of how much lighter and freer I feel now. My new organisation praises my friendly and bubbly approach, an approach that I did not feel the NZ Army fully condoned. As an insider to this research, my experiences are explored further in the following chapters.

Throughout this research journey, in addition to my own experiences, I learned that women officers do face unique challenges within the male dominated environment of the NZ Army. Some of these challenges were probably apparent to me while I was serving, however, I did not consciously think about them during that time. All of these challenges occur within social constructs. The model for social well-being (Keyes, 1998) is an insightful and useful lens to apply to these social challenges and is used to frame this research.

1.2 – Theoretical framing

The diagram in Figure 1 below, depicts the theoretical framing for this research. It shows the connection between the theoretical concepts of social well-being, authentic and embodied leadership, as well as the experiences of women leaders, all situated within the masculine hegemonic environment of the NZ Army.

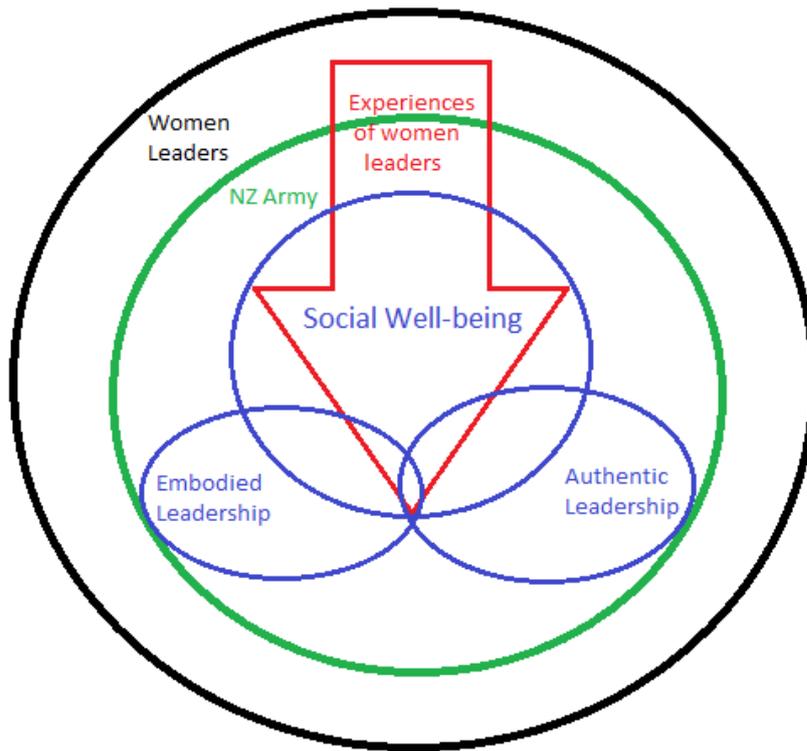


Figure 1: Relationship between social well-being, authentic leadership, embodied leadership and the experiences of women leaders, situated within the masculine hegemonic environment of the NZ Army

Figure 1 visually highlights how the different approaches interrelate. Social well-being is the blue circle that sits at the heart of this diagram, as it is the main theoretical framework. The broad group being studied is women leaders, which is represented by the outer black circle. Within the group of women leaders is a sub-set of women military leaders. They operate within the masculine hegemonic environment of the NZ Army, which is depicted by the green circle. The literature identifies several common experiences of women leaders. These experiences impact the social well-being of these women leaders, including women leaders in the military. The red arrow depicting the experiences of women leaders represents this by passing through the 'women leaders' circle, the 'NZ Army' circle and into the 'social well-being' circle. The theoretical concept of social well-being also intersects with two other theoretical concepts; authentic and

embodied leadership. The red arrow purposefully includes the intersection of the 'social well-being' and 'authentic leadership' circles, as well as the intersection of the 'social well-being' and 'embodied leadership' circles, and also the small intersection of all three theoretical concept blue circles.

In order to understand the context of the NZ Army, the following sections provide an overview of the recruitment, training and role of officers within the NZ Army. The chapter then specifically focuses on women in the NZ Army.

1.3 - NZ Army officer context: Recruitment, training & postings

This section provides an overview of how officers are recruited into the NZ Army, how they are trained, and what their roles entail after graduating as an officer. Starting from the beginning, people join the NZ Army as either a soldier in a specific trade, or as an officer. Generally speaking, candidates who display leadership qualities and academic competence are recommended by the recruitment staff for officer selection. The officer selection board is designed to test officer candidates across a number of areas including leadership, courage, logic, decisiveness, confidence, problem solving, integrity, commitment, teamwork, intellect and physical ability (NZDF, 2017).

Candidates who are selected to become general list officers then attend the Officer Cadet School (OCS) and undergo a one year commissioning course in Waiouru (I did my

commissioning course on an exchange to RMC, in Australia) to learn the necessary skills to become a military leader in the NZ Army (NZDF, 2017). This year is often, not always, preceded by a university degree funded by the NZ Army. The commissioning course includes both theoretical and practical lessons on topics such as military tactics, strategy and leadership. The practical field exercises teach and assess the cadets' strategic planning abilities and also tests their physical and mental endurance. Living in the field requires cadets to carry around 20 – 35kg of equipment in their packs. The cadets are usually required to walk long distances with their packs on, as well as conduct physically demanding battle drills. They sleep under a hoochie (like a tarpaulin stretched between trees or poles) and are vulnerable to weather; it is not uncommon for cadets to experience days being saturated (either by rain or sweat). Sleep is reduced and is generally broken while in the field, due to night time duties and the food options are limited (from a ration pack). There are also no comforts such as toilets or showers while living in the field and these exercises are usually between one and three weeks in duration. These OCS field exercises train cadets for the conditions and activities they will experience during field exercises and operational deployments in their units following graduation.

The one year officer commissioning course is the same for both men and women officer cadets. Women and men train together and are mixed into the same platoon and section groups. In the field, they sleep alongside each other in the same sleeping pits and there is no distinction of tasks according to gender. The only exception is the required fitness level (RFL) test where women are allowed more time to complete the run and are required to do fewer press ups. Many of the women meet the male standards.

Everything else however; how much weight they carry in the field, what lessons they conduct, what shooting levels they need to achieve, what tactical grades they need to attain, what physical training they conduct, among others, is the same for men and women.

The first posting after graduation from this officer commissioning course is usually as a troop or platoon commander, which puts these new officers (now holding the rank of Lieutenant or Second Lieutenant) in command of approximately 30 soldiers, generally ranging in age from 18 to 50. This role requires the officer to plan and implement training, manage and develop their soldiers' career paths and lead military missions during training and operational field deployments (NZDF, 2017). This troop or platoon commander position is generally reached at the age of 19 – 22 (depending on whether they complete a degree), as many officer cadets join straight from school. As officers progress in their careers, they advance in rank and undertake larger and more senior roles, often requiring them to lead greater numbers of personnel. The next section of this chapter provides contextual information regarding women in the NZ Army.

1.4 - Women in the NZ Army

In 1977, the NZ Women's Royal Army Corps was disbanded and women were integrated into the NZ Army (Weekes, 2002). This was a significant milestone for women serving in the NZ Armed forces. At that time, the percentage of women serving in the NZ Army was 5.5%. Over the following 25 years, this percentage steadily increased to 13.2% by 2002

and the NZDF predicted that the proportion of women across all services would reach 20% by the year 2012 (Weekes, 2002). This prediction did not eventuate.

Following the integration of women into the NZ Army, arguably the second most significant milestone for women in the NZ Army occurred in the year 2000. All corps within the NZ Army became open for both men and women applicants; there are no corps or jobs that specifically prohibit female inclusion. Gender based restrictions were lifted for Canada in 2000 (CAF, 2014), Australia in 2014 (M. Ford & Blunden, 2015), US in 2016 (Cavallaro, 2018) and UK in 2018 (Morris, 2018). This milestone in the NZ Army did not cause an influx of women into these previously restricted corps. In 2016, only 27 women out of 6,189 (NZDF, 2016a) NZ Army personnel were serving in combat and combat support corps (Infantry, Artillery, Armoured and Engineers) (Derbyshire, 2017). Further, the 18 years following 2000 saw no real change to the overall proportion of women serving. Women comprised 13.2% in 2002 (Weekes, 2002), 14% in 2008 (NZDF, 2008), 12.6% in 2013 (NZDF, 2013) and 12.8% in 2018 (Parsons, 2018). This recent figure is not dissimilar to the other ABCANZ armies. The Australian Army has 13.2% women (DOD, 2017), UK has 9.3% (Statista, 2018), US has 14.2% (DOD, 2016) and Canada has 15% (CAF, 2018).

For the 12 month period preceding the 2014 financial year, the attrition rate of women in the NZDF was 2% higher than the attrition rate for men and the attrition rate of women officers was 3.2% higher than for male officers (MOD, 2014). This same Ministry of Defence (MOD) report found that only 4% of officers at the Colonel or equivalent rank (typically attained after approximately 20 years of service) were women; further

demonstrating the higher attrition rate of women officers (MOD, 2014). Staff turnover can be particularly challenging for the NZDF, as military vacancies can only be filled by military personnel from within, rather than by appointing external personnel through general employment advertisements and recruitment processes such as those used by corporates. Given that there have been no formal restrictions to the employment of women in the NZ Army for all of this century; it may seem surprising that there are still so few women and women officers serving. Understanding the level of social well-being of women officers may shed some light on this for the NZ Army. This next section explores why this high attrition rate and low overall proportion of women is an issue, and why the recruitment and retention of women leaders is important for organisations, including the NZ Army.

1.4.1 - Why does the NZ Army need women?

Social well-being (Keyes, 1998) is discussed in detail in the following chapter, however, it is useful to mention at this point that socially well people feel that they are accepted by others and feel that they make a positive contribution to society. When aiming to understand how socially well women officers were while serving in the NZ Army, it is important to know that these women *are actually needed* in the NZ Army. Women are not in there purely to demonstrate that the organisation follows NZ laws regarding diversity guidelines, such as the Human Rights Commission Act 1977, the State Sector Act 1988 and the Human Rights Act 1993. They are in the NZ Army because they *are needed*.

There is considerable research (Boulton, 2017; Buckingham, 2014; Egnell, 2013; Escobar, 2013; Hoogendoorn et al., 2013; Hunt et al., 2014; MOD, 2014; Moreno-Gomez et al., 2018; Parsons, 2018) to suggest that having women leaders in an organisation is beneficial. These benefits include: lower rates of staff turnover (Milliken & Martins, 1996), higher firm value (K. Campbell & Minguez-Vera, 2008; Carter, Simkins, & Simpson, 2003), better business performance (Moreno-Gomez et al., 2018), better financial performance and return on investment (Catalyst, 2004; Hoogendoorn et al., 2013; Milliken & Martins, 1996; Schwartz, 1992), more innovation (Torchia, Calabro, & Huse, 2011), more effective management (Adams & Ferreira, 2009; Dill-Russell, 2018) and better decision making (Buckingham, 2014; Escobar, 2013). Numerous studies have suggested that diverse organisations have a larger talent pool, which brings diverse perspectives; allowing for better informed decisions to be made and avoiding the tunnel vision that homogenous decision making groups may experience (Carter et al., 2003; Kuczynski, 1999; MOD, 2014; Zelechowski & Bilimoria, 2004). Women may bring different competencies and different styles or approaches that can enhance the quality of decisions made by groups within the NZ Army. A senior officer in the Australian Army commented specifically on the advantages of mixed-gendered teams over male-only teams with regards to adventure racing competitions (Kidd, 2015).

Organisations need more skilled people to be successful. Broderick (2012) and Were (2009) argued that current barriers (perceived or actual) to women's participation in the workforce must be removed to ensure that organisations can reach their maximum potential and not exclude half the workforce at the outset. They recommended that more effort be placed into reducing the female-male employment gap, as women could

significantly reduce the skills shortage. The NZDF is also looking to grow. The main strategy document for the NZDF, Future35, states the need for substantial growth in personnel numbers (MOD, 2014). As women make up roughly half of New Zealand's population, the NZDF and NZ Army must include more women to increase their recruitment pool. Further, the cost of losing already trained personnel is significant, therefore a focus on retaining existing personnel is paramount.

Women officers provide role models and mentors for women soldiers (Brosnan, 2015; Terjesen, Sealy, & Singh, 2009) and are essential for developing high performing soldiers. It is important for women soldiers to have role models they can look up to (MOD, 2014). Further, women soldiers may relate better to women officers. This is something I experienced and observed. There were occasions where women soldiers would speak to women officers about issues they did not feel comfortable discussing with male officers, such as female related health matters, or personal relationship issues.

When it comes to liaising with external parties, it may be preferable for organisations to utilise a member of the same gender or ethnicity as the external party to conduct this interaction (Carter-Visscher et al., 2010; Kuczynski, 1999; Terjesen et al., 2009). NZ Army personnel deploy to many countries where it is not possible for male personnel to engage or communicate with local women due to cultural and religious factors. For example, women in Afghanistan are generally not permitted to speak to men other than those in their immediate family. In order for the NZ Army to achieve its mission in an environment such as this, it must be able to liaise with the local population. "Females have influence with local women in a way that males do not" (MOD, 2014, p. 9). This

was further supported by Gold (2014) in her study focusing on how women have contributed to the success of NZ ground forces in Afghanistan as a result of their gender. Her research highlighted how women military personnel enabled the engagement, searching and training of, local women (Gold, 2014). Stevens and Greener (2017) discussed the importance of deploying more women for peacekeeping missions, such as to the Solomon Islands, due to their ability to undertake roles that men are less skilled in (Bridges & Horsfall, 2009). It has been demonstrated that the inclusion of women enhanced the success of military and UN missions, due to their ability to access local women (Derbyshire, 2017; Dharmapuri, 2011; Dill-Russell, 2018; Parsons, 2018) (Derbyshire, Dill-Russell and Parsons are all from the NZ Army). Further, US military Female Engagement Teams (FETs) have been used to engage with local females to develop relationships, gather intelligence and conduct search tasks (Long, 2012; Sjoberg, 2014). A Dutch study also found that women soldiers were necessary for patrolling local women-only shopping bazaars in Afghanistan (Puechguirbal, 2012), as did findings from an Australian Army study (Boulton, 2017; Hayward, 2018). Tait (2012) interviewed Canadian soldiers who had deployed in Afghanistan and experienced women suicide bomber attacks against Canadian forces. It was suggested that women military members would be able to conduct better searches of local women, without causing offence. The NZ Army established its own FET in late 2017, to support Special Forces operations (Army, 2017a).

In addition to specifically having women in the Army to assist in liaising with local women during overseas deployments, NZ Army research exists that suggests there are benefits of personnel adopting more typically feminine qualities. Such qualities are not

exclusively or always, displayed by women, however, many women do demonstrate such qualities. These qualities, such as empathy, building relationships with locals, respecting local practices and not being inclined to use violence, were found to have significant value in peace-building missions (Stevens & Greener, 2017). This study, examining the NZ Army, and focusing on peacekeeping and masculinities in the Solomon Islands, found that many behaviours associated with femininity over masculinity were positively received. Lieutenant Colonel Wineera conducted research on how the NZ Army trains officer cadets in Afghanistan. He discussed the importance of shifting past the mechanistic rote learning, to moving into “the more interpersonal, mentoring ‘soft space’... Training a person to shoot a rifle is easy; talking with them as to when it’s not right to shoot someone is the hard part.” (Wineera, 2017, p. 216). Although the core task of the NZDF is the defence of New Zealand, it is important to note that many tasks assigned to the NZDF in recent years, such as humanitarian and non-combatant protection activities (Werder, 2018), do not require war-fighting elements (Stevens & Greener, 2017) and may, therefore, require approaches which are considered typically more feminine.

It is important to note that these points above demonstrate the benefits to organisations, and to the NZ Army, *specific* to having women leaders; lower rates of staff turnover, better decision making, the provision of role models for junior women and the ability to liaise with local women on operational deployments. In addition to these benefits which are specific to having women and women leaders, it can be argued that women are also just as likely to have other proficiencies needed by the NZ Army that

are not tied to a specific gender, such as leadership ability, technical skills, planning capabilities and strategic agility (Brosnan, 2015; Loughlin & Arnold, 2007).

1.4.2 – NZ Army intent to recruit and retain more women

It would appear that the NZDF and NZ Army is acknowledging the importance of having more women, as well as women in leadership positions and is taking steps to recruit and retain more women members. This section outlines the action taken by the organisation so far, in this area. In 2013 the Chief of Defence Force initiated a Women's Development Steering Group (WDSG), to provide strategic advice on increasing women's participation within NZDF (NZDF, 2013). In 2015, the NZ Army set a target to increase its proportion of women from 12.9% to become 20 - 30% by 2020 (Army, 2015); however, it is unlikely this target will be achieved. In 2016, the NZDF released the Operation Respect Action Plan (NZDF, 2016b) which contained several actions designed in response to inappropriate sexual behaviour in the NZDF. One of the six actions specifically focused on recruiting more women. The review suggests that "a higher proportion of women are associated with lower levels of harmful sexual behaviours. Increased recruitment and retention of women will assist a culture shift away from harmful sexual behaviour" (NZDF, 2016b, p. 10). The plan specifies the need for NZDF to review marketing material and concentrate on appealing to women. A series of youtube videos were released in 2015 which focused on being a woman in the NZDF (NZDF, 2015). This is a shift away from the gender-neutral marketing that was persistent throughout the 1990s and early 2000s (Chapter Four discusses this). Since 2015, NZDF has run events throughout New Zealand to increase women's knowledge about career options in the NZDF. At the time

of writing (2019), all of these initiatives are still relatively new and detail regarding their impact is not yet available.

In 2018, the Chief of Army Command Directive acknowledged the lack of progress towards increasing the proportion of women in recent decades and instructed a review of diversity and inclusion processes to occur. Unaware of this directive, in late 2018, near the end of my research journey, I approached the NZ Army to discuss how my findings could contribute towards the organisation's goal of increasing the overall proportion of women, by addressing recruitment and retention of women. The NZ Army have requested that I compile a report summarising my research findings and this report will feed into the diversity and inclusion review that is occurring during 2019. It is worth noting that when I approached the NZ Army about my research in 2015, they did not see any value. This indicates a significant mind shift in the organisation in these past few years. The NZ Army does not yet know how to address the under representation of women, but they acknowledge there is an issue and are serious about acquiring more knowledge to address this.

1.5 - Chapter summary

This chapter has provided the NZ Army context to this research. Officer cadets are selected based on their leadership potential, aptitude, and physical ability. They conduct theoretical and practical military leadership training during their year at OCS and the training is the same for men and women. Cadets graduate as commissioned officers where they then generally become troop or platoon commanders and are responsible

for the training, leadership and development of approximately thirty soldiers. Since 2000, all corps in the NZ Army are open to women and the proportion of women in the NZ Army is 12.8% (Parsons, 2018). This proportion has remained relatively stagnant since 2000. The NZ Army needs women and women leaders as they bring significant benefits to organisations. The NZ Army has acknowledged that it needs more women and has started undertaking activities to achieve this. Given that this study seeks to understand how socially well women officers were while serving in the NZ Army, it is important to know that the NZ Army does see the benefit of employing women and is taking steps, such as the implementation of the WDSG, Operation Respect Action Plan and the diversity and inclusion review, to increase their representation. The next section provides an overview of the following chapters.

1.6 – Thesis outline

Chapter Two critically discusses literature that is relevant to my research. This includes literature focusing on social well-being, the experiences of women leaders and the experiences of women in the military. Chapter Two also explores two pertinent leadership theories; authentic leadership and embodied leadership. Chapter Three focuses on methodology. My research uses a case study approach, with three sources of data; insider research, video data in the form of recruiting advertisements, and participant interviews. The overarching purpose of this research is to address the

research question of: how socially well were women officers while serving in the NZ Army?

The subsidiary research questions to contribute towards answering this are:

- How did NZ Army recruiting video advertisements contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Four)?
- How did the experiences of marginalisation and discrimination contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Five)?
- How did the experiences of authentic leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Six)?
- How did the experiences of embodied leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Seven)?

The following four chapters each address these four subsidiary research questions. Chapter four explores the concept of 'No visibility', where it is found that NZ Army recruiting video campaigns do not include women in the same manner as for men. Chapter Five examines the concept of 'No voice', where women officers are found to experience marginalisation within the NZ Army. It discusses the social well-being of women officers in relation to gender discrimination within the masculine hegemonic environment. Chapter Six considers the concept of the 'Clash of the masculine approach versus the feminine approach'; examining the social well-being of women officers with regards to authentic leadership. The final discussion chapter, Chapter Seven, analyses the concept of the 'Wrong body'; investigating the social well-being of women officers in relation to embodied leadership. These four chapters provide significant evidence to suggest that women officers experienced low social well-being while serving in the NZ

Army. Chapter Eight provides a conclusion to this research. It includes my own reflections about this research journey and about my research findings.

2.0 - Literature review

This chapter critically explores the literature that is relevant to answering the research question: how socially well were women officers while serving in the NZ Army. The overarching theoretical framework for this study, social well-being, is discussed, including my interpretation and application of the social well-being model (Keyes, 1998). The chapter then discusses literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders, and specifically women leaders in the military. The experiences of women leaders in other studies are considered with respect to social well-being. The chapter concludes with a critical discussion of authentic and embodied leadership theories, as these two concepts are connected with the social well-being of women military leaders.

2.1 - Social well-being

2.1.1 - History of social well-being

In 1947, the World Health Organisation (WHO) defined health as a state where a person's well-being is complete for three facets: physical, mental and social well-being (Basch, 1990). Following this definition, many studies have examined the concept of the third facet, social well-being. The inclusion of social well-being (sometimes termed 'social health') in this definition of health received some criticism (Kaplan & Anderson, 1988; Ware, Brook, Davies, & Lohr, 1981). Ware et al. (1981) suggested that personal health status should be measured by physical and mental components only, but not by the external social circumstances. In contrast, Breslow (1972) considered social health

as important. The WHO definition also received criticism for being too idealistic, as the word 'complete' is seemingly unattainable (Barenthin, 1975; Garner, 1979).

Well-being has been studied across many disciplines such as psychology, economics, sociology and philosophy. Studies in the field of psychology focusing on well-being have identified three different categories of well-being: hedonic, eudaimonic and social well-being (Gallagher, Lopez, & Preacher, 2009; Li, Yang, Ding, & Kong, 2014). Hedonic well-being refers to subjective happiness and the levels of pleasant moods and emotions (Diener, 1984; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Eudaimonic well-being refers to meaningfulness and the positive outcome following the pursuit of goals (Joshani, Rastegar, & Bakhshi, 2012; Ryan, Huta, & Deci, 2006; Waterman, 1993). Hedonic well-being focuses on feelings towards life, whereas eudaimonic well-being focuses on functioning in life (Keyes, 2006). Worded differently, hedonic refers to emotional well-being and eudaimonic refers to psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989). Following a review of the research on eudaimonic well-being, a model for psychological (eudaimonic) well-being was developed (Ryff, 1989), comprising six components: autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life and self-acceptance. This model was later supported by a re-visitation study (Ryff & Keyes, 1995).

For several decades following the 1947 WHO definition of health, the measurement of social well-being had been unclear and there seemed to be a lack of universal definition (Larson, 1992, 1996). Social well-being has been described with regards to: positive social behaviour (Blum, 1976), social participation (Sintonen, 1981), having social

contacts (Segovia, 1989), successfully adjusting to an environment (Abanobi, 1986) and receiving social support (Larson, 1996).

McDowell and Newell (1987) defined social health of the individual as, “that dimension of an individual’s well-being that concerns how he gets along with other people, how other people react to him, and how he interacts with social institutions and societal mores” (McDowell & Newell, 1987, p. 152). Their concept of social health included two broad categories; social adjustment (sometimes referred to as social function (Hahn, Cella, Bode, & Hanrahan, 2009)) and social support. Social adjustment or function reflects the satisfaction with relationships (subjective) and performance in social roles (objective) (Larson, 1992). Social support refers to the availability of individuals whom the person feels they can rely upon to make them feel cared for and valued (McDowell & Newell, 1987). It focuses more on the quality of social support, rather than the quantity or network of social contacts. Several measures of social adjustment and social support were developed, including the Social Adjustment Scale of Weissman, and Sarason’s Social Support Questionnaire. While Larson (1992) supported the conceptual framework for viewing social well-being as a component of social adjustment and social support, he suggests that Weissman and Sarason’s measures are merely a starting point, in need of further development. Keyes (1998) provided such development.

2.1.2 - Keyes (1998) social well-being model

Historical conceptions of well-being have tended to focus primarily on the private side of life, ignoring the public side of life. Further, most studies on well-being have tended

to focus on emotional (hedonic) or psychological (eudaimonic) well-being, in the personal arena, as opposed to studying public life (Albanesi, Cicognani, & Zani, 2007; Joshanloo et al., 2012; Kong, Hu, Xue, Song, & Liu, 2015). However, many individuals evaluate their well-being in comparison to social criteria (Keyes & Shapiro, 2004). People are social creatures and operate within numerous social structures. Keyes (1998) developed a model for operationalising social well-being in order to address the shortfall in this area. The model examines a person's well-being with regards to social challenges and social advantages. While eudaimonic (or psychological) well-being is conceptualised primarily as a private phenomenon, social well-being focuses on the public sphere (Gallagher et al., 2009). The social well-being model (Keyes, 1998) "therefore extends the eudaimonic tradition of well-being from the intrapersonal focus of Ryff's model (1989) to the interpersonal realm" (Gallagher et al., 2009, p. 1027). This sentiment of the social well-being model (Keyes, 1998) successfully extending the eudaimonic tradition from the private sphere to the public sphere has been noted by other researchers (Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010; C. A. Simmons & Lehmann, 2013). Empirical support for the social well-being model was found through testing by Gallagher et al. (2009), Cantarello and Sarrica (2007) and also Li et al. (2014).

Keyes later proposed that the three factors of hedonic (emotional), eudaimonic (psychological) and social well-being, together, represent mental health (Keyes, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2007). This was supported by Gallagher et al. (2009), who found that the models for the three factors can be successfully integrated into a hierarchical structure of well-being, while maintaining the theoretical distinctions between hedonic, eudaimonic and social components of well-being. The distinctions are important, as it is

possible for a person to have low levels of social well-being and high levels of psychological well-being (Shapiro & Keyes, 2007).

Keyes's (1998) model for social well-being draws on the work of other scholars, including Durkheim (1951), who introduced the concepts of anomie and alienation (challenges within society), and also social integration and cohesion (benefits of society). Keyes (1998) proposes five components that constitute a variety of possible dimensions for understanding social wellness: social integration, social acceptance, social contribution, social actualisation and social coherence. These five components, and an outline of the concepts Keyes (1998) drew each component from, are discussed below. This is followed by a critical examination of the model and my interpretation and application of these components to my research.

Social integration

Social integration considers whether people feel they are part of a community, or feel they are part of society. Social integration is measured by evaluating the quality of a person's relationship with society and their community (Keyes, 1998). People who are socially integrated feel a sense of belonging and they feel connected to others. Teamwork is extremely important in the military. Personnel spend a lot of time together and often live in physically and mentally uncomfortable environments for significant periods of time. Therefore, it is critical that military personnel feel socially integrated within their Army units.

The notion of social integration draws on Durkheim's text, *Suicide* (1951). Emile Durkheim constructed a theory of suicide that was based on social integration and social regulation; he considered suicide to be a social phenomenon, not an individual-level psychological issue. According to Durkheim, low levels of social integration, social cohesion, or social solidarity, lead to higher rates of suicide. People who commit suicide, are less likely to be socially integrated and society must do more to firmly hold on to the individual (Blanco & Diaz, 2007). Durkheim outlined four types of suicide: altruistic, egoistic, fatalistic and anomic (Clegg, Cunha, & Rego, 2016). Anomic suicide is the primary type of suicide from Durkheim's work that underlies Keyes's (1998) concept of social integration. Anomic suicide occurs when a person lacks meaning and feels a sense of normlessness; it occurs when there is a breakdown in social order (lack of social regulation; a situation of 'anomie') and the person feels isolated (lack of social integration).

'Suicide' is not without its critics; one of the main issues being Durkheim's dismissal of mental illness as a factor in suicide occurrences (Robertson, 2006). Another major criticism is Durkheim's consideration of women. He essentially classifies women as asocial and without requirement for civilising with others (Durkheim, 1893). In a feminist reconsideration of Durkheim's theories, Lehmann (1995), suggests that his views on women could either be accounted for and interpreted as an anomaly, reflective of his era, or, it could be appropriate to interpret Durkheim's use of the word 'individual' to mean 'man' and 'woman' to mean 'woman'. If women are considered to be asocial and therefore not socially integrated, by Durkheim's theory of anomic and egoistic suicide, the rate of suicide for women, should be higher than for men (which is not the case).

Further, Durkheim's data does not include attempted suicide, even though he admitted that attempted suicide met his definition of suicidal behaviour (Kushner & Sterk, 2005). Regardless of these flaws, Durkheim's work is still considered to be conceptually useful today (Blanco & Diaz, 2007; Clegg et al., 2016; Robertson, 2006), especially regarding the concept of social integration.

The social integration component draws on studies by Seeman on alienation (Seeman, 1959, 1983, 1991). Alienation features in works by Marx, and Seeman (1959) sought to extend this. Marx suggested three types of alienation; alienation from the product of work (the worker feels 'alien' to what is produced), alienation in the process of production and alienation from society (Nair & Vohra, 2012). Seeman (1959) also refers to Durkheim (1951) as well as Merton (1949). He proposes that there are five variants of alienation: powerlessness (the individual feels no expectation regarding the outcomes occurring as a result of their behaviour); meaninglessness (the individual is unsure what to believe, due to insufficient clarity); normlessness (derived from Durkheim's description of 'anomie', where the rules that usually regulate social behaviour are no longer effective); isolation (where a person does not value goals or beliefs to the same extent that is typical among society) and; self-estrangement (the inability of a person to find self-reward in activities they participate in). The alienation concepts explicitly noted in the social well-being discussion (Keyes, 1998) are estrangement (specifically, cultural) and isolation (specifically, social). I would therefore argue that the Marxian type of alienation considered, when Keyes (1998) developed the concept of social well-being, was 'alienation from society'. I would further argue that both of Marx's other types of alienation are also relevant to social well-being. In Section

1.1 of the introduction, I alluded to receiving criticism for being friendly, bubbly and caring in my approach to leadership. If my exercising of leadership can be considered as my process of production, and the wellness and success of my soldiers as the product of my work, this criticism alienated me from my process of production and the product of my work, negatively impacting my social well-being.

Harvey, Warner, Smith, and Harvey (1983) are highly critical of the positivist epistemology used in this work, but specifically mention their lack of desire to critique the concept of individual alienation, as they feel it is of value. Almost 25 years later, Seeman (1983) and again in 1991 reiterated the importance and relevance of alienation in both the fields of sociology and psychology; demonstrating its use by many other researchers. The usefulness of studying alienation within organisations is also noted by Nair and Vohra (2012).

In essence, social integration refers to how connected people feel to others, how well they feel they 'fit' into society and the degree to which they feel a sense of belonging to the group. Example statements used by Keyes (1998) to measure social integration were: "you feel like you're an important part of your community"; "I feel close to other people in my community"; "you don't feel you belong to anything you'd call a community" (Keyes, 1998, p. 138).

Social acceptance

Social acceptance refers to how an individual views and judges others. If a person is socially accepting, they will generally view human nature as positive (Keyes, 1998). Trust is very important in the military, especially during overseas operational deployments. Personnel quite literally need to be able to trust that the rest of the team has 'got their back'. It would be difficult to achieve this necessary mutual trust if personnel did not have a generally favourable view of the other members within their unit. The component of social acceptance was primarily drawn from the work of Wrightsman (1991). Wrightsman (1991) discusses how people make choices about human interaction based on their attitudes towards human nature. Examples of such choices include whether or not to stop and help a motorist who has broken down, whether to pick up a hitch hiker, whether to let a stranger use the telephone, whether to loan money to a family member, or whether to tell a friend a sensitive piece of information. These decisions are made, often instantaneously, based on how we categorise people in general. Included in this research were: the philosophies of human nature (expectations a person has about how others will generally behave); Machiavellianism (the degree to which a person feels others can be manipulated); interpersonal trust (the degree of expectation a person has that a promise of another can be relied upon); faith in people (whether a person generally views people as being trustworthy, good, honest and 'brotherly') and; acceptance of others (this includes acceptance of self, acceptance of others and feelings of acceptability to others). Some of the statements posed in the study regarding the sub-category 'acceptability to others' included: "I feel 'left out' as if people don't want me around", "people are quite critical of me" and "people seem to respect my opinion about things" (Wrightsman, 1991, p. 411).

Keyes (1998) also considers social acceptance relating to feeling comfortable with others, and refers to the work of Horney (1945), which challenges and revises some of Freud's conceptions. In her book on the constructive theory of neurosis, Horney (1945) discusses how human relationships have three directions based on a person's attitudes towards others: being drawn toward people ('compliant' person); being against people ('aggressive' person) and; being drawn away from people ('detached' person). A neurotic person will be strongly pulled in one or more direction, with an inability to harmonise. This theory was supported by Coolidge, Moor, Yamazaki, Stewart, and Segal (2001) and van den Daele (1987). A socially accepting person is more likely to have balance between these three directional pulls.

Social acceptance is also considered as the social analogue to self-acceptance and personal acceptance. As identified in Ryff's (1989) model, self-acceptance is one of the six components of psychological (eudaimonic) well-being. In essence, social acceptance refers to how a person views and judges others. A person with high levels of social acceptance will tend to view human nature as positive. Example statements used by Keyes (1998) to measure social acceptance were: "you think that other people are reliable"; "you believe that people are kind"; "people do not care about other people's problems"; "you feel that people are not trustworthy" (Keyes, 1998, p. 138).

Social contribution

Given the reliance on others within the military and the importance of teamwork, personnel need to feel that their contribution to that team is valued by others. Social contribution refers to whether people feel that their contribution to the world is valued (Keyes, 1998). A person who makes a social contribution feels they are valued in society and that they have something to offer others. Keyes (1998) suggests that social contribution is similar to the concept of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977), where a person has belief in their ability to perform certain activities. In his study on self-efficacy, Bandura (1977) proposed that a person's expectations of self-efficacy come from four sources of information: performance accomplishments (experiences of personal mastery; repeated success builds self-efficacy); vicarious experience (seeing others perform a task leads people to believe they can do it too); verbal persuasion (people react positively to being told they are capable) and; physiological states (relating to emotional arousal about their abilities). Work by Gecas (1989) was also included when explaining social contribution and its relation to self-efficacy. In particular, how the study of self-efficacy focuses on the way in which people assess their effectiveness and competency (Gecas, 1989). If a person feels they are effective and competent, they are more likely to feel they are contributing to society. Both of these authors note the distinction between efficacy expectations (self-belief to be able to perform an action) and outcome expectations (a belief about the environment that an action will lead to a certain outcome). Gecas (1989) suggests that self-efficacy is related to a person's locus of control. If that locus is outside of the individual (for example, the boss), then the person may feel a sense of alienation. He then refers to Seeman's (1983) concept of alienation, specifically the form of powerlessness, where a person has no expectations

regarding the outcomes resulting from their actions. People who have high levels of self-efficacy feel more in control and act positively toward their environment and tend to be more optimistic about outcomes (Seeman & Seeman, 1983).

In essence, social contribution suggests that people will have higher levels of social well-being if they feel like they are contributing to society. People are more likely to believe they are *making* a positive difference to the world if they have the self-efficacy to believe they are *capable* of making a positive difference. Example statements used by Keyes (1998) to measure social contribution were: “you think you have something valuable to give to the world”; “I have nothing important to contribute to society”; “you think that your work provides an important product for society” (Keyes, 1998, p. 138).

Social actualisation

Social actualisation refers to a person’s assessment of the potential and the path of civilisation. Someone who is optimistic about the future of society and who believes that society is heading in the right direction is considered to have higher levels of social actualisation. For personnel to remain in an organisation, including the military, it is important that they feel the organisation is progressing in the right direction. Keyes (1998) refers to the way social progress is evaluated in a study by Srole (1956). Drawing from the work of Durkheim (1951) and his concept of anomie, Srole (1956) proposed five components to measure anomie, which reflect a measure of social actualisation. These components are: the degree to which community leaders are detached and indifferent to the needs of the people; the degree to which people feel there is order

and predictability (related to social coherence which is discussed next); whether a person believes they and similar people are regressing or progressing on current levels of success; how much meaning people place on life itself and; perceptions regarding relationships. These components indicate whether a person has high hopes for where society is progressing, which provide a useful understanding regarding social actualisation.

The fatalism work of Lefcourt (1982), in his text on locus of control, is also drawn from when developing this component of the social well-being model. The concept of fatalism suggests that we are all subject to destiny and are powerless to change its course (referring here again to the alienation work of Seeman (1991)). How much faith a person has in a positive destiny for society and how much control they feel they have on the direction of society, will likely affect their views regarding social actualisation.

Social actualisation is also considered as parallel to self-actualisation and Waterman's (1993) eudaimonism research is referenced. This is a theory that suggests people should live in accordance with their true self; the 'daimon', which is a similar sentiment to the literature focusing on authentic leadership (discussed later in this chapter). People are encouraged to realise their greatest potential and strive for excellence. A person will be in a state of Eudaimonia when they live in accordance with their true self, to realise their potential (self-realisation) (Waterman, 1993). When discussing social actualisation as being in parallel to self-actualisation, Ryff's (1989) work is also examined, as personal growth (towards self-actualisation) is another of the six components of psychological (eudaimonic) well-being. The final scholar to be referenced in the self-actualisation and

social actualisation discussion is Maslow (1968) and his hierarchical theory of motivation. He suggests that human needs, in order of priority, are: physiological, safety, love, esteem and self-actualisation. The final three researchers (Maslow, 1968; Ryff, 1989; Waterman, 1993) all refer to self-actualisation as realising one's potential.

In summary, social actualisation refers to the belief that society is heading in a positive direction and people can recognise society's potential. In parallel to self-actualisation, which focuses on individuals reaching their potential, social actualisation focuses on society reaching its potential. Specifically, people with high levels of social well-being feel positive about the future of society and believe in its potential. Example statements used by Keyes (1998) to measure social actualisation were: "society isn't improving for people like you"; "you think the world is becoming a better place for everyone"; "you see society as continually evolving" (Keyes, 1998, p. 138).

Social coherence

The final component of the social well-being model (Keyes, 1998) is social coherence. This refers to the perception people have regarding the structure, order and predictability of the world. Socially well people feel they have an understanding of occurrences happening around them (Keyes, 1998). When people feel they have an understanding of why things happen, and understand the social processes that lead to certain outcomes, they have a sense of social coherence. The military can, on occasion, require its personnel to operate in very ambiguous environments. Therefore, it is critical that they are not preoccupied with social ambiguity within their units. Keyes (1998)

suggests that social coherence is comparable to the concept of 'meaningless in life' and refers to the work of Mirowsky and Ross (1989) and Seeman (1959;1991). The meaningless form of alienation is when a person is not sure what to believe and has low confidence in their ability to predict future outcomes based on certain behaviours.

Mirowsky and Ross (1989) argue that psychological distress is caused by social problems (Berlin, 1991) and that the most important aspect of well-being is to feel in control. I would suggest that feeling in control can be linked with the fatalism work (Lefcourt, 1982) mentioned above. However, I would argue that Keyes (1998) is referring to predictability and knowledge of social processes with respect to social coherence. If someone feels a lack of control, it could be that they do not feel socially coherent, in that they do not understand why certain social outcomes are occurring; thus feeling a lack of control. This thought process is confirmed by Mirowsky and Ross (1989) when they discuss meaning versus meaningless. "Meaning is the sense that life is intelligible, purposeful and valid. Meaninglessness is the opposite sense, that life has no rhyme or reason... Logically, a sense of meaning is necessary for a sense of control. Without knowledge, control is impossible" (p. 256). Here, meaningless is analogous to social coherence. When life is *intelligible* and has *rhyme* and *reason*, people will be more socially coherent, and have more meaning in their life, leading to greater control of their life. Once again, Ryff's (1989) psychological well-being model is referred to, specifically the 'purpose in life' component. Here, people who are psychologically well view their personal lives as meaningful and coherent; social coherence extends this concept from the private to the social sphere.

Keyes (1998) also draws on A. Antonovsky's (1994) sense of personal coherence work. His research suggests that people who have coherence cope better in stressful situations. In a study which supported his theoretical model, H. Antonovsky and Sagy (1985), note that people are more likely to view the world as coherent and predictable if their experiences in life have been consistent. The essence of the sense of coherence is "seeing the world as more or less ordered and predictable" (H. Antonovsky & Sagy, 1985, p. 214). Therefore, a socially coherent person would view society as more or less ordered and predictable.

In essence, social coherence refers to the degree to which people feel that society is ordered and can be understood. Example statements used by Keyes (1998) to measure social coherence were: "the world is too complex for you"; "you find it hard to predict what will happen next in society"; "you cannot make sense of what's going on in the world" (Keyes, 1998, p. 139).

The following sections outline the applications of Keyes's (1998) model and discuss why this model is used to frame my research, followed by my interpretation and application of the model.

Applications of the model

Keyes's (1998) social well-being model has been used primarily in quantitative studies, to determine antecedents and consequences of social well-being. The antecedents and consequences of social well-being include the relationship between social well-being

and: extroversion and conscientiousness (positive) and neuroticism (negative) (Kong et al., 2015); social participation (positive) (Cicognani et al., 2008); perceived social support, self-esteem and self-efficacy (positive) (Joshanloo, Rostami, & Nosratabadi, 2006); life satisfaction and psychological well-being (positive) (Joshanloo & Ghaedi, 2009); team identification (positive) (Inoue, Funk, Wann, & Yoshida, 2015); being married (positive) (Mazloomymahmoodabad, Sotoudeh, Asadian, Aghamolaei, & Asl, 2019; Shapiro & Keyes, 2007); sense of community (positive) (Albanesi et al., 2007); place attachment (positive) (Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010); identification with a hometown sports team (positive) (Inoue et al., 2015) and; microaggression experiences (negative) (Sohi & Singh, 2015). While Kong et al. (2015) found extroversion was positively related with social well-being, Joshanloo et al. (2012) found that extroversion was the only one of the big five personality factors not to have a correlation with social well-being.

Several studies have found that men have higher scores for social well-being compared with women (Albanesi et al., 2007; Hasanshahi, Asadollahi, Ostovarfar, & Ahmad, 2017; Joshanloo et al., 2012; Joshanloo et al., 2006; Keyes & Shapiro, 2004), with an Iranian study finding the reverse (Mazloomymahmoodabad et al., 2019). A summary of some of the studies that have used Keyes's (1998) social well-being model is in Appendix 1. The table is not exhaustive, but provides a good overview of the types of studies that have taken place. It also demonstrates the use of the model across a variety of different countries. Qualitative studies using this model are scarce.

2.1.3 - Why use social well-being as a framework?

Upcoming sections in this chapter identify many examples in the literature of women being marginalised, excluded and harassed, and “it begs the question: how socially ‘well’ are women coaches?” (Norman & Rankin-Wright, 2018, p. 427). In the case of my study, how socially well were women officers while serving in the NZ Army? The focus on social wellness as opposed to psychological wellness is vitally important, because challenges experienced by women officers in the Army are not simply individual issues accounted for by the woman’s (in)ability to cope (D. Fletcher & Scott, 2010). Many of the challenges are related to social and public structures within the NZ Army, meaning the *social* well-being lens is paramount. Life as an Army officer is a very public experience within the Army ‘society’. There is very little that remains private when people spend considerable amounts of time together and undergo arduous activities together. Life in the Army is inherently social. Applying a social well-being framework to the experiences of these women leaders adds to our understanding of their experiences.

2.1.4 - Interpretation and application of Keyes’s (1998) social well-being model in this research

This section provides additional analysis of the social well-being model and explains how I have used and applied the components of the model throughout the four findings and discussion chapters; Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven. When evaluating each of the components of Keyes’s (1998) social well-being model in detail, there is some crossover. For example, the concept of alienation (specifically, powerlessness (Seeman, 1991)) is

referred to in the sections on social integration, social contribution and social actualisation. Likewise, anomie (Durkheim, 1951) forms part of the discussion on social integration and social actualisation. Given the inter-relationships between the components at the theoretical level, it is not surprising that interrelationship exists at the empirical level, highlighting that some concepts are difficult to categorise.

When quantitatively assessing a person's level of social well-being, it is easy to assess that person's social well-being at the component level, as quantitative measures draw boundaries between concepts. Qualitative data however, is not as discreet. From a qualitative perspective, it is not quite as straight-forward to assign a person's response to a specific component within the social well-being model. When a respondent provides information about their experiences, they do not do so in line with pre-designated categories. It is quite possible for a short passage from a respondent to be applied to more than one of the social well-being components. For example, a respondent in the research focusing on women sports coaches noted that,

[they] throw you a few scraps and you'll do the work for us. That's how it feels sometimes, you know [...] It's very hard to feel valued, sometimes words are said, but you don't feel anything behind them, you know, so you're not sure if you're valued or not (Norman & Rankin-Wright, 2018, p. 439).

Norman and Rankin-Wright (2018) 'assigned' this passage to the component of social contribution. The woman in this study is talking about feeling valued, so assigning this passage to the component of social contribution seems logical. I argue that it would also be plausible to assign this passage to the component of social acceptance. If a person does not feel they and their work is *valued* by others, it is possible that the person also

does not feel they and their work is *accepted* by others. Within social acceptance, the concept of respect from others regarding the individual's opinions is included (Wrightsmann, 1991). Therefore, if the woman does not feel that her work is valued by others, it is reasonable to suggest that she feels others do not respect her work. One of Keyes's (1998) statements for measuring social integration refers to a person feeling they are an important part of their community. The word 'important' is critical here. If a person does not feel they are valued by the community they work with, it is logical to suggest this would also mean they do not feel they are an important part of that community; suggesting that this passage could also be linked to the component of social integration. If this woman feels like she does the work she is given, but does not feel that she or her work is valued, then it is quite possible that she does not feel the sports coach community to be improving for people like her (women). This suggests that her feelings could also be relevant to the component of self-actualisation.

There are many other extracts of data like this, where association with a particular component of the social well-being model is not black and white. This is also the case for both the recruiting advertisement data, and the interview data in my study. There are numerous occasions where a section of data appears to be applicable to more than one of the social well-being components. Firstly, it is important to note that I do not think this detracts from key findings. In qualitative research, the aim is not to allocate findings to pre-determined boxes and categories; the key is to let themes emerge on their own. So, it really is not a problem that the data is not allocated to the social well-being components with clear distinction. Therefore, unlike Norman and Rankin-Wright (2018) and many of the quantitative studies (Inoue et al., 2015; Joshanloo et al., 2012;

Keyes, 2006; Morales, Delgado-Valencia, Rojas-Ballesteros, & Caqueo-Urizar, 2017; Taheri, Ghasemi, Negarandeh, Janani, & Mirbazegh, 2018), I have not structured the discussion of my findings according to sections or chapters in line with the five components of the social well-being model. The structure is in line with the themes that emerged from the data; the concepts of 'No visibility' (Chapter Four) 'No voice' (Chapter Five), 'The clash of the masculine approach versus the feminine approach' (Chapter Six) and 'The wrong body' (Chapter Seven). The value of using the social well-being model as a framework for this research comes from applying a holistic social well-being lens to the experiences of the women officers. Each of these chapters discusses the social well-being of women officers from the perspective of all relevant components of the social well-being model. Understanding social well-being requires an understanding of each of the model's five components, however, the overall social well-being of the women is of more importance, given the purpose of the research. A discussion is provided, explaining how the data relates to the various components of social well-being, as well as the concepts that each component was drawn from.

Elucidation of two of the components of the social well-being model, social acceptance and social actualisation, is included below, to further set the scene for later interpretation and application.

Social acceptance: Interpretation and application

According to Keyes (1998), the over-arching meaning of the social acceptance component is about how a person feels towards others. The sub-category to this

component, of 'feelings of acceptability to others' (Wrightsman, 1991) is not the primary idea behind the social well-being model's component of social acceptance (which is more focused on how the individual feels about others). However, it appears to be the element that Norman and Rankin-Wright (2018) utilised in their application of the social acceptance component for their research on women sports coaches. When discussing their theoretical approach, they note that

women do not always feel accepted because of discriminatory ideologies and expectations attached to their gendered identity... As a consequence of having to continually work to feel accepted, many women coaches have spoken of feeling undervalued, insecure and out of place in their organisations (Norman & Rankin-Wright, 2018, p. 429).

Further, when presenting their findings regarding the component of social acceptance, they reported that "coaches felt that they were constantly judged by gendered assumptions and expectations and had to constantly prove their competence in order to gain and maintain acceptance and respect" (Norman & Rankin-Wright, 2018, p. 435). The words used in these passages would again suggest that they have applied the sub-category of 'feelings of acceptability to others' to represent the component of social acceptance. Knoesen and Naude (2018) took a similar approach when evaluating the mental and social health of university students in South Africa. When discussing the theoretical concept of social acceptance, they note that it "refers to the degree to which a person is liked or disliked by people in society" (Knoesen & Naude, 2018, p. 270), suggesting that they focused on the sub-category of 'feelings of acceptability to others'. Further, in their results, the same interpretation of social acceptance was used.

“Participants in this study initially struggled to find social acceptance (approval and affection from other individuals)” (Knoesen & Naude, 2018, p. 276).

The social well-being model (Keyes, 1998) has presented social acceptance to reflect how an individual views others, with the way the individual feels they are viewed by others to be a sub-category of the social acceptance component. As explained above, Norman and Rankin-Wright (2018) and Knoesen and Naude (2018) appear to have taken the sub-category to represent the overall concept of social acceptance (although their studies did not actually articulate this). I would argue that ‘feelings of acceptability to others’ is less a sub-category of social acceptance, and more a mirror, which is integral to the component. If a person does not feel accepted *by* others, they are less likely to feel accepting *towards* others. A scene in the 2001 film, *Shrek* (Adamson & Jenson, 2001), provides a good illustration of this. Shrek (who is an ogre) tells the character, Donkey, that he wants to build a wall around his home and shut everyone out. Donkey asks, “what’s your problem? What you got against the whole world?” (Adamson & Jenson, 2001). Shrek responds,

look, I’m not the one with the problem, okay? It’s the world that seems to have a problem with me. People take one look at me and go, ‘Aah! Help! Run! A big, stupid, ugly ogre!’ [sighs] They judge me before they even know me. That’s why I’m better off alone (Adamson & Jenson, 2001).

This would suggest that Donkey is asking Shrek why he does not display social acceptance, using the over-arching meaning proposed by Keyes (1998) as Shrek does not feel positive or accepting towards others. However, Shrek’s response to this question suggests that the concept of social acceptance is circular, or a mirror. Shrek is

arguing that the only reason he does not feel accepting towards others is *because* others are not accepting towards him. He does not have feelings of acceptability to others, which according to Keyes's (1998) social well-being model, is only a sub-category of the social acceptance component. I would argue that without feelings of acceptability by others, the likelihood of acceptability of others would be low, just like in Shrek's case. Therefore, instead of focusing on the individual's acceptability towards others, I have taken the same approach as Norman and Rankin-Wright (2018) and Knoesen and Naude (2018) and have applied the concept of 'feelings of acceptability to others' to represent the component of social acceptance.

When using 'feelings of acceptability to others' to represent the social acceptance component of the model, the difference between social integration and social acceptance is less distinct. They are still conceptually different; however, there are some similarities and some crossovers. It would be difficult (not impossible) for a person to feel socially integrated without feeling socially accepted. If a person feels they are accepted by others, it would follow that there is a better chance of feeling socially integrated.

Some of the concepts that Keyes (1998) has drawn from when theorising social acceptance, have overlays with social integration. Wrightsman (1991) discusses interpersonal trust and brotherliness which could reasonably be attributed to social integration. Further, one of the statements posed in the study regarding 'feelings of acceptability to others', relates to a person feeling as though they are left out and that others do not want them around (Wrightsman, 1991). Again, this statement would also

seem appropriate for determining feelings of social integration. Keyes (1998) also draws from Horney (1945) in his explanation of social acceptance and refers to feeling comfortable with others. It seems logical to suggest that a person who feels socially integrated is likely to feel comfortable with others. Even though Horney's (1945) model is used by Keyes (1998) to develop the social well-being component of social acceptance, these concepts appear to also be an appropriate link for social integration. If a person feels drawn to others they are more likely to feel socially integrated compared to a person who is drawn away from people. It is reasonable to assume that a socially integrated person would be drawn towards people as opposed to being drawn against people or away from people.

Although I believe that it is possible to distinguish between social integration and social acceptance, I suggest that the similarities and overlaps are sufficient to discuss these two components together. Therefore, I have regularly discussed social integration and social acceptance in close alignment throughout the four findings and discussion chapters. Knoesen and Naude (2018) also presented their results for these two components alongside each other, with less separation than was observed for the other components of the social well-being model. They literally presented them in the same sentence. "Participants in this study initially struggled to find social acceptance (approval and affection from other individuals) and social integration (they longed to experience feelings of belonging, relatedness and community)" (Knoesen & Naude, 2018, p. 276). Social acceptance and social integration both focus on interactions with others and social connectedness. I am not arguing that social integration and social acceptance *must* become one amalgamated component; I am suggesting that they *can*

be grouped together and that this more accurately represents the data from my research.

Social actualisation: Interpretation and application

Social actualisation refers to a person's assessment of the potential and the path of civilisation. Someone who is optimistic about the future of society and who believes that society is heading in the right direction is considered to have higher levels of social actualisation. Keyes (1998) discusses the concept of self-actualisation when conceptualising social actualisation. He considers self-actualisation to be in parallel with social actualisation. I would argue that self-actualisation should be considered a component of social actualisation, instead of being considered in parallel. When bearing in mind whether a person is socially well or not, I suggest that it is useful to consider whether that person believes they can move towards self-actualisation and realise their potential within the society they are operating in. If a person does not feel they can move towards this within a society, I believe they could not be considered socially well in that regard. Therefore, my discussion regarding social actualisation also includes a discussion of self-actualisation.

Given that this research seeks to understand how socially well a particular group of women leaders were, it is pertinent to now explore the literature that focuses on the experiences of women leaders and further, to explore literature specifically focusing on the experiences of women and women leaders in the military. Many of these

experiences reflect the comment by Norman and Rankin-Wright (2018) at the start of Section 2.1.3, regarding marginalisation, exclusion and harassment.

2.2 - The experiences of women leaders

2.2.1 - Overview

This section discusses some of the common issues experienced by women leaders. There are a significant number of studies which have examined the experiences of women leaders, making it impractical to examine every study in detail. Therefore, approximately twenty studies were examined in detail. These studies were chosen for inclusion for several reasons. Firstly, only interpretivist studies were included for examination in this literature review, as these studies included rich descriptions of the women leaders' experiences. This is also the approach utilised in my research and this is examined in more detail in Chapter Three – the methodology chapter. The studies selected were also chosen to include participants from a wide range of industries and nationalities to provide a broad overview of women leaders' experiences. Further, specifically included in the selection are studies that interviewed participants from industries that had some similarities to the military, such as having a physical nature to the role, or being in a sector also dominated by men, such as sport (Brown & Light, 2012; Leberman & Palmer, 2009; Mazerolle, Burton, & Cotrufo, 2015; Megheirkouni, 2014; Titus, 2011), emergency services (Maleta, 2009; Osterlind & Haake, 2010) and churches (Tunheim & DuChene, 2016). Studies focusing on the experiences of women leaders in the military are examined in the next section of this chapter. The literature in this field

provides a good overview of the key issues experienced by women leaders. A chronological outline of the chosen studies in this field is presented in Appendix 2. All of these studies were conducted qualitatively using interviews; due to the homogeneity, a methods column is not included in this table. The common themes identified across these studies are: harassment and discrimination, balancing work and family, leveraging feminine qualities, adopting a masculine approach, women have to repeatedly prove themselves, and mentors and networks. These are discussed below.

Harassment and discrimination

A constant theme throughout the studies was gender bias, harassment, stereotypes and discrimination. This was noted in the large majority of the studies (Brinia, 2011; Dhar, 2008; Diehl, 2014; Haber, 2011; Johnson & Tunheim, 2016; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Lord & Preston, 2009; Maleta, 2009; Mayer, Tonelli, Oosthuizen, & Surtee, 2018; Mazerolle et al., 2015; McNae & Vali, 2015; Megheirkouni, 2014; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Patterson, Mavin, & Turner, 2012; Tariq & Syed, 2017; Titus, 2011; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016; Weidenfeller, 2012). Several of the women leaders interviewed noted how they: felt alone and isolated from the other (male) leaders, felt excluded from the 'old boys networks', experienced invisibility in meetings and were overlooked for interesting and challenging tasks (Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Lord & Preston, 2009; Maleta, 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Titus, 2011). A woman holding a senior management role spoke about feeling an expectation from her male peers to make the tea and coffee in the boardroom (Tariq & Syed, 2017), while another woman was on the verge of taking legal action in response to the sexism and

chauvinism she endured (Palmer & Masters, 2010). These experiences are directly applicable to social well-being (Keyes, 1998). Feeling isolated and excluded indicates a lack of social integration, and being over-looked suggests reduced social acceptance. The glass ceiling was also noted in several studies (Diehl, 2014; Elliott & Stead, 2008; Sexton, Arbor, Lemak, & Wainio, 2014; Weidenfeller, 2012). If the women felt there was a ceiling preventing them from ever reaching the top of the organisation, it could be presumed that their feelings of social actualisation were low.

While many of the women in these studies provided examples of harassment and discrimination, some of the entrepreneurial women leaders in the research by Patterson et al. (2012) said they did not experience any differences due to being women. However, the women leaders who said there were no differences later contradicted themselves by making comments about their experiences which were solely attributable to being a woman.

By denying any perceived difference Helen [the interviewee] attempts to neutralise her experience, to keep gender out. Highlighting or playing on her womanhood as an issue could result in her being perceived to be bringing gender in, which could affect her perceived credibility within the entrepreneurial leadership process (Patterson et al., 2012, p. 699).

It would appear that acknowledging or discussing experiences of harassment and discrimination can risk further discrimination.

Balancing work and family

Many of the studies discussed the challenges women leaders faced when it came to balancing work and family demands. The interviewed women were generally the primary caregivers for their children and they discussed how this was a significant struggle to balance the competing demands of work and family (Brinia, 2011; Dhar, 2008; Diehl, 2014; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Sexton et al., 2014; Tariq & Syed, 2017; Titus, 2011). One woman commented on the guilt resulting from missing her child's first steps due to work commitments (Leberman & Palmer, 2009), and another felt guilt when her children complained of missing her (Dhar, 2008). Women also felt guilt towards their workplace when they had to attend to family commitments (Titus, 2011).

When examining social well-being in relation to the work sphere, it is possible that women committing fewer hours to their workplace compared with peers who do not have to attend to family commitments, may feel their contribution is less. Further, if they are less able to attend after-work activities due to family responsibilities, this may impact their feelings of social integration and also their social acceptance if they experience negative judgement from their peers.

Leveraging feminine qualities

Leveraging feminine qualities was a common theme from the literature that was not necessarily an issue for women leaders, but in some cases, was a positive opportunity. Leadership is often described using traditionally masculine terms such as

competitiveness, task focus, dominance, autocratic approach, confidence and control (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Elliott & Stead, 2008; McEldowney, Bobrowski, & Gramberg, 2009; Schnurr, 2008). Women, on the other hand, are regularly attributed with softer qualities such as affection, care for others, compassion, relationship building skills and communication ability (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Patterson et al., 2012; Sandler, 2014). Masculine and feminine approaches are not necessarily binary and not all men adopt a masculine approach, while not all women adopt a feminine approach. Both sexes can adopt a combination of masculine and feminine approaches. However, for the purpose of this study, I am defining masculine and feminine in line with traditional definitions as outlined in the table below.

Table 1: Approach used in this research to define masculine & feminine

Masculine		Feminine	
Competitiveness	(Schnurr, 2008)	Affection	(Sandler, 2014)
Task Focus	(Elliott & Stead, 2008)	Care for Others	(Chodorow, 1994; Sjoberg, 2014)
Dominance	(McEldowney et al., 2009; Schnurr, 2008)	Compassion	(Boulton, 2017)
Autocratic	(Kaufman & Grace, 2011)	Relationship Building Focus	(Brown & Light, 2012; Stevens & Greener, 2017)
Confidence	(McEldowney et al., 2009; Schnurr, 2008)	Not Inclined to use Violence	(Stevens & Greener, 2017)
Control	(Eagly & Carli, 2007; Elliott & Stead, 2008; McEldowney et al., 2009; Schnurr, 2008)	Democratic	(Eagly & Carli, 2007; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Patterson et al., 2012; Sandler, 2014)
Directive	(Kaufman & Grace, 2011)	Softness	(Kaufman & Grace, 2011)
Strength	(Boulton, 2017; L. H. Clarke & Lefkovich, 2018; Connell, 2005)	Participatory	(Kaufman & Grace, 2011)
Aggression	(Boulton, 2017; Connell, 2005; Whitworth, 2004)	Physically Weak	(Boulton, 2017; Chodorow, 1994)
Autonomous	(Connell, 2005)	Empathetic	(Sandler, 2014; Stevens & Greener, 2017)
Stoicism	(Connell, 2005)	Emotional	(Boulton, 2017; Chodorow, 1994)
Rational	(Ashcraft & Muhr, 2018; Boulton, 2017; Connell, 2005)	Protective of Teams	(Brown & Light, 2012; Sandler, 2014)
Decisiveness	(Elliot & Stead, 2008; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Liu et al., 2015)	Collaborative	(Brown & Light, 2012; Sandler, 2014; Whitworth, 2004)

Throughout this research, in line with the traditional definitions in this table, I have classified terms such as directive (Kaufman & Grace, 2011), aggressive (Boulton, 2017; Connell, 2005; Whitworth, 2004), and dominant (McEldowney et al., 2009; Schnurr,

2008), as masculine, and terms such as empathetic (Sandler, 2014; Stevens & Greener, 2017), caring (Chodorow, 1994; Sjoberg, 2014) and collaborative (Brown & Light, 2012; Sandler, 2014; Whitworth, 2004), as feminine.

One of the woman talked about involving others and allowing them to influence decisions (Osterlind & Haake, 2010), while another woman leader commented on using her emotional intelligence to 'check in' on the well-being of her staff (Mazerolle et al., 2015). A further woman explained how she built relationships with her staff and genuinely cared for them (Brown & Light, 2012). In each of these cases, the women leaders found that these feminine approaches to leadership were advantageous to their success as leaders.

Gentry, Clark, Young, Cullen, and Zimmerman (2015) investigated how a leader's display of empathic concern (a more typically 'feminine' display) towards their subordinates is related to their peers and superiors perception of their ability to successfully advance in their career. Their findings found that higher empathetic concern (as rated by subordinates) had a strong negative correlation with career derailment (as rated by peers and superiors). This relationship was even stronger for women leaders. This may suggest that empathetic concern is expected and subsequently rewarded more for women than men (Gentry et al., 2015), potentially because displaying empathetic concern towards subordinates is 'in line' with their gender 'norms'. This is not dissimilar to the findings in an authentic leadership study by Liu, Cutcher, and Grant (2015) and a discussion by Boulton (2017). Liu et al. (2015) conducted a discourse analysis of the media representations of two Australian banking Chief Executive Officers (CEO) during

the Global Financial Crisis. Their findings suggested that banking leaders were viewed as authentic to the degree that the leader performed in line with the “gender norms deemed appropriate for the socially constructed context in which they are expected to lead” (Liu et al., 2015, p. 1). The female CEO in their study was portrayed by the media as less authentic when she acted in a more decisive and proactive (masculine) manner, while the male CEO was portrayed by the media as being authentic for acting in a very similar way. In a similar vein to the banking CEO, a US woman Lieutenant Colonel, during a radio interview, talked about being fired from the Marines for having a leadership approach that was considered too mean, too demanding and too abrasive (Germano, 2018), which arguably may have been deemed more acceptable if she were a man. Ladkin and Taylor (2010) noted how the media portrayed Hillary Clinton as being authentic when she displayed tears on Fox News in 2008; it may be possible that this perceived authenticity by the media was due to her acting in a gentler or more vulnerable way that was considered more appropriate to her gender. In these cases, it could be argued that Hillary Clinton leveraged her feminine qualities to her benefit, while the Australian banking CEO did not, and was negatively judged as inauthentic because of this. These experiences relate closely to the concept of authentic leadership. Authentic leadership, and its intersection with social well-being, is examined later in this chapter.

Adopting a masculine approach

In contrast to leveraging feminine leadership approaches, several studies found that in order to succeed, women leaders who did not have a masculine approach to leadership,

needed to adapt (or felt they needed to adapt) their leadership approach to one which was less feminine (Haber, 2011; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010). In order to gain credibility, they cannot be too 'girly'. At the same time, they cannot follow the crass language and antics of some men to avoid being criticised for lack of femininity (Boulouta, 2013; Shollen, 2015; V. Stead, 2013; V. Stead & Elliott, 2012). Women managers "are faced with the double bind and double standard based on the incongruity between the female gender role (communal) and the leadership role (agentic)" (Monzani, Hernandez Bark, van Dick, & Peiro, 2015, p. 747). One of the woman leaders explained that she sometimes felt she was not fully herself, due to adapting her leadership approach (Osterlind & Haake, 2010). This point also ties in with the field of authentic leadership, discussed later in this chapter. If women had to (or felt they had to) adjust their leadership approach, does this mean they then led in a manner that was not in line with their true self and did they lead in an unauthentic manner as a result? Further, if they did lead in a manner that was not authentic, how did this affect their experiences as a leader? When considering social well-being, these findings may suggest that women felt less socially integrated or socially accepted if they displayed a feminine leadership approach, which is why they adapted their approach to be more masculine. Further, they may have felt their contribution to their organisation would be more valued if their contribution was delivered in a more masculine manner.

Women have to repeatedly prove themselves

Several of the studies noted that because of stereotypical attitudes about women leaders' abilities, women leaders felt they had to constantly and repeatedly prove

themselves and perform better than their male counterparts (Dhar, 2008; McNae & Vali, 2015; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016; Weidenfeller, 2012; Williams, Phillips, & Hall, 2016). This reflects reduced feelings of social contribution where the women leaders did not feel their contribution was valued unless it was better than the contribution made by their male peers. One woman talked about having to be twice as good as her male peers in order to get respect (Tunheim & DuChene, 2016), while another commented on having to work so hard to constantly and consistently prove her worth (Dhar, 2008).

Mentors and networks

Mentors and networks do not reflect an issue for women leaders; rather they provided support to women leaders. Mentors were noted as useful to success as a leader by several of the interviewed women (Norman, Rankin-Wright, & Allison, 2018; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Sexton et al., 2014; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016). All of the Bishops in Tunheim and DuChene's (2016) study had been mentored; primarily by men. The mentors provided advice and guidance which improved their performance. It was found that male mentors "are more influential in organizations and can provide greater access to inner power circles, female mentors were better able to identify and empathize with the barriers faced by women in organizations" (Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998, p. 32). This demonstrates the ability for male mentors to help open doors which are often closed to women and the ability for women mentors to share their experiences and strategies for succeeding in a male dominated environment. This would suggest that the women do not experience social coherence,

and therefore depend on the male mentors to navigate the incoherent environment on their behalf.

Further, many of the research participants explained the importance of having a strong and supportive network and of being able to develop relationships and networks with various stakeholders, including their subordinates (Elliott & Stead, 2008; McNae & Vali, 2015; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Sexton et al., 2014; Weidenfeller, 2012). By creating, maintaining and leveraging a complex web of relationships, the ability of the women leaders to influence people was significantly enhanced (Weidenfeller, 2012). Having these networks allowed the women an opportunity to feel socially integrated, which may have been appreciated when they did not experience routine social integration and acceptance in their work place.

The next section focuses more narrowly on the experiences of women and women leaders in the military, beginning with a discussion exploring gender hegemony in the military.

2.3 - The experiences of women and women leaders in the military

2.3.1 - Overview

The purpose of this section is to build on the background information regarding my story, as well as the NZ Army contextual information provided in Chapter One. This section provides additional context about what it might be like to serve as a woman officer in the Army. The findings from the literature discussed below are very much in line with my own experiences and thoughts.

2.3.2 - Gender hegemony in the military

The concept of masculine hegemony, or hegemonic masculinity emerged in the late 1970s and suggests that this dominance occurs due to members of that society having the view that it is 'just the way things are' (Boulton, 2017). The military is arguably one of the most masculine organisations in today's society and is therefore a hyper-masculine environment. The NZ Army 2035 strategy document outlines that the culture in the NZ Army will continue to adopt and foster the soldier-warrior spirit of Ngati Tumatauenga (Army, 2017b). R. Woodward and Winter (2007) noted that the military focuses its efforts on developing and perfecting the capability of delivering potentially lethal force, which is a masculine activity. The NZ Army combat corps training manual specifically states that the purpose of the infantry is to kill or capture the enemy (Army, n.d.). Again, this would not be considered a feminine activity. The 'ideal' soldier is

physically strong, displays aggression, is self-reliant and has emotional control and self-discipline (R. Hinojosa, 2010). It has even been suggested that to become a soldier, one must erase any aspect of themselves that could be considered feminine (Whitworth, 2004). The military is dominated by men. The military is characterised by tough men. Almost everything about the military screams masculinity. It is the perfect environment to breed and maintain masculine hegemonies.

Boyce and Herd (2003) suggested that this masculinity becomes more prevalent the longer a person is exposed to the hyper-masculine military environment. They investigated the relationship between gender role stereotypes and successful leadership, and found that male military officer cadets linked masculine stereotypes with successful leadership. Further, the more senior the officer cadet in terms of years spent in the military, the stronger this link was. This suggests that the strong masculine culture within the academy causes cadets to more strongly perceive successful leadership characteristics to be masculine, the longer they spend in the academy (Boyce & Herd, 2003).

Many women who join the military accept this situation and try to work out the best way to succeed in the male-dominated, masculine military, as a woman. Silva (2008), Werder (2018), Linehagen (2018) and Karazi-Presler, Sasson-Levy, and Lomsky-Feder (2017) found that women are usually required to adjust their behaviour in order to meet the masculine expectations of the military. Women officers must delicately balance between being not too masculine and not too feminine (Herbert, 1998; R. Woodward & Winter, 2007). An Army woman in Boulton's (2017) study, which focused on gender in

the Australian Army, questioned whether women may “become less authentic to their true personality, unconsciously toning down their charisma so they can be better accepted and understood by the male majority” (Boulton, 2017, p. 102). Women in the military must try and fit in and become ‘one of the boys’, but not to the extent that they lose all femininity and then lose respect for doing so; as the women in these studies noted, it is a very fine line to balance. This would suggest that women in the military may experience low social well-being, due to a lack of social integration, social acceptance and social contribution.

Many of the women interviewed in the existing research also tried very hard not to highlight the fact that they were women (Linehagen, 2018). One researcher noticed a woman officer walk out of her way to avoid meeting, indicating the woman’s desire to be seen publicly as a military officer, as opposed to a woman (Kronsell, 2005). Many women research participants tried to downplay their femininity by emphasising their role as a military officer, rather than their identity as a woman (Kronsell, 2005). Women tended to not like positive discrimination and they looked poorly upon women who take advantage of this. Many of the women said they had never experienced any sort of discrimination, but then talked about situations which they were discriminated against based on gender. Why is it that women try to hide discrimination and do not want to talk about it? On the one hand, they need to talk about the integration of women into the military as being successful so that it continues into the future. They want to ensure that the integration of women continues so do not want to talk about setbacks with it. On the other hand, they want to view themselves as successful, so do not want to ‘play the victim’, or have people perceive them as the victim (Carreiras, 2006). This final point

resonates strongly. I also do not want to be seen as a victim and I consider my NZ Army career as successful. My tension is discussed and addressed in Chapter Eight – the conclusion .

2.3.3 - Women leaders in the military

In the section focusing on the experiences of women leaders, one of the recurring themes was women leaders needing to (or feeling they need to) adapt their leadership approach. The discussion regarding gender hegemony in the military indicates that leadership approach adaptation may be required in the military also. A NZ Army article commented on how women “feel an unstated requirement to adhere to stereotypically masculine leadership traits to fit into masculine organisational cultures and achieve professional success” (Werder, 2018, p. p.58). This would suggest that women can be successful in the NZ Army, provided they do not act too much like women. Brosnan (2015) explored the leadership experiences of senior women leaders in the NZ Army. The women in her study felt obligated to adopt the mainstream masculine and aggressive approach to leadership, as a feminine approach to leadership did not match preconceived ideas of how a military officer should exercise leadership (Brosnan, 2015). If this approach does not come naturally to these women officers, it is possible that they feel they cannot be themselves, or lead in a manner they feel comfortable with; potentially contributing to their decision to leave the military. This is directly relevant to the theory of authentic leadership and also social well-being. These women military leaders did not achieve social integration or social acceptance without adopting a masculine leadership approach. Likewise, their contribution was not viewed as being of

equal value if a feminine approach was utilised. A woman interviewed in an Australian Army study, which focused on gender, was asked why some women may be reluctant to join the Army. Her response; “it’s obvious! They don’t let women be women! Why would you want to join up and give away your whole identity and have to act like a man for the rest of your life?” (Boulton, 2017, p. 103).

Brosnan (2015) found that the senior women officers were able to develop their authentic leadership approach as they gained more experience in the NZ Army. They acknowledged that the masculine approach did not necessarily work for them and that it was okay to divert from the ‘mould’ and lead in a manner that was more intuitive and authentic to them. These women generally came to this realisation around the rank of Major or Lieutenant Colonel, which are ranks generally reached after at least 12 to 15 years of service respectively. This discovery is particularly interesting because the women in my research generally left the NZ Army before reaching the rank of Major. Again, this is relevant to the field of authentic leadership.

While Brosnan’s (2015) study found that many women, especially in their earlier years, felt they needed to adopt a more masculine approach, some NZ Army research exists that suggests there are benefits of having more typically feminine traits, such as relationship building skills, within the camp environment and on deployments (Army, 2017b; Stevens & Greener, 2017; Wineera, 2017).

Similar to the findings on the experiences of women leaders, women in the military were also found to experience harassment and discrimination, leading to low levels of social

integration and social coherence. Women in the military can experience feelings of isolation and lack of support from their units (Carter-Visscher et al., 2010; Lancaster et al., 2013; Matheson & Lyle, 2017), as well as feelings of limited career advancement opportunities (Buddin, 2005; Doering & Grissmer, 1985). Several studies (Alvinus, Krekula, & Larsson, 2018; Hannagan & Arrow, 2011; Linehagen, 2018; Matthews, Ender, Laurence, & Rohall, 2009; McSally, 2011; Tarrasch, Lurie, Yanovich, & Moran, 2011) have found that women are not always fully accepted in the military by their male counterparts. As a result, they experience being over-looked for promotional opportunities, or not being taken seriously. One study found that women were fifty percent less likely than men to attain field grade rank (Harris, 2009).

A senior woman officer in the NZ Army explained that women were treated differently to men, and punished more severely, when they made a mistake (Brosnan, 2015). Women need to behave “differently to their male colleagues, resulting in women being judged more harshly than men if they behave in a manner that may ‘tarnish’ their reputation ... the culture of the NZDF does not provide a safe environment for failure” (Brosnan, 2015, p. 69). This would suggest that women military leaders do not experience social coherence, as the rules do not appear to be gender neutral.

Sexual harassment was found to be an issue in the military and is predominantly experienced by women (Estrada & Berggren, 2009; Harris, 2009; Matheson & Lyle, 2017; McGregor & Smith, 2015; Mengeling, Booth, Torner, & Sadler, 2014; Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005). The New Zealand Ministry of Defence (MOD) (MOD, 2014) found that at least twice as many women than men had experienced harassment, bullying and

discrimination. In 2014, the Chief of the NZDF (CDF) directed the establishment of the Sexual Assault Prevention and Management (SAPM) Governance Group and in 2015, the SAPM commissioned Tiaki Consultants to conduct a culture review of the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) (McGregor & Smith, 2015). The review found that there were significant sexist attitudes towards women, which included harmful sexual behaviour. Further, the people most regularly identified as displaying anti-female attitudes were older males in senior command positions (McGregor & Smith, 2015). The review recommended that the NZDF: establish a new structure for reporting, and responding to, sexually harmful behaviour, take a hard-line approach to sexism, and recruit more women. Following these recommendations, in 2016, the NZDF released the Operation Respect Action Plan (NZDF, 2016b) which contained several actions designed in response to inappropriate sexual behaviour in the NZDF, including recruiting more women.

It is also worth noting that Sims et al. (2005) found the relationship between sexual harassment and turnover was higher for officers than for soldiers. Further, Mengeling et al. (2014) highlighted that US women military officers were considerably less likely to report sexual harassment or sexual assault than women soldiers. Another US military study found that satisfaction with the response from leaders, following reports of sexual harassment, led to increased retention intentions by victims, with dissatisfaction of the leader's response leading to emotional distress and intent to leave (Daniel, Neria, Moore, & Davis, 2019). The RNZAF culture review also found that there were significant challenges to women for reporting sexual harassment and sexual assault, with many victims not reporting the incidents. The challenges included: not being believed, not

being taken seriously, being made to feel they were over-reacting, being blamed for the incident, experiencing career backlash, isolation and ostracising from peers, and damage to their reputation. All of these outcomes lead to reduced social well-being. Further, the perpetrators, who were usually of a higher rank, frequently went un-punished and some respondents felt the person doing the harm was protected (McGregor & Smith, 2015).

Just as was the case for women leaders external to the military, D. Anderson, Vinnicombe, and Singh (2010), Ayre, Mills, and Gill (2013), Bridger, Day, and Morton (2013), Brosnan (2015), Escobar (2013), Harris (2009), Matheson and Lyle (2017) and MOD (2014) found that challenges regarding balancing work and family was also applicable to women in the military. Brosnan (2015) found that the career progression model within the NZ Army provides little flexibility for women to have children. There are strong expectations for personnel to complete promotional courses and deployments in set time periods, which is not conducive to taking maternity leave. She found that many women leave the NZ Army to begin their family, or delay having children until later in their careers, negatively impacting on their fertility (Brosnan, 2015).

In addition to the challenges noted above, deployments, postings and stress are another challenge specific to military personnel. The military is more of a 'way of life' than a job. This is because of the requirement to frequently work away from home for extended periods of time; field exercises, training courses and overseas deployments. Deploying on operations can be an extremely rewarding experience and many soldiers, women officers included, work very hard to ensure themselves a place on these deployments.

On the other hand, they can be difficult for a myriad of reasons, for example, being away from home for months at a time, being in dangerous, and sometimes life threatening situations, living in very close quarters with other personnel and sleep deprivation. Badger (2004), Fricker (2002) and Quester, Hattiangadi, Lee, and Shuford (2006) found that the requirement to deploy on operations and the stress endured in the military (Bridger et al., 2013) impacted on military turnover. Further, Shelley, McQuistan, Delacruz, Marshall, and Momany (2011) and a report by the New Zealand MOD (MOD, 2014) found that continual changes in postings influenced intentions of leaving the military. As the military has a lot more control over its employees than most other organisations, it is likely to impact on family members more than many other jobs. Harris (2009), Jervis (2018), Mazuji, Chaffin, Beer, and Mangelsdorff (2005), Shelley et al. (2011) and D. G. Smith and Rosenstein (2017) found that family support impacted on the military members' intent to stay or resign. If the family was supportive of their partner or parent serving in the military, then the serving member was more likely to stay.

The final sections of this literature review chapter analyse two leadership theories that are relevant to both social well-being, and the experiences of women leaders in the military; authentic and embodied leadership.

2.4 - Authentic leadership

2.4.1 - Overview

Earlier sections of this chapter identified that women leaders in general, and women leaders in the military, felt they had to adapt their leadership approach, suggesting they may not have been able to consistently lead in a manner that was truly authentic to them. Both academics (Avolio, Gardner, Walumbwa, Luthans, & May, 2004) and practitioners (George, Sims, McLean, & Mayer, 2007) and have argued the significance of authentic leadership in the 21st century. Definitions of authentic leadership differ slightly across the literature, however, they generally concur that authentic leadership involves being true to oneself. Several of the leading scholars on authentic leadership (Avolio et al., 2004; Gardner, Cogliser, Davis, & Dickens, 2011; Walumbwa, Avolio, Gardner, Wernsing, & Peterson, 2008) suggest that authentic leaders have greater self-awareness, an internalised moral perspective (act in an ethical manner), conduct balanced processing of information (they analyse relevant information objectively and fairly) and display relational transparency (being open as opposed to 'fake' with others) (Walumbwa et al., 2008). Self-awareness means that the leader is able to understand their strengths and their weaknesses, as well as understand their own values and view of the world; they have a good appreciation of who they are. A leader with an internalised moral perspective makes decisions based on what is right and based on the values of making a positive difference; their decisions are not driven by extrinsic rewards such as money or personal recognition (A. Hinojosa, Davis McCauley, Randolph-Seng, & Gardner, 2014). Balanced processing of information requires the leader to seek multiple

sources of information before making a decision. The sources of information and suggestions of others are evaluated objectively and impartially. Relational transparency means that leaders are genuine with others and do not 'put on an act'; they share their thoughts and emotions (Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, May, & Walumbwa, 2005).

Much of the authentic leadership literature examines the effects of authentic leadership on followers and on organisations. The empirical findings are dominated by quantitative studies using survey instruments such as the Authentic Leadership Questionnaire (ALQ) (Avolio, Gardner, & Walumbwa, 2007; Walumbwa et al., 2008) and the Authentic Leadership Inventory (ALI) (Neider & Schriesheim, 2011). The ALI was developed from the ALQ (Avolio et al., 2007) which consists of 16 variables in line with the four constructs of authentic leadership: self-awareness, internalised moral perspective, balanced processing of information and relational transparency. The findings suggest there are numerous and significant benefits to having leaders who are authentic (Gardner et al., 2011) and this has been tested across a range of industries and countries. Benefits to having authentic leaders include: greater job satisfaction for staff (Cerne, Dimovski, Maric, Penger, & Skerlavaj, 2014; Datta, 2015; Jacques, Garger, Lee, & Ko, 2015; Leroy, Anseel, Gardner, & Sels, 2015; Olaniyan & Hystad, 2015); organisational performance (Datta, 2015) and increased retention (Fallatah, Laschinger, & Read, 2017). An outline of some of the key studies is presented in Appendix 3. The studies listed are not exhaustive, but they provide a good overview of findings across a range of industries and nationalities. Each of these studies was conducted using quantitative surveys involving the ALQ or ALI; due to the homogeneity, a method column is not provided.

There appears to be significant quantitative empirical evidence to suggest that authentic leadership is beneficial to both followers and organisations. However, the positivist epistemology used for these studies limits the usefulness of these studies to my research. In addition, there are several issues with the theoretical concept of authentic leadership. Firstly, being true to oneself does not always lead to being moral. Secondly, self-awareness and thirdly, relational transparency, are not always in the best interests of the organisation. These are examined below.

2.4.2 - Issues with the theory of authentic leadership

A second significant portion of the research in the field of authentic leadership takes a very different epistemological direction to the mainly positivist work discussed above and has been predominantly qualitative with an interpretivist approach (Herrmann, 2015; Ibarra, 2015; Ladkin & Taylor, 2010; Nyberg & Sveningsson, 2014). This research examines the potential issues within the very concept of authentic leadership. Two of the tenets of authentic leadership, self-awareness and internalised moral perspective, have the potential to misalign (Algera & Lips-Wiersma, 2012; Freeman & Auster, 2011). Self-awareness requires the leader to understand their own values and act in accordance with those values. Authentic leadership programmes, as well as academic and practitioner papers, promoting authentic leadership development (Baron & Parent, 2015; Billsberry & North-Samardzic, 2016; Brue, 2016; Dhiman, 2011; Fusco, O'Riordan, & Palmer, 2015; George, 2008; George et al., 2007; Glowacki-Dudka & Treff, 2016; Hewitt, 2015; Kiersch & Peters, 2017; Waite, McKinney, Smith-Glasgow, & Meloy, 2013) strongly advocate the need for leaders to become self-aware and to act in accordance

with their values. An internalised moral perspective suggests that an authentic leader will make decisions according to what is moral and ethical. However, being true to oneself does not necessarily equate to being ethical or moral (Algera & Lips-Wiersma, 2012). Sendjaya, Pekerti, Härtel, Hirst, and Butarbutar (2016) examined the role of Machiavellianism with regards to moral reasoning and authentic leadership, as well as authentic leadership and moral action. Using the ALQ as well as the Machiavellianism Personality Scale (MPS), 70 managers from a large public sector organisation in Australia were surveyed and then observed (plus the use of focus groups) in a leadership development program. They found that when Machiavellianism levels were high, the relationships between moral reasoning and authentic leadership, as well as between authentic leadership and moral action were significantly diminished. This suggests that authentic leaders may advance their own interests at the expense of their staff (Sendjaya et al., 2016). There are many leaders around the world who have been authentic in the sense that they have been true to themselves, yet committed great atrocities which would be difficult to view as ethical or moral (Freeman & Auster, 2011). Adolf Hitler and Osama bin Laden are two examples. Further, what may be considered ethical or moral to one person, may be considered unethical or immoral to another person; there is not always a black and white ruling for what is considered ethical and moral. As an example, some may consider that employing children in a manufacturing operation as unethical and abominable, while others may see morality in the income such a job can provide for a family that may otherwise be living in poverty. I would contend that having both 'self-awareness' and an 'internalised moral perspective' as two of the four tenets required for the same leadership theory, is problematic due to the potential for them to conflict.

Further, self-awareness and being true to oneself may not always lead to the best outcome for an organisation. Nyberg and Sveningsson (2014) conducted a qualitative study within a Swedish concrete foundations company where managers were asked about their experiences of leadership. The leaders in this study talked about, at times, needing to alter their 'true self', in order to achieve desired outcomes. "Lisa explains how she has to moderate and restrain her supposed authenticity in order to be good" (Nyberg & Sveningsson, 2014, p. 446) as a leader. She noted how she would sometimes step back and let others voice or enact their opinions; she felt this was in contrast to her 'true self', as she wanted to be at the front of discussions and decision-making. Similar to Lisa, another leader in this study talked about needing to refrain from being truly himself, in order to be a better leader. Endrissat, Muller, and Kaudela-Baum (2007) interviewed Swiss managers about their experiences of leadership. The participants noted that there are challenges in executing authentic leadership. An example of these challenges relates to reward structures (salary, promotions) aligning with organisational values, but not necessarily with the leaders' values. In this case, if the leader is true to themselves, they may not always act in line with the requirements of the organisation.

Expanding further on this notion, the self-awareness tenet of authentic leadership, which requires being true to oneself, assumes that there is only one self. However, some literature suggests that the idea of just one self is highly questionable, especially when leaders take different approaches to dealing with different people (friends, work colleagues, parents, partners, children) and in different situations (Jones, 2016; Shotter & Gergen, 1989; Wetzel, 2015). Wetzel (2015) suggests that people have multiple 'true

selves' and that each of these 'true selves' are constantly learning and developing. The leaders in Nyberg and Sveningsson's (2014) study talked about acting in a way that conflicted with their 'true self' and then later gave historical examples of another 'side' to them, which was more in line with their adjusted behaviour. They were potentially aiming to give their identity consistency over time and to feel they were in fact, being authentic. Herrmann (2015) commented on how being authentic can sometimes equate to being comfortable and potentially too inflexible and that this could result in less progress. She wrote about her own experience as a superintendant of a 10,000-student district in Illinois and notes, "had I personally modelled behaviors that were less comfortable for me, would my administrators have stretched themselves as well? Could I have enhanced our organizational effectiveness by simply being less me?" (Herrmann, 2015, p. 36). She suggests that trying to adopt new leadership approaches that are not necessarily in line with one's authentic self can help a leader to develop new methods that actually enhance their leadership in the longer term. Although it may initially feel inauthentic, or unnatural, (especially when experimenting with these alternative possibilities in a visible context), being open to new ideas and then assimilating these in practice may help a leader to develop and grow as a leader. Ibarra (2015) and Schultz (2015) made similar observations; when leaders have their true sense of self tested, they learn more about leading effectively. I suggest that being authentic does not have to mean being rigid with an unwavering sense of self. Experimenting with new approaches (even if it means one feels like an imposter to begin with) may ultimately develop and enhance that leader (Ibarra, 2015; Metcalf, 2014). This further suggests the possibility of not having just one 'true self', or further, the possibility of *not maintaining the same, or developing* the one 'true self'.

Having multiple or developing versions of a 'true self' may allow leaders to act in a certain way in one situation or with one follower(s) and then act in a different way in another situation or with another follower(s). This would allow the leader to act in a way that is beneficial to the organisation without feeling they are in conflict with their true self. These notions are not dissimilar to the theories of contingency leadership and situational leadership. The concept of contingency leadership theory was developed by J. Woodward (1958) and then built on by Fiedler (1967). It proposes that leaders choose their leadership approach depending on the situation or context. This context could include such things as the demographics within the organisation, the current stage in the organisational lifecycle and the structure and culture within the organisation. For example, an Army officer may operate in a threatening environment in the morning and then participate in a humanitarian operation later that day (Fallesen, 2011), requiring quite different leadership approaches. Situational leadership theory was developed by Hersey and Blanchard (1977) and is similar with regards to a variable leadership approach. This is where the leader changes their leadership approach depending on the follower. Some followers may require a more direct leadership approach, whereas other followers may be better suited to a participatory or delegating leadership approach. When considering the theories of contingency, situational and authentic leadership, it may be possible for leaders to adopt different leadership approaches in different situations and with different people to achieve positive outcomes. This does not necessarily mean that the leader is being less or more authentic in each situation, or with each person. The different approaches that the leader uses do still need to be in

line with their values; there is no suggestion of a leader taking the Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde extreme (Stevenson, 1886).

Further, the 'relational transparency' tenet of authentic leadership may not always lead to the best outcomes within the organisation (Ibarra, 2015; Metcalf, 2014; Schultz, 2015). Greater transparency can sometimes cause followers to have less confidence in their leader. Ibarra (2015) outlined how a newly appointed general manager displayed relational transparency by acknowledging her vulnerability to her new team and told them that she felt nervous and "a bit at sea" (Ibarra, 2015, p. 56). She later noted that "sharing her vulnerability with her team members so early on had damaged her standing... instead of building trust, she made people question her ability to do the job" (Ibarra, 2015, p. 56). Ladkin and Taylor (2010) presented an example of a military officer experiencing fear before leading troops into battle. In order to maintain the confidence of the soldiers at such a critical point, it may not necessarily be appropriate to share those feelings and display relational transparency at that moment. Kempster, Iszatt-White, and Brown (2018) acknowledge that leaders may need to hide their emotions in certain situations, but argue this does not necessarily mean the leader is being less authentic. The lens of emotional labour is used and they suggest the component of relational transparency should be reframed to be 'fidelity to purpose'. Relational transparency can be positive in the sense that followers can see that their leaders are also human, which may assist in building rapport. However, it appears from this research that there is a fine line between the right amount of transparency and opaqueness. In these studies, the potential issues for the organisation have not actually been tested; these comments are based on the perceptions of the leader.

2.4.3 - Authentic leadership and my research

The above section discussed the potential for the tenets of 'self-awareness' and 'relational transparency', to not always be in the best interests of the organisation. Depending on the outcome or context in such situations, it may also be the case that these tenets are not always in the best interests of the individual leader either. For example, Ibarra (2015), Metcalf (2014), Schultz (2015) and Ladkin and Taylor (2010) suggested that too much transparency in some situations could lead to reduced credibility for the leader, something which is surely also negative for the individual leader, as well as the organisation. In this case, reduced credibility would likely impact social well-being for the leader due to potentially reduced social acceptance and social contribution. Alternatively, relational transparency may lead to enhanced social integration and social acceptance for the leader, through increased trust and understanding. It would be valuable to learn if and how the women leaders acted with regards to these tenets and, what the effects were on their leadership experience and their social well-being as a result of being (or not being) true to themselves and relationally transparent. Authentic leadership is also examined as part of understanding the women's social well-being.

With a few exceptions (Akhras, 2016; Endrissat et al., 2007; Murphy, 2012; Nyberg & Sveningsson, 2014), there is relatively little empirical evidence that focuses on the leaders' experience of authenticity; especially in comparison to the vast amount of literature focusing on authentic leadership development and the antecedents and

consequences of authentic leadership. It would be useful to gain more empirical insights regarding whether leaders *feel* or *felt* they were authentic in their leadership. Further, much of the literature quantitatively examines the consequences or outcomes of authentic leadership for followers and for the organisation (Borgersen, Hystad, Larrison, & Eid, 2014; Cerne et al., 2014; Jacques et al., 2015; Laschinger, Wong, & Grau, 2012). It would be useful to qualitatively understand the consequences and experiences for leaders of being authentic or not. My research provides further empirical research regarding the leaders' perspectives, and effects on them, of being authentic (or otherwise). The concept of embodied leadership is examined next.

2.5 - Embodied leadership

2.5.1 – Overview of the physicality of leadership

Being an army officer requires a level of physicality that makes the concept of embodied leadership particularly relevant. Embodiment and the relationship between the body and leadership has been studied historically (Hassard, Holliday, & Willmott, 2000; Sinclair, 1994, 2005), yet it is still relatively new to leadership studies (Ladkin & Taylor, 2010). Embodied leadership considers that leadership is a physically based phenomenon and is inextricably linked to the body (Ropo, Sauer, & Salovaara, 2013), requiring an understanding of how that leader's body, and what they do with it, impacts on their leadership. This section discusses this physicality of leadership and explores the literature that has investigated the relationship between the body and leadership. I seek to understand more about the experiences of women leaders with regards to their

bodies; how their bodies look and how their bodies perform. This section discusses how the current research proposes to extend the existing embodied leadership literature.

Embodied leadership literature can be broadly categorised into two streams. There is literature which focuses on the relationship between physical appearance and leadership, and literature which focuses on the relationship between physical acts or activities and leadership. These two streams are explored below, beginning with physical appearance and how the body looks.

2.5.2 - Physical appearance and leadership

Much of the research into the relationship between physicality and leadership has focused on physical appearance. Existing studies have examined physical factors such as dress, grooming, body shape, perceived attractiveness and height. A chronological outline of the key studies in this field is presented in Appendix 4. Recent embodied leadership literature primarily takes an interpretivist approach, using qualitative methods such as interviews and participant observation to uncover information regarding the relationship between the body and leadership (Fitzgerald, 2018; Kelan, 2012; Ladkin, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a, 2016b; O'Neill, 2018; Trethewey, 1999). Photo elicitation has been used in several studies, asking respondents to comment on the leaders' perceived abilities using their photographs (J. Ford, Harding, Gilmore, & Richardson, 2017; Kelan, 2012; von Rueden, Alami, Kaplan, & Gurven, 2018). A positivist approach, utilising quantitative survey methods to test the relationship between height (Judge & Cable, 2004), weight (E. B. King et al., 2016) and perceived attractiveness (Ling,

Luo, & She, 2019) of the leader, and leadership outcomes and perceptions has also been used. The interpretivist studies provide deeper insights into why and how these relationships exist, which is more revelatory compared with the positivist approaches that identify that a relationship does exist.

Findings from the studies in this stream, focusing on physical appearance and how the body looks, can be further divided into two sub-streams; the appearance of the coverings for the body (clothing, hair, make-up, accessories, grooming) and the appearance of the body itself (shape, size, weight, height). The first sub-stream is termed 'dress and grooming' and the second is termed 'physique'. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines physique as the size, shape, form and structure of a person's body (Merriam-Webster, 2018), which is what this sub-stream focuses on.

Dress and grooming

Many of the studies discussed the relationship between dress and grooming, and leadership. The studies in this area regarding dress and grooming, were almost solely focused on women. An exception is Ladkin (2012), who noticed how staff within an organisation she was observing commented on the male CEO's poorly fitted suits and scuffed shoes. In this study, Ladkin (2012) points to the work of Merleau-Ponty (1945) and refers to his notion of reversibility; the senior members react negatively to how the CEO's shabby appearance reflects poorly on them. A second exception is the study by J. Ford et al. (2017); a male manager commented on the importance of creating a good first impression, turning up to work in a new suit (women managers in this study made

similar comments). In Kelan's (2012) study, participants were asked to comment on photographs of both businessmen and businesswomen. When dress of the people in the photographs was discussed, this conversation was almost exclusively regarding the images of the women (Kelan, 2012), so the study then focused on the photographs of businesswomen as opposed to the businessmen. The remaining studies discussed focus solely on the dress and grooming of women leaders (Fitzgerald, 2018; Haynes, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a, 2016b; Trethewey, 1999). Some of the studies further suggested that dress and grooming was more of a consideration and more important, for women leaders than for men (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Fitzgerald, 2018; Haynes, 2012). "I do think how you look and how you sound is important and I think it's more important for a woman than for a man. Men can shuffle up in creased old suits and unpolished shoes but I just don't think you can do that as a girl" (Mavin & Grandy, 2016b, p. 390). The women in Mavin and Grandy's (2016a) study noted that tidy hair was considered in parallel with being organised compared with someone who has messy hair. In a second paper from the same study, Mavin and Grandy (2016b) referred to how their interviewees suggested that women need to 'look the part' to be respected as leaders. Exactly how the 'part' should look was not crystal clear, but it seemed to include dressing in a tidy and fashionable manner, having well-groomed hair and nails and having a slim, fit looking figure. The unclear 'rules' for how women leaders should look could lead to reduced social well-being, through reduced social coherence.

Studies also found it was important for women to not appear too sexual (Kelan, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a; J. K. Smith et al., 2018). Mavin and Grandy (2016a) commented on the need to dress appropriately with regards to covering cleavage to ensure that

breasts are not the focus during a meeting. It appears that women must look smart and attractive, but not too sexually appealing. It was further found that if a woman is perceived as sexually attractive (even if she was not intending to), it is her fault and she is the one who needs to rectify it (Kelan, 2012).

In addition to not appearing too sexual, women leaders must walk a fine line and avoid looking too feminine (floral, floaty), and also, to avoid looking too masculine (male suit) (Fitzgerald, 2018; Haynes, 2012; Johansson, Tienari, & Valtonen, 2017; Kelan, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a, 2016b; Trethewey, 1999). These conclusions parallel the findings regarding the delicate balance between a feminine leadership approach and a masculine leadership approach, which was discussed earlier in this chapter. One of the interviewed women commented on

what troubles me most is what to wear. I need to look formal. I need to look like I know what I'm doing. I am the only woman in the room. I always wear a suit. Sometimes I use a little colour, like a scarf, it helps me feel brighter but then when I see all the men in sombre suits I feel frivolous. It reminded me I was not one of them and never could be (Fitzgerald, 2018, p. 5).

This comment suggests reduced social well-being. Having a woman's body and wearing women's clothing made her feel like she could never be truly socially integrated or socially accepted.

Maintaining the 'correct' balance between looking feminine, but not too feminine; looking attractive, but not too sexual; looking the 'part', but not having clear guidelines for what the 'part' looks like, suggests a minefield for women leaders when it comes to

their decisions regarding their dress and grooming. If the woman does not get this 'right', it could impact her feelings of social integration and social acceptance, while simultaneously impacting on her social coherence due to the unclear 'rules'. The next section focuses on physique (size, shape, form and structure of a person's body) and leaders.

Physique

Empirical studies suggest that physical factors such as body shape, weight and height have an impact on perceptions of leadership. After controlling for gender, height was found to be positively related to income (Judge & Cable, 2004; Keys, 1980) and positions of management (Egolf & Corder, 1991). Stulp, Buunk, Verhulst, and Pollet (2013), Masur, Masur, and Keating (1984) and Gawley, Perks, and Curtis (2009) found that height was positively related to authority and career success. One woman lawyer specifically commented on the benefits associated with her tall height (Haynes, 2012). A woman executive in Johansson et al.'s (2017) study talked about wearing high heel shoes for the purpose of appearing taller and therefore, more formidable. In this case the high heels are used to achieve a masculine purpose of appearing tall.

In addition to height, there are several quantitative studies that focus on the relationship between the size, in terms of weight, of the body and leadership. This is not referring specifically to the leader's weight in kilograms, because muscle weighs more than fat. Weight is however, considered an appropriate term when judging whether a person appears to be fat or oversized and, according to these studies, therefore considered to

be unfit. A British study noted that the judgement of a person's level of health and fitness, is usually based on their body shape, even though this is not always correct (Kirk & Colquhoun, 1989). Regardless of the accuracy of this judgement, leader's fitness levels appear to be judged on whether the leader looks fat or not; there is discourse suggesting that a slim body equates to a fit body which equates to a healthy body (Webb, Quennerstedt, & Ohman, 2008).

Mavin and Grandy (2016a), did not ask specific questions about the body and appearance, yet the women frequently made mention of the body with regards to leadership. Being overweight was considered to be a disadvantage by these women. According to the interviewed women, weight is connected with self-discipline and being fit demonstrates control. This was similar to findings by Philips and Drummond (2001), Haynes (2012) and Johansson et al. (2017). Trethewey (1999) summarised that a professional body is a fit body and that a leader with a fit body demonstrates they can take care of themselves and therefore, have the capacity to take care of their followers. The women noted that a fit body suggests that the person can endure the requirements of the job. In addition to self-control, the ability to cope with frequent travel (Merilainen, Tienari, & Valtonen, 2015), having 'stamina' (Merilainen et al., 2015), as well as energy and competitiveness (Johansson et al., 2017) were also associated with the need for a leader's body to be fit. Therefore, a body that looks unfit can cause people to believe that the leader lacks self-discipline and therefore lacks the ability to satisfactorily look after their staff, cope with travel and demonstrate the required level of energy, creating an impact on their social contribution.

The judgement of leaders' fit (or unfit) bodies may be more relevant to some professions compared with others. Body shape (in terms of looking fit) is likely to be more important for leaders working in the health sector (van Amsterdam, Claringbould, & Knoppers, 2017), such as fitness leaders (Philips & Drummond, 2001) or physical education teachers (Webb et al., 2008), where bodies are a focus of their role. However, other studies have suggested that the importance for a leader to look fit prevails beyond these sectors and across the corporate sector (Johansson et al., 2017; E. B. King et al., 2016; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a, 2016b; Merilainen et al., 2015; Trethewey, 1999).

The studies regarding dress and grooming appeared to be primarily focused on women leaders. Further, those findings suggested that dress and grooming is more important for women leaders compared to male leaders. Studies examining the relationship between physique and leadership however, appear to be more evenly spread across the genders with many of the studies including both men and women (Johansson et al., 2017; E. B. King et al., 2016; Merilainen et al., 2015; von Rueden et al., 2018; Webb et al., 2008). While these studies include both men and women, some research has suggested that attitudes towards the body are gendered (Haynes, 2008). Further, women's bodies are more fiercely scrutinised and judged more harshly compared with the bodies of men (Brewis & Sinclair, 2000; E. B. King et al., 2016; Levay, 2013; Puhl & Heuer, 2009; van Amsterdam et al., 2017). An example of this is a study where income disadvantages were found for women with excess body weight, but not for men (Sarlio-Lahteenkorva, Silventoinen, & Lahelma, 2004). It has been argued that this spotlight on women leaders' bodies is because women's bodies (and also non-white bodies) are considered as 'other' and therefore much more visible compared to the white man's

body, which is considered as the norm (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Butler, 1993; Fitzgerald, 2018; Johansson et al., 2017; Kenny & Bell, 2011; Liu, 2015; Merilainen et al., 2015; O'Neill, 2018; Puwar, 2004; Trethewey, 1999; Wolkowitz, 2012). The white male leader's body can enjoy a degree of invisibility, whereas women's bodies stand out and are considered in contrast to the 'normal' leader (Sinclair, 2013). A woman's presence is manifested in her appearance and actions (Berger, 1972). Further, men's clothing (typically a suit) can hide unfit bodies more easily than women's clothing can (Trethewey, 1999). Women's bodies are also judged differently in different situations. For example, a 'butch' body may be useful for a woman football player and this may generate physical capital for her in the sporting arena, but not outside of it (Caudwell, 2003). A male football player is less likely to experience this double judgment. The women leaders' 'other' body status can reduce their feelings of social integration and social acceptance, especially if their physique does not appear fit.

It is clear from these studies that women leaders are judged by their physical appearance (dress and grooming) and their body shape (physique), not just their ability and it is reasonable to suggest that this judgement impacts their social well-being. The next section examines the other broad stream in the field of embodied leadership; the relationship between leadership and physical acts and activities, or how the body performs.

2.5.3 - Physical performance and leadership

Literature in this area examines what the leader does with their body, as opposed to the previous section, which examined how the leader's body looks. A chronological outline of key studies in this stream is presented in Appendix 5. Studies of embodied leadership investigate what the leader does with their body. This includes acts such as: how the leader moves, how the leader stands and how the leader connects their body to others. For example, Ladkin (2008) discusses the way in which a musician leader uses his body during a concert to achieve a sense of inclusiveness and openness. In another paper, she explores how a CEO's body movements, such as walking past his staff without greeting them and lacking eye contact, is judged negatively by his staff (Ladkin, 2012). Bradford (2017) discusses the concept of BeWeDō, where leaders offer their hand (and the partner holds the wrist); the leader and follower move together while discussing an idea, allowing for mutual acknowledgement and connectedness. Fitzgerald (2018) makes brief mention of the importance for woman leaders to have a 'careful' posture. These studies appear to examine acts and activities which are not related to physical ability or physical performance. In my research, physical performance refers to athletic physical and fitness performance; strength, robustness, endurance and speed. According to the dictionary (Merriam-Webster, 2018), there are two primary definitions of performance; how well a person or machine does a piece of work and, the action of providing entertainment by dancing, acting or singing. Given the inclusion of the reference involving a musician at a concert (which is clearly the latter definition of performance), it is important to emphasise that I am using the first definition of performance when referring to physical performance going forward; how well a leader performs a physically

athletic task such as running or carrying heavy weight. These outlined studies focus on the relationship between physical acts and leadership, that (assuming the leader is able-bodied) are not dependant on the leader's physical abilities (fitness, strength, robustness, endurance and speed). They are not related to the leaders' physical performance. This next section discusses literature which examines the relationship between physical performance and leadership.

The reason for exploring this stream of literature is twofold. Firstly, the previous section revealed the prevalence of a discourse surrounding the requirements for leaders' bodies to *look* fit. This section takes a step further and explores discourse surrounding the requirements for leaders' bodies to *be* fit. Secondly, this stream of embodied leadership is highly relevant to women officers in the NZ Army. Physical performance (fitness, strength, robustness, endurance and speed) is extremely important for leaders in the NZ Army. The studies in this area, which are limited, are examined below.

In the section above, it was found that it was desirable for a leader to have a fit body. The studies which led to this finding were based on the *appearance* of fitness (without actual knowledge of their fitness levels). Therefore, the findings in the studies which examined the actual fitness (physical performance) of the leader are aligned with the findings in the studies which examined fitness according to body appearance; a fit body is desired in a leader because it demonstrates they are disciplined, have self-control, have stamina, energy, competitiveness and are able to cope with the demands of frequent travel.

Further supporting the concept of a fit body demonstrating self-control and self-discipline, Costas, Blagoev, and Karreman (2016) illustrate how management consultants actively participate in extreme sports and fitness activities. This is to mould their bodies and to construct their professional identities as aspiring and in control (Johansson et al., 2017). By undertaking high levels of fitness activities, in an attempt to attain sculpted bodies, these leaders are able to demonstrate their autonomy over their own body and their high levels of self-control. In addition, persevering in extreme sports provides these leaders with an opportunity to inspire others, and for others to be impressed with their achievements. A Finnish study examined the concept of managerial athleticism (Johansson et al., 2017) among men and women executives. Some of the participants found that physical performance was linked with positive perceptions of their leadership ability. One participant commented on how their staff admired them as a leader, due to their impressive running records; the leader then became more purposeful with their running training (Johansson et al., 2017). Finnish executive head hunters favourably judged candidates who had a sporting or military background due to their physical attributes. This is not because the executives need to be good at sport, or capable of military training, in order to do their actual day-to-day job. The executives spend most of their day in an office environment, wearing business attire; they are not playing sports, or undertaking military activities. However, the fact that the executives demonstrate, through experience listed in their curriculum vitae, this physical performance and ability, leads the head hunters to believe that these candidates are capable of taking on a large and demanding work load, without complaint (Merilainen et al., 2015).

A Scandinavian study outlined how women executives participate in physical activities in order to prove themselves and demonstrate their ability to the men (Johansson et al., 2017). When talking about health, fitness and sports, women regularly compare themselves to men. A CEO in a food industry company commented on how she was able to become 'one of the boys' due to her talents in the executive cross-country skiing club and this allowed her to compete with the male executives on a more even playing field (Johansson et al., 2017). Another woman in the study commented;

the funny thing is that they [men] are not that impressed by the intellect of their female colleagues or superiors, for example, in terms of academic degrees. However, they are impressed by women's physical and athletic achievements. So my athletic performance is a way for me to gain respect from my male colleagues (Johansson et al., 2017, p. 1157).

These women may stand out as 'other' in the office environment, due to their female body and their female clothing. However, the women feel they are able to reduce this 'gap' between the male norm and the female 'other' on the ski field by competing alongside men. This example of competing on an 'even playing field' is interesting, because the physical arena is not generally considered a space where men and women are even. In fact, the physical arena generally lends a greater advantage to men, where their physiology provides them greater strength and aerobic capacity (Allison, Keenan, & Sell, 2015; Epstein, Yanovich, Moran, & Heled, 2013; Lassek & Gaulin, 2009; Nindl, Jones, Van Arsdale, & Kelly, 2016). In this example however, the woman CEO presumably has equal skill and physical performance in cross-country skiing to her male counterparts, presenting her with the opportunity to use her physical performance to enhance her position as a leader among men. In this study, the women executives

participate in typically masculine sporting activities; performing managerial athleticism in line with masculine norms (Johansson et al., 2017).

Women leaders often take on more of the domestic responsibilities (Gurven, Winking, Kaplan, von Rueden, & McAllister, 2009), leaving less time to perform and practice managerial athleticism. Aside from physiological differences between men and women, men compared to women, tend to have greater access to a partner who can take primary care of children and domestic responsibilities. This allows male leaders more freedom than women leaders to participate in physical training and sporting activities outside of working hours (Johansson et al., 2017).

The studies above are all situated in the corporate sector (Costas et al., 2016; Johansson et al., 2017; Merilainen et al., 2015). Interestingly, they are also all conducted in Scandinavia, suggesting an interest for this topic in Scandinavian countries compared with other nations. While the leader's physical performance outside of the workplace earns them a degree of credibility, admiration or respect within the workplace, it is likely they would still be able to do their job as a leader without this level of physical performance.

This is in contrast to the military, where physical performance *is* essential. Personnel have to pass fitness tests to join and remain in the military. There are daily functions of the role of the NZ Army officer that require physical performance; lifting, carrying, running, pulling and climbing. Further, in the field, military leaders regularly have to endure physical discomforts such as: lack of shelter from the weather, limited food,

limited sleep, injuries, body fatigue and limited hygiene facilities. In the Army, physical performance as a leader is critical. Fisher and Robbins (2014) focused on male Australian military members in Vietnam and examined some of these factors. From interpreting the original transcripts, they noted that the leader's credibility was founded in the control, use and manipulation of their body (Fisher & Robbins, 2014). The physical performance of the body was inextricably linked to that leader's effectiveness. An example from this study outlined a story where a platoon commander had been shot in the leg. He refused to be removed from the field until he had ensured the security of his unit. "The physical stress of these combat leadership experiences obligated the Australian leaders in Vietnam to exhibit tremendous bodily manipulation and control in order to be effective" (Fisher & Robbins, 2014, p. 290). This is a sound example of the requirement for a leader in the Army to demonstrate physical performance. They have to endure significant pain and discomfort in order to complete their required tasks.

A Scandinavian study (Vaara, Viskari, Kyrolainen, & Santtila, 2016) focusing on women in the Finnish Defence Forces (FDF) examined the perceptions and attitudes of female soldiers toward physical performance and fitness standards in the military. This study used a positivist survey approach and the results are useful in gauging the importance of physical performance for women military leaders. Firstly, 96% of the women responded that physical fitness is important in the military. For some perspective on the military, it is unlikely that 96% of executives would feel the same way in the Scandinavian corporate organisations, even the firms that champion managerial athleticism. In the FDF, the fitness test is exactly the same for both men and women. Approximately half of the women felt there should be different standards for men and for women and

nearly half of the women felt that the same standards being applied to both genders creates inequality. However, 42% of the women felt that lowering the fitness standards for women would cause their male colleagues to show less respect (Vaara et al., 2016). Further, women who were less fit or overweight, experienced bullying and discrimination in relation to their physical fitness. This is another unique example in the field of embodied leadership and also reflects reduced social well-being for those who do not perform highly in the physical arena. My research seeks to understand the role that being physically fit had on the social well-being of women officers who have left the NZ Army.

2.6 - Chapter summary

This chapter critically discussed the concept of social well-being (Keyes, 1998), which is the over-arching theoretical framework for this research. The social well-being model consists of five components: social integration, social acceptance, social contribution, social actualisation and social coherence. Given that this research is focusing on the social well-being of women military leaders; literature examining the experiences of women leaders was discussed, followed by literature specifically examining the experiences of women and women leaders in the military. Women leaders noted how they had experienced discrimination and the glass ceiling (Brinia, 2011; Dhar, 2008; Diehl, 2014; Haber, 2011; Johnson & Tunheim, 2016; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Lord & Preston, 2009; Maleta, 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Patterson et al., 2012; Tariq & Syed, 2017; Titus, 2011; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016; Weidenfeller, 2012), as well as difficulties

balancing work and non-work commitments such as family responsibilities (Brinia, 2011; Dhar, 2008; Diehl, 2014; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Tariq & Syed, 2017; Titus, 2011). Several of the studies suggested that some women leaders leveraged their feminine qualities (Brinia, 2011; Brown & Light, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Patterson et al., 2012). Others however, noted how women had to adapt their leadership approach to one which men were more comfortable with (Haber, 2011; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010). Women leaders had to consistently prove their abilities (Dhar, 2008; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016; Weidenfeller, 2012) and having mentors (Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016) and networks (Elliott & Stead, 2008; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Weidenfeller, 2012) was useful.

The chapter then discussed how the military has a hyper-masculine culture. Women in the military have to carefully navigate this masculine environment (Brosnan, 2015; Herbert, 1998; Karazi-Presler et al., 2017; Linehagen, 2018; Silva, 2008; Werder, 2018; R. Woodward & Winter, 2007) and balance both feminine and masculine approaches. The military imposes several challenges upon its members, including the requirements to deploy to dangerous and uncomfortable locations, and spend long periods of time away from their families (Bridger et al., 2013; Shelley et al., 2011). In addition to the challenges of deployments, posting and stress, women in the military experience additional challenges. These included harassment and discrimination (Estrada & Berggren, 2009; Harris, 2009; Mengeling et al., 2014; Sims et al., 2005) and lack of flexibility to balance work and family commitments (Bridger et al., 2013; Harris, 2009;

MOD, 2014). All of these challenges suggest that women leaders, including women leaders in the military, may experience low levels of social well-being.

This chapter then explored authentic leadership and its tenets (Peterson, Walumbwa, Avolio, & Hannah, 2012; Walumbwa et al., 2008), as it was found that women leaders often feel they need to adapt their leadership approach to one which may be less authentic to them. This research contributes to this field by examining authentic leadership from the perspective of the leader. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the literature focusing on embodied leadership, specifically the physicality of leadership. The importance of being physically fit in the NZ Army was explored. The majority of the studies in this field examined the relationship between surface level factors such as body shape (Mavin & Grandy, 2016a; Pullen & Vachhani, 2013) and dress and attractiveness (Kelan, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016b; Waskul & Vannini, 2013), and leadership. The existing studies have primarily been in a corporate setting; the physicality of leadership in a military setting includes many additional factors, such as fitness and strength.

The over-arching theoretical framework for this research is social well-being and the over-arching question that this research addresses is: how socially well were women

officers while serving in the NZ Army? The subsidiary research questions which enable this question to be answered are:

- How did NZ Army recruiting video advertisements contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Four)?
- How did the experiences of marginalisation and discrimination contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Five)?
- How did the experiences of authentic leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Six)?
- How did the experiences of embodied leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Seven)?

This research applies the social well-being model to the experiences of women leaders, specifically those women leaders who have served within the masculine hegemonic environment of the NZ Army. The research makes a theoretical contribution by examining the intersection of the theoretical concepts of social well-being and authentic leadership, as well as the intersection of social well-being and embodied leadership. The next chapter, Chapter Three, discusses the methodology.

3.0 – Methodology

3.1 - Philosophical Approach

This chapter discusses the methodology used in this research. An overview of my philosophical approach is presented, followed by a detailed account of the methods undertaken.

3.1.1 - Overview

Ontological assumptions lead to epistemological approaches which then lead to methodological considerations (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). Ontology refers to the study of the nature of reality (Crotty, 1998; Schwandt, 2001). In general, I hold that there are two broadly opposing ontological assumptions. Realism assumes that there is a social reality and that it is independent, or external, to the members of society. The 'truth' of objects lie in the object itself and the truth is independent and free from the influence of any actors (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The real world is assumed to have stable and law-like structures (Habermas, 1972; Lather, 1991; Ma, 2015).

In contrast, nominalism assumes that social reality is relative. It suggests that objects have no inherent meaning in themselves; subjects project meaning onto those objects (Crotty, 1998). Further, social reality is not independent of the members of that society, but emerges as a product of their relationships. The aim of this research is to develop an understanding of how socially well women officers were, while serving in the NZ

Army. I do not believe that there is a 'single truth' to explain these experiences and therefore, this research is based on nominalist ontology.

Epistemology considers the ways of knowing, or how knowledge can be acquired (Creswell, 2016; Schwandt, 2001; Tai & Ajjawi, 2016). It underpins what is acceptable knowledge and the justification of that knowledge (Bryman & Bell, 2011). In general, I concur with the position that there are two broadly opposing epistemological approaches; positivism and interpretivism. A realist ontological assumption is often linked with a positivist approach. Positivists hold, that society is similar to the physical world in that it operates in accordance with general laws (Ma, 2015). They suggest that there is a single truth (Creswell, 2016; Habermas, 1972; Lather, 1991). Positivists hold that the world is made up of elements that are distinct and interact in a manner that is consistent (Collins, 2011). If a 'purely' positivist approach is taken, it means that the researcher aspires to be completely independent from the research which they claim makes social reality objective (N. Lee, 2008; Wilson, 2010). Positivist researchers often seek to establish causal relationships between variables in an attempt to obtain a single truth.

In contrast to positivism, nominalist ontological assumptions generally assume an interpretivist epistemological approach. Interpretivism was developed in part as a response to positivism. As positivism uses a numeric language, seeking to find uniform rules and formulas to explain and forecast human behavior, it does not factor in context and it assumes that social life is constant (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). In contrast to positivists, interpretivists believe that reality is both multiple and relative (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988).

It is socially constructed rather than objectively determined (Carson, Gilmore, Perry, & Gronhaug, 2001; Edirisingha, 2012). Unlike positivism, interpretivism does not aim to generalise and predict cause and effect relationships (Neuman, 2000). Interpretivist epistemology assumes that researchers cannot detach themselves from what they have experienced and what they know. The object they are investigating is inextricably linked with themselves as the researcher (Edirisingha, 2012). With interpretivism, it is suggested that the researcher and reality are inseparable, whereas for positivism, it is assumed they are separate (Weber, 2004).

In line with my nominalist ontological position, this research takes an interpretivist epistemological approach. Understanding the social well-being of women officers who have left the NZ Army does not lead to one distinct, objective, truth. My aim is to understand the various idiosyncratic, but also similar realities of the women. This is achieved by obtaining accounts of their subjective experiences. The experiences are not independent of human projections; the experiences are categorically influenced by social actors. Further, my subjective knowledge of the phenomena is critically valuable to the research, rather than a bias. In the present study, my views, understandings and experiences as a woman officer who has left the NZ Army shape and inform the research. It is not possible or even desirable, to separate myself from the research.

In general, a realist ontological assumption leads to a positivist epistemological approach, which leads to a quantitative methodology. Quantitative methodology uses a scientific approach. Social phenomena are investigated using mathematical and statistical techniques (Given, 2008; Mackey & Gass, 2011). Data is usually collected in

the form of numbers or numerical scores. Surveys and experiments are a regular instrument for data collection (Cohen et al., 2011).

In contrast, interpretivists more often adopt a qualitative methodological approach (Bryman & Bell, 2011). This includes techniques such as interviews and participant observation. The researcher co-creates meaning with the participants and narrative reporting is often used. It is useful for answering questions relating to 'why' or 'how', as opposed to 'what', which is more common in quantitative studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The aim can include seeking an interpretation from a particular group about their experiences (Ma, 2015). With a qualitative approach such as an interview, it is normal to ask open ended questions such as: "tell me how that made you feel", or "tell me more about that incident", or "why did you make that decision?" This provides the participant with considerably more scope to give a detailed response in comparison to simply ticking a box in a questionnaire. In order to illicit such detail, the interview technique used and approach taken is important and this is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Creswell (1998) also argues that a qualitative approach is most suitable when the researcher seeks to understand a complex issue from the participants' points of view. Therefore, this methodology is not just preferred, it is essential, to fulfil the aim of my research. Qualitative techniques provide a greater level of depth and understanding of the social well-being of women officers who have left the NZ Army.

Further, qualitative research can also be useful when there is limited information available about the topic being investigated (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009). While literature exists regarding the experiences of women leaders in general, and some

experiences of women and women leaders in the military, there is very limited information available that specifically focuses on the experiences of women officers in general, or those who have left the NZ Army. Further, I found no social well-being research that examines the experiences of women military leaders. Therefore, qualitative research is suitable. In summary, this research is grounded in the ontological assumption of nominalism, the epistemological approach of interpretivism, adopts a case study approach and uses qualitative methods. The next section examines the methodological framework and the decision to use a case study approach.

3.1.2 - Methodological framework: Case study

A case study is a research method that examines a phenomenon within its natural setting using multiple sources of data (Yin, 2003). A single case is studied intensively and in detail (Borg & Gall, 1983; Bryman & Bell, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Flyvbjerg, 2011; Larrinaga, 2017; White, Drew, & Hay, 2009; Willis, 2007). The case study has been widely used in business research (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) and many accomplished studies in business and management research have used this design (Bryman & Bell, 2011), as well as numerous other fields as it enhances the researchers' ability to understand a given phenomenon in a real-life setting (Meyer, 2001).

The case must have parameters for what is considered inside the case and what is considered outside the case. It can include one individual, a group of people or an organisation. The case can span over a short moment, or a long period of time. The case can focus on a single event, or it can investigate several events at a single site or location.

Regardless, the case is bounded (Creswell, 2016). When following a case study approach, data is collected from multiple sources. This can include sources such as: interviews, observations, visual material and documents (Creswell, 2016). Knights and McCabe (1997) suggest an advantage of utilising several different methods for data collection is that less reliance is placed on one source of data. Once a case study is completed, a case is produced. This includes an analysis of the multiple sources of data. The case is described in detail and themes are presented as they inductively emerge from the various data sources (Stake, 1995). The case study presents an examination of the specific, bounded, phenomenon, using thick descriptive data (Willis, 2007). The reader of a case study should come away with an in-depth understanding of the topic being researched (Creswell, 2016).

Within the case study framework, there is some contention regarding the different types of case studies and the research rigor criteria that is used. Yin (2003) distinguishes between five types of case studies: the critical, unique, revelatory, representative and longitudinal case. Of these options, the revelatory case is most applicable to my study; this is where the investigator aims to analyse a phenomenon. Bryman and Bell (2011) note that much of the qualitative case study research, that has an inductive approach, is generally classified as revelatory. B. Lee, Collier, and Cullen (2007) and Piekari, Welsh, and Paavilainen (2009) suggest that case study traditions developed by Yin (1984) and Eisenhardt (1989) are quite narrow and are dominated by a positivist methodological framework. Stake (1995) offers an alternative classification; intrinsic, instrumental and multiple case studies, and acknowledges that the distinction between categories is often blurred. My study fits best into Stake's (1995) intrinsic category, as I am aiming to

develop an insight into one particular case. This is in contrast to instrumental where the aim is to understand a broader issue, or the use of multiple case studies to examine a broader phenomenon.

With regards to research design criteria such as validity, reliability and replicability, there is division on the degree of importance these criteria play in case study research. Yin (2003) considers these criteria as appropriate, whereas Stake (1995) barely considers them as important. The external validity, or generalisability, criteria suggests that case study research would be representative and able to generate findings that can be applied more generally to other situations (Bryman & Bell, 2011). B. Lee et al. (2007), however, “suggest that particularization rather than generalization constitutes the main strength of case studies. The goal of case study analysis should, therefore, be to concentrate on the uniqueness of the case and to develop a deep understanding of its complexity” (Bryman & Bell, 2011, p. 61) as opposed to determining universal meanings. Willis (2007) and Piekari et al. (2009) also hold the view that case studies do not seek to find universals and instead seek an in-depth understanding of the specific context they are studying. Given my philosophical view discussed above and my argument for the benefits of a qualitative methodological approach, I am broadly following the case study concept advocated by Stake (1995), B. Lee et al. (2007) and Piekari et al. (2009), in contrast to strictly following the approach of Yin (1984) and Eisenhardt (1989). Academic rigor is important in my research and it will be discussed later in this chapter, however, with regards to generalisability, my aim is to focus on the particularities of my case, in detail, as opposed to focusing on applying these findings to other cases. Further, it is worth noting that while my data analysis is inductive with regards to identifying

themes, I am not conducting inductive research from the point of view of theory generation, such as grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The case study framework, using an interpretivist approach is suitable for my research. It allows me to focus on women officers who have left the NZ Army, and to present my findings using thick descriptions.

My case study seeks to understand the social well-being of women officers who have left the NZ Army. I am not however seeking to understand the social well-being experiences of all women officers who have left the NZ Army, ever. I want to examine a specific group of women officers, bounded by time. My case study explores the social well-being of women officers who have left the NZ Army; specifically, those who served between 2000 and 2018.

This case study period was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, my own service in the NZ Army was from January 2003 to April 2013 and I am interested to understand the social well-being experiences of other women officers who served during a similar period. Secondly, from 2000, the NZ Army removed all restrictions regarding which corps women are eligible to serve in. The women in my case study have served during a time where they were eligible to join any corps, regardless of their gender. While I know from experience that cultural barriers still existed after the year 2000, the removal of documented barriers was a significant milestone for the NZ Army. Therefore, the women in my case study research have a unique and differentiated experience compared with women who predominantly served in the NZ Army prior to 2000, as well as compared

to women in other ABCANZ armies. The next section of this chapter examines my research methods.

3.2 - Research methods

3.2.1 - Data sources

I am using three data sources within the case study. The first source of data is insider research; I am a member of the group. My second source of data is publicly available recruiting videos that were used by the NZ Army ahead of these women joining; videos used during the 1990s and 2000s. My primary source of data is then from interviewing women officers who have left the NZ Army, and who served this century. The diagram below depicts these three sources.

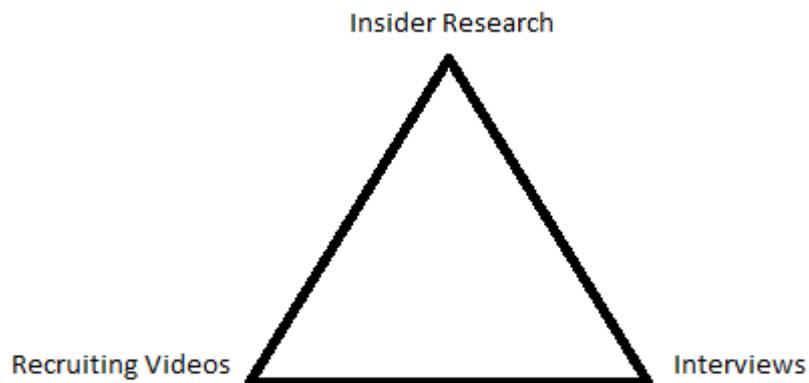


Figure 2: Three sources of data

The methods associated with the collection and analysis of each of these data sources are discussed in more detail below.

Insider research

My experience is the first source of data. I am a member of the group being studied; I am a woman officer who has left the NZ Army. Insider research refers to the conduct of research where the researcher is a member of the group being studied and has an intimate knowledge of the context of that organisation, group or community (Adler & Adler, 1987; Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Greene, 2013; Teusner, 2016). Insider research has received criticism for not achieving the standards of academic rigor such as objectivity, due to the personal and emotional investment that the researcher has in the setting (Alvesson, 2003; G. L. Anderson & Herr, 1999; Brannick & Coghlan, 2007). Conversely, it has been argued that a researcher who is an outsider does not have the same intuitive ability to comprehend the experiences of those within the group (Merton, 1972).

Brannick and Coghlan (2007) outline several challenges with insider research, the first being access. While the researcher may be a member of the group being studied, that does not automatically give them access to all the data they need. From an organisational perspective, being in one department may prevent access to data in another department. Alternatively, being at one level or rank, may prevent access to members at a different level or rank; in these instances, an outsider may obtain better data than an insider. With my research, I am no longer pursuing a career with the NZ Army. From the insider research perspective, I am not referring to being a member of the NZ Army; I am referring to being a member of the group being studied; this group is

women officers who have left the NZ Army. While rank is no longer applicable once people leave the Army, it can be common for ex-serving members to still treat each other in line with their former ranks. For example, I am still very respectful and polite to ex-serving officers who held a higher rank than me. Interviewing people at different rank levels, even if they are no longer in the military, could limit access in some circumstances, in terms of how candidly the interviewee may converse with the interviewer. This was not an issue however, for my research. The majority of my research participants left the NZ Army at the rank of Captain, or below. As I left at the rank of Captain, I was not interviewing women too far from my own rank. Further, there was not the instance of me interviewing someone who was previously my superior or subordinate. The access point was more of a benefit than a challenge for this research, as I had connections with several women officers who have left the NZ Army; this assisted with finding access to suitable participants.

The next challenge outlined is preunderstanding due to personal experience (Gummesson, 2000), and is viewed as valuable by Reinharz (1992). There are both advantages and disadvantages of this preunderstanding. An insider has a deep understanding of the history and the behaviours and attitudes of those within the group (Edwards, 1999; Galea, 2009; Nielsen & Repstad, 1993). The insider knows what can and cannot be talked about (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007) and has an instinctual understanding of the language, including colloquialisms and acronyms, used (Dhattiwala, 2017). Further, when conducting the interview, an insider knows the organisation's jargon and acronyms, and they have lived through many of the same experiences, allowing them to interpret responses quickly and ask useful follow up questions (Brannick & Coghlan,

2007). From my perspective, I know how the NZ Army works. I know the rank structure and the 'isms' and peculiarities associated with it. I know what training is involved and what the physical component of the NZ Army involves. I know the unwritten rules and I know what it is like to be on a deployment. I found this to be highly valuable when conducting interviews. The participants knew that I also served in the NZ Army, so they did not have to spend time in the interview describing army life to me; they knew that I knew this already. This helped to establish rapport more quickly (Ross, 2017) and allowed the women to proceed directly into the deep material that I was looking for. This interview benefit has been noted by others when outlining the advantages of insider research (Hannabus, 2000; Hanson, 2013; Hockey, 1993; Labaree, 2002; Probert, 2009). I had personally been interviewed about the NZ Army in the past, by civilians, and I know that much of the interview was taken up with surface level topics and explanations about the NZ Army. I consciously withheld some of my thoughts regarding certain topics in a way that I would likely not have done if the interviewer had also been a woman army officer.

There are also some potential pitfalls of having this preunderstanding and this requires rigorous reflection to reduce this risk (Argyris, Putnam, & Smith, 1985; Dhattiwala, 2017; Hodgkinson, 2005). It is possible for an insider to assume too much during an interview and not probe as deeply as they might if they did not have a pre-understanding (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007). There is a risk that an insider may downplay or brush over topics raised in the interview (Brekhus, 1998; Hockey, 1993; Mercer, 2007; van Heugten, 2004). To reduce this risk, I was very stringent with my questioning and took care not to lead the participants based on my experiences. Several of the women asked about the

interviews I had conducted ahead of theirs' and I was careful not to discuss other participants' responses during the interview. A technique used by Teusner (2016) and suggested by Mannay (2010), Platt (1981), M. Simmons (2007) and Hockey (1993) was to ask participants to elaborate 'just for the record' each time the respondent suggested that the interviewer knew what they were talking about (Kanuha, 2000). This helped with avoiding taken-for-granted assumptions and brushing over topics. I adopted this technique, but only to the extent that it did not derail the flow of the interview and then undo some of the benefits of being an insider. Detailed documenting of self-reflexivity can also assist (Reinharz, 1992). In keeping with this, I wrote journal notes after each interview. I re-read my journal notes on several occasions and some of these notes informed the vignettes which are discussed further below. An example of a section from my journal is included in Appendix 6. In addition to taking steps to ensure methodological reflexivity, Chapter Eight provides closing remarks to address epistemic reflexivity, which addresses and analyses my own belief systems (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007).

The next challenge refers to role duality, where it can be difficult at times for the researcher to augment their normal role within the organisation or group, alongside their research role (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Hanson, 2013; Mikecz, 2012). This challenge is less relevant to me, as the group which I am a member of, are not co-located. We do not work together and we are now spread across the globe. This is a challenge more relevant to insider researchers who are employed in the same organisation they are researching.

The final challenge noted by Brannick and Coghlan (2007) is managing organisational politics. If the findings of the research place the organisation or its members in a negative light, publishing these results could potentially cause significant issues; possible career derailment or loss of friendships within the organisation, group or community. While I am temporarily employed by the NZ Army to report on my findings from this research, I am no longer pursuing an NZ Army career. Therefore, career derailment is not a relevant issue.

By being an insider to this research, I provide a source of data in two ways. Firstly, I have written my story and have provided some insights for the reader about recruiting, training and roles for an officer in the NZ Army in Chapter One. My insights are also included in the findings and discussion chapters (Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven) and the conclusion (Chapter Eight) in the form of vignettes, and are written in *italics*. Secondly, by being an insider, I was able to strengthen the data obtained from the participants as a result of my status as an insider. The next section turns to the second source of data collection; recruiting videos.

Recruiting videos

The second source of data was NZ Army recruiting videos that were used between 1990 and 2009. Analysing the recruiting material in use prior to the interviewees joining the NZ Army provides an overview of the context at that time and the types of messages used by the NZ Army during that period.

Gathering the data

This section examines the process undertaken to gather the recruiting material. The NZ Army Museum in Waiouru have limited records up to the 1980s; a timeframe which is outside the scope of this project. Another avenue was the Defence Recruiting Organisation (DRO). DRO, along with their Archives section, did not have any records of previous recruiting advertising campaigns. Defence Public Relations indicated they were not able to assist. Therefore, in order to gather recruiting advertising material used by the NZ Army during the 1990s and 2000s, a thorough search of Google, Youtube and Vimeo occurred. This was aided by the fact that I can still remember the majority of the campaigns used during these two decades. The search for, and analysis of, these videos occurred in early 2016, two years prior to conducting the interviews. While extensive efforts were made to develop a comprehensive record of the recruiting campaigns used by the NZ Army during this period, the campaigns included for analysis may not be exhaustive. However, they do represent the majority of the campaigns and are a comprehensive examination of the 'types' of messages used in NZ Army recruiting campaigns during the 1990s and 2000s.

Most of the recruiting campaigns during this twenty-year period used a variety of media such as: television, radio, newspaper, internet, poster, brochure, web banners and billboards. I saw and heard many of these during this time period. The internet video advertisements are the most encompassing, as they provide the full story with both audio and visual and are used to outline and analyse the recruiting campaigns during this period.

Analysing the videos

The representation of women in the NZ Army recruiting videos is analysed using two methods. In a similar manner to how researchers have examined the differences in media portrayals of men and women athletes (Billings, Angelini, & Duke, 2010; Bishop, 2003; Eagleman, Burch, & Vooris, 2014; Greer, Hardin, & Homan, 2009) this study examines the differences in the portrayals of men and women in NZ Army recruiting campaigns.

Firstly, the analysis identifies the gender of the primary subject. When the video contains multiple clips, then the primary military subject or military 'star' of each clip is identified. The person is identified as a 'star' if they appear to be the main focus of the clip, as opposed to being an 'extra'. This is to determine the number of military women 'stars' used in NZ Army recruiting material compared with the number of military men 'stars'. Clavio and Eagleman (2011) used a similar method when coding the gender of the primary subject when investigating images on sports blogs. Several studies in this field found that men athletes received more media coverage than women athletes (Angelini, MacArthur, & Billings, 2012; Clavio & Eagleman, 2011; Greer et al., 2009; C. King, 2007; Vincent & Crossman, 2012).

The second technique was to identify the clothing worn and activity being performed by the women and men in the NZ Army recruiting material. This was coded using the following framework:

Table 2: Coding of recruiting videos according to clothing worn and activity performed

Combat	Wearing camouflage uniform and carrying a weapon
Non-combat and non-administration (mid-way)	* Not carrying a weapon * Doing a physical activity, such as exercise or being outside * Doing a trade task * Giving orders
Physical Training, non-camouflage	Doing physical training, not in camouflage uniform
Administration	Wearing any uniform, but not conducting a physical task: at a desk * in a classroom * providing medical attention * with a child

Guerin-Eagleman and Burch (2016) adopted a similar method when examining photographs of athletes uploaded onto Instagram. They coded them according to five categories: athletic action, dressed but posed, non-sport setting, sexually suggestive, and combination (Guerin-Eagleman & Burch, 2016). Fink and Kensicki (2002) also used content analysis and coded photographs according to: athletic action, dressed but poised and pretty, non-sport setting, and pornographic. Studies in this field found that the portrayal of men and women athletes was different. Men athletes were often found to be portrayed as masculine, with a focus on their size, strength and power of their bodies (Billings & Eastman, 2003), whereas coverage on women athletes focused on

their attractiveness, sexuality and femininity (Billings, Angelini, MacArthur, Bissell, & Smith, 2014; Bissell & Duke, 2007; Clavio & Eagleman, 2011).

These methods have been utilised to provide an understanding of the prominence, or lack, of women in the NZ Army recruiting videos, as well as the roles they are portrayed in. This information provides context for the social well-being of women officers while serving in the NZ Army. The types of messaging regarding women, used by the NZ Army prior to the women in this research joining, help to provide a deeper insight into this case study, as well as provide an understanding of the messages the NZ Army portrays to the public. The next section turns to the third source of data collection; interviews.

Interviews

Ethics

A MUHEC (Massey University Human Ethics Committee) low risk application was completed and approved prior to beginning the pilot interviews in February 2017. The questions asked in the interviews were benign, asking general questions about their experiences. A discussion with my supervisors about this, led to the decision that a low risk application was appropriate. Potential participants were provided with an information sheet, which is included in Appendix 7. This explained: the purpose of the research, the requirement for me to keep their responses confidential and anonymous, and their right to withdraw at any time, and to ask any questions. For this research, informed consent was gained from each of the respondents. The consent form was

signed by each participant and this included a specific question regarding permission to voice record. This consent form is included in Appendix 8.

I have taken measures to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of my participants. It is for this reason that I have not taken an intersectional approach. All records have been kept in a locked cabinet at my home and will then be transferred to the university after completion, as well as electronic files on my computer, which is password protected. As there are so few women officers in the NZ Army, even with their name removed, it can be quite easy to identify who the women are. For this reason, I have taken great care to not mention the corps, unit, camp, specific years of service, or rank of the participants. Further, I have not provided detailed demographic summaries such as: how many were married, how many had children, their ethnicities, sexual orientation, age and qualifications. Moreover, when their stories have included situations where they could be identified, I have taken additional measures to disguise them, such as not mentioning the location of the deployment.

It is anticipated that taking these measures to protect the identity of the participants mitigate the potential for any harm to come to the participants. Further, as they have left the NZ Army, it is unlikely that their participation would have an impact on their careers.

Participant selection

Potential research participants were women officers who had left the NZ Army; specifically those who served this century and were regular force (full-time). The

identification of potential participants began by me writing down the names of women who I personally knew to meet the criteria. This is purposive sampling (Minichiello, Sullivan, Greenwood, & Axford, 2004; Saunders et al., 2009). Following my pilot interview, conducted in February 2017, the participant gave me a further list of names to consider and future participants were asked to provide further suggested names. This is known as snowball sampling, where the researcher establishes contact with a small group of people who meet the participant selection criteria and then utilises these networks to approach further participants (Bryman & Bell, 2011).

In December 2017, I contacted all the women from my initial list as well as the names given by the pilot interviewee, using Facebook, LinkedIn, email and phone. I asked if they would agree to an interview in January 2018 and asked if they knew of any other suitable participants. Through this process, I was given the names of further women, some of whom were not known to me. Only two women were not able to participate (due to availability as opposed to agreeability); every other woman identified through this snowballing technique was interviewed. The women seemed happy to help and to participate. The majority of the interviews were conducted via video conferencing such as Skype, FaceTime, or Facebook Messenger with video. This was because a number of the women live overseas, or far from the Manawatu, where I am based.

In total, including the pilot, twenty women were interviewed. Given that each annual intake, or cohort, of officer cadets only has a small number of women (my cohort graduated with two women) and given that each woman knows every other woman in their cohort and likely the women in the cohort ahead and behind, I am confident that I

made contact with the large majority, if not all, of the eligible women in this population. Although there is no set number of interviews required for qualitative research, my initial instinct was that I should be aiming to conduct at least ten interviews. Towards the end of the interviews, which were all conducted in January 2018, I found that I was likely reaching data saturation (DePoy & Gitlin, 1998; Teusner, 2016). Guest, Bunce, and Johnson (2006) suggest that data saturation is reached when no further information can be obtained and when no further coding is feasible (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Regardless, I decided to continue with all of the interviews as they were already scheduled.

Due to the small population of this study, it is important that I protect the identities of the women involved and do not provide detailed information about their demographics. In short, the median length of service for these women was ten years and the median age of joining was 19 years. I personally served for ten years, joined in 2003 and was 18 years old. The women served across a wide variety of corps and were all regular force.

Interview protocols

I used an informal, conversational approach (Moustakas, 1990) and did my best to make the participants feel relaxed and feel they were in a safe environment. As mentioned in the section regarding insider research, the participants all knew that I had also served as an officer in the NZ Army and this helped me to establish rapport. They could jump straight to providing the rich and detailed experiences without having to spend time giving background information. It was my job to then translate these interviews so that they can be easily understood by non-military people and to provide any relevant

background information. I am confident that the conversational approach for interviewing was achieved and that this was a suitable method for answering the research questions.

Interviews can vary according to the level of structure; from tightly prescribed questions, through to a very unstructured approach (Bryman & Bell, 2011). I used semi-structured interviews which allowed for a degree of flexibility (Saunders et al., 2009). I created an interview guide with topic headings and this guide is included in Appendix 9. This ensured that I collected the required information from each participant and some degree of consistency. It also meant that I stayed on track and did not stray too far. However, the detail within each interview, and the probing and follow up questions differed slightly depending on the individual discussions that arose (N. Lee, 2008). The questions were open-ended in order to encourage free flow of information. It was also important that I allowed the participants to answer in full, and not jump in with probes too quickly. I did not fill pauses and waited for the respondents to do so (Mercer, 2007). Although not perfect, I believe I achieved this approach. Several of the women asked me about my story in the NZ Army and about the interviews I had conducted ahead of theirs'. I was happy to oblige with some of this information, but did so at the end of the interview. In some cases, sharing some of my own stories at the end led to the women then opening up further with some of their thoughts. I found in these cases, that sharing some of my stories, including perhaps some of my vulnerabilities or struggles in the NZ Army, was beneficial and made the interview less of a one-way collection of information.

After every interview, I immediately wrote a few pages of notes about the interview; how I thought it had gone, what I found interesting, what some of the main points were, and any emotions or reactions that I had picked up on. An example of this is included in Appendix 6. The next section discusses my process for analysing the interview data.

Interview transcript analysis

I had intended to transcribe the interviews myself. However, pragmatism prevailed and a professional typist transcribed them instead, after signing a confidentiality agreement. The downside of not doing this myself does mean that I may have lost a degree of immersion in this data. However, the 30 hours of interview data would likely have taken me more than 150 hours to transcribe. This would have significantly delayed the coding and I feel there was considerable benefit to coding while the interviews were still fresh in my mind. The women were given the opportunity to read and check their interview transcripts, however, none of the women did so.

Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) can be used to assist in analysing qualitative data (Bryman & Bell, 2011). CAQDAS can assist with managing large volumes of data, as well as assist with coding (Silverman, 2006). Codes can be 'chopped' and 'changed' with considerably more speed than if this was done manually. I utilised NVIVO for my research, as this programme provides flexibility and speed in dealing with such a large volume of written data (Bazely, 2013). NVIVO was used to support and assist my data analysis; it was still my role to understand the data and to apply the codes to the transcripts (Silverman, 2006). As each transcript arrived, I listened to the interview,

while reading through the transcript, correcting any errors as needed. I then undertook coding immediately, during February 2018. Using NVIVO, I meticulously went through each transcript line by line and assigned a code to each passage (a passage could be just a sentence, or more than a paragraph) of information. Some passages were coded against several nodes (NVIVO refers to each code as a node) if I felt that the discussion covered more than one node topic. Coding the interviews in a relatively short space of time was useful because the nodes that I had created were fresh in my mind. While I was going through the process of coding, I made a conscious effort to not scroll through the number of references (NVIVO refers to each transcript passage assigned to a node, as a reference) that had been coded to each node thus far. While I obviously had an idea of which nodes were featuring more regularly, I did not want to observe in NVIVO that a particular node was 'popular', in case it created any unintended bias towards coding against that node going forward. By the end of the coding, I had created more than 250 nodes.

After completing the coding, I wanted to reduce the use of NVIVO, as I found it slow and somewhat painful to load on my computer. I then went through the process of creating a 450 page document which listed every node created and pasted every reference assigned to that node; this became my codebook and was a vital tool during the writing up of this thesis. It is also important to note that I created an initial codebook after coding the first three interviews and sent this to my supervisors, for the purpose of sense-checking that my assignment of references to the nodes was reasonable and to assist in meeting academic rigour requirements. From the 250 codes (nodes), I then identified the themes.

Themes can be deductively determined; this would involve using the themes or theory from the literature review, and then assigning the interview data to those pre-determined codes (V. Clarke & Braun, 2017). An alternative is to use inductive coding, where the codes are determined from the raw data (Boyatzis, 1998). Creswell (1998) explains how qualitative research is inductive; meaning that categories or themes are developed after the data is gathered, as opposed to specifying these categories in advance of the research. I interpreted the data using an iterative approach; developing the themes or categories that emerged as representative of the experiences of women officers who have left the NZ Army. Thematic data analysis is common in qualitative research (V. Clarke & Braun, 2017; Meier, Boivin, & Meier, 2006). Thematic analysis can provide a way to make sense of the data by scrutinising transcripts in order to identify common themes (Bazely, 2013; Boyatzis, 1998; Silverman, 2006). This involves a methodical and meticulous approach to repeatedly organising and re-organising data; to understand themes and commonalities. Interview transcripts are examined line by line in order to categorise the comments according to themes, and in my case, I completed this step for the node creation (V. Clarke & Braun, 2017; Minichiello, Aroni, & Hays, 2008).

In practice, I purchased several whiteboards, some magnetic tape and coloured tape. I created a magnet for every node (writing the name of the node on each magnet) and then iteratively rearranged the magnets under different headings until I felt satisfied that I had captured the themes from the interview data. Each node magnet also noted the number of sources (NVIVO refers to transcripts for each interview as sources) and

the number of references associated with each node. This was very useful in determining the significance or importance of each node, which in turn provided a better view of the themes. Using NVIVO to identify the recurrence and prevalence of themes ensured that my experiences as an insider did not unduly influence the significance of themes. The data revealed which themes were significant and recurring, not me. Using the whiteboard also provided visualisation of the outlying references, as it is important for my research to give voice to all, not just the majority. My supervisors were also sent these photographs and I took the whiteboards to a supervisory meeting; to provide an opportunity for sense checking that my grouping of nodes to inductively form themes was reasonable and to assist with achieving academic rigour. When writing up the first draft of this thesis, the whiteboards, magnets and codebook were used extensively. I would physically transfer each magnet to the 'have written this up' whiteboard, to ensure I did not exclude any of the data. A photo taken of two of the whiteboards is depicted below to visualise this process.

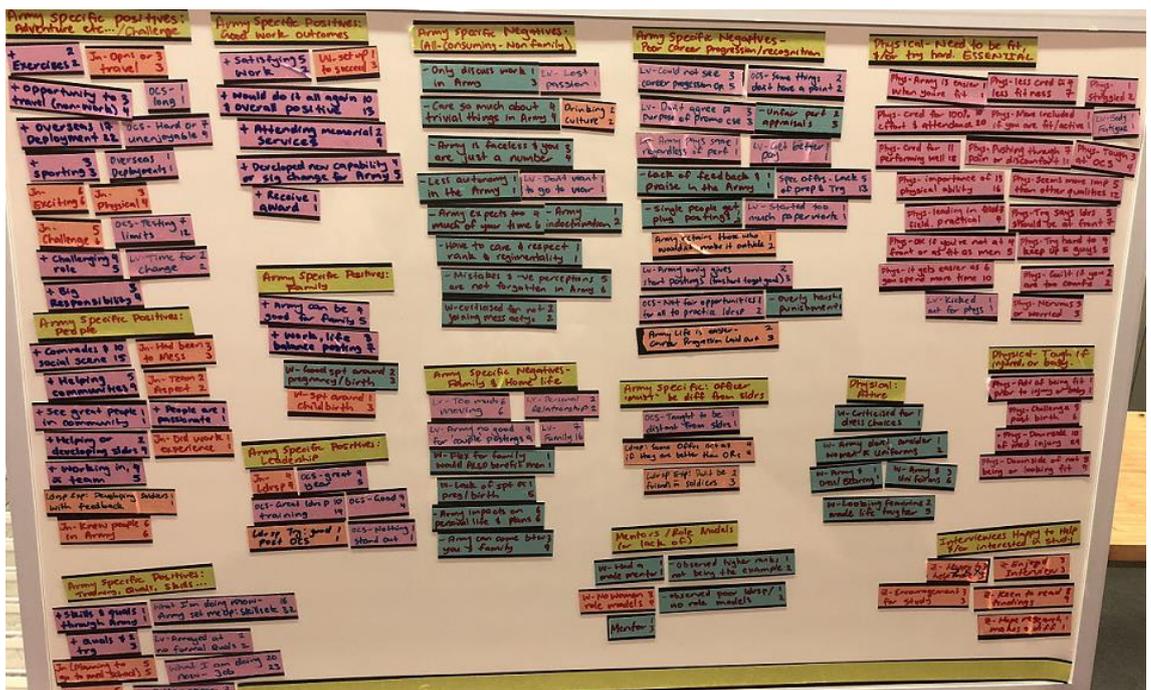
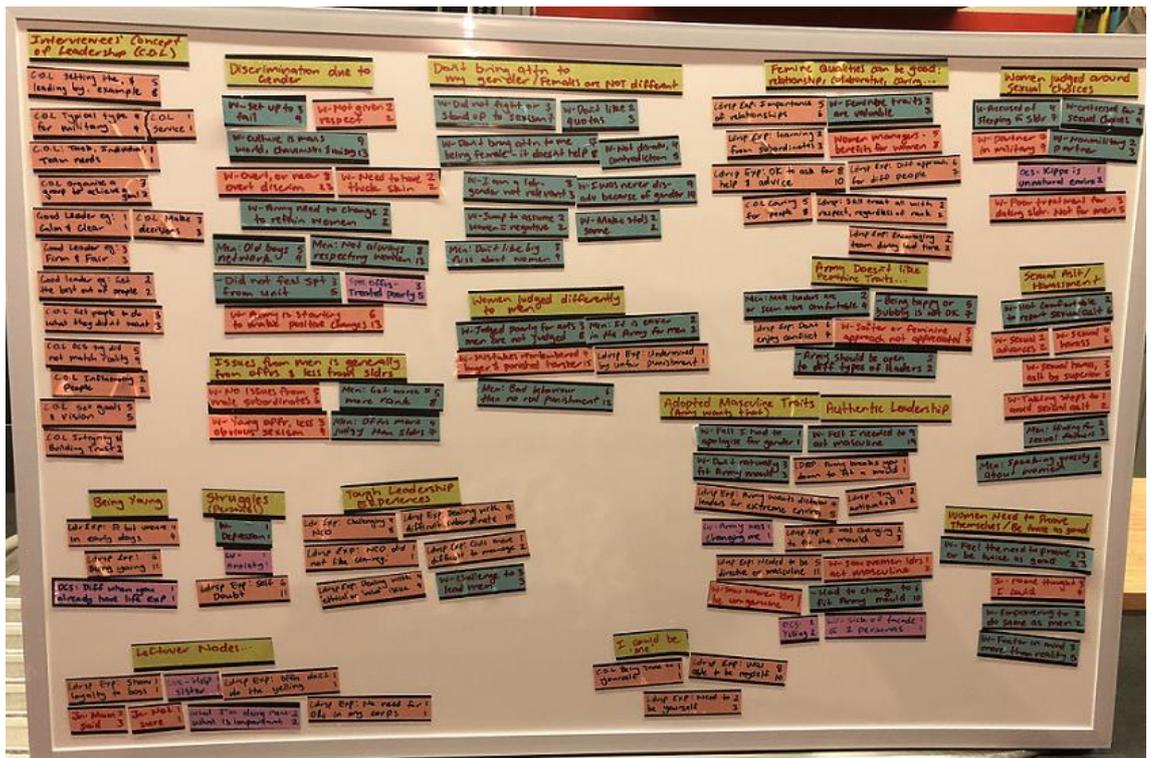


Figure 3: White boards and magnets for inductively determining themes

With regards to the transcripts, I initially allocated each woman a pseudonym. However, it soon became apparent that some of the stories shared by the women would make it easy to guess who the pseudonym related to in real life. Therefore, if it was possible to

determine, for example, that 'Matilda' was actually 'Kelly' in real life due to one story; it would then be possible for a reader to know Kelly's other comments throughout the thesis. New Zealand is a small country and the NZ Army is a small Army. Further, the number of officers is small and the number of women officers is even smaller. I have therefore not attributed any pseudonym names to the stories of the women. Instead, phrases such as 'one respondent', or 'a participant' are used. Further, if a woman mentioned something specific in her quote, such as the corps she was in, or the operation she was on, I modified the quote slightly to remove that information. For example, if a quote said, "when I was at 25 ESS [a specific sub-unit]", I modified it to say, "when I was at that unit". It is important that I take these steps to protect the identities of the interviewed women as best as possible. The next section discusses how academic rigour has been employed in this research.

3.3 - Academic rigour

In quantitative research, the research measures of validity, both internal and external, and reliability are generally used (Bryman & Bell, 2011). To ensure academic rigour in qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) created trustworthiness as a comparable concept, which includes credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability, and authenticity as a second requirement. This research aims to meet the trustworthiness criteria proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985): credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability.

3.3.1 - Credibility

Credibility is enhanced through prolonged engagement and persistent observation to gain a thorough understanding of the phenomena being investigated (Houghton, Casey, Shaw, & Murphy, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This was achieved in my research through my 'insider' status. I spent ten years in the NZ Army and therefore have a very good understanding of this topic over a prolonged period.

Another strategy to improve credibility is through triangulation. Data triangulation is where multiple sources of data are used (D. Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Creswell & Miller, 2000). One of the types of triangulation is 'triangulation of sources' (Denzin, 1984), where evidence is obtained from various different sources to corroborate a finding (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Data triangulation can enhance the reliability of results (Stavros & Westberg, 2009) as well as assist with data saturation for the study as a whole. Three sources of data were used: insider research, NZ Army recruiting video advertisements and interviews with participants. For my research, I was less concerned about multiple data sources providing the same findings, as the recruiting video data is unlikely to corroborate a finding from the interviews. However, I was more interested in how obtaining perspectives from different sources can allow a more complete and in-depth picture of the phenomena to be portrayed, thus maximising the potential for a deep insight (Houghton et al., 2013). This is how data triangulation and the use of multiple sources adds to the credibility of this research.

Peer debriefing is a further way to enhance credibility, particularly with regards to determining the codes and themes. In my study, this was achieved through the involvement of my supervisors. The peer should not necessarily report the same themes and coding (Ryan-Nicholls & Will, 2009). The purpose is for the peer to test the logic used by the primary researcher in determining the themes and codes (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). In my research, my supervisors read through a sample of my transcripts and then checked that my logic for identifying codes and then themes was rational. This was also useful to ensure that my experiences as an insider did not influence my allocation of codes.

Asking participants to check that their interview transcripts are accurate can also assist with achieving the criteria of credibility (McDonnell, Lloyd Jones, & Read, 2000; Stake, 2006). I offered this opportunity to the participants in my study.

3.3.2 - Dependability

The use of an audit trail can assist with this criterion. It is necessary for the reader to be able to scrutinise the process that was used when producing the findings (Horsburgh, 2003; Houghton et al., 2013; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). This effectively means that the researcher should provide justifications for their choice of methodology and analysis. It has been argued that if the research procedures are transparent, there is a clear presentation of the methodological process and a justification of the findings, then the need for external validation is less important (Teusner, 2016). My audit trail has been maintained by providing the rationale for my methods, outlined earlier in this chapter.

NVIVO was also able to assist with the audit trail as it can run searches based on set criteria. This provides details regarding factors such as the number of times a certain topic (node) was discussed by participants. This reduces the researcher's bias for over or under representing the importance of certain topics as NVIVO provides the exact facts (Silverman, 2010). I used NVIVO in this way; when I thought a certain topic had been raised multiple times, I used NVIVO to check if this was actually the case.

Dependability can also be achieved by maintaining a degree of consistency during the interviews (Megheirkouni, 2014). While I employed flexibility in the order of questions, as well as the probing and follow up questions, the same over-arching questions were asked of each research participant, to maintain a level of consistency.

3.3.3 - Confirmability

While objectivity is not possible, or even desired, for interpretive research, it is still important to ensure that the researcher's personal opinions do not unfairly influence the findings (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Reflexivity of the researcher is important to achieve confirmability (Jasper, 2005). Self-awareness of the researcher throughout the research development is important (Houghton et al., 2013; Malterud, 2001; Stoecker, 1991; Teusner, 2016). One way to achieve reflexivity is to maintain a research diary or journal, which documents the researcher's thoughts during their journey (Jootun, McGhee, & Marland, 2009; Primeau, 2003). As mentioned earlier, I wrote a short summary of my initial thoughts following each of the interviews. This included points such as: how

candid I thought the participant was, whether any contradictions were noticed (Coghlan & Brannick, 2005), what similarities or differences I noticed in comparison with my own experiences, and even any themes I started to notice. In addition, Chapter Eight addresses epistemic reflexivity (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007), with my closing vignette.

3.3.4 - Transferability

Transferability, with regards to replicability and generalisability, are not always considered as important in qualitative research (Creswell & Miller, 2000). As noted in the earlier section regarding case studies, achieving generalisability is not an aim for this research; I want to focus on the specific phenomena within this case. However, to achieve the transferability criteria, the researcher must provide detailed descriptions about their findings so that the reader can make a decision regarding the transferability of findings to another context (Firestone, 1993; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake, 1995). Thick descriptions, including the use of participant quotes, are a good way to achieve this transferability criteria; the reader can then read these quotes to judge whether the findings seem appropriate. I have included numerous detailed participant quotes; to share their stories, in their words. In this way, the reader clearly hears their voices and gains a rich understanding of the social well-being experiences of these women.

3.4 - Chapter summary

Based on the literature review, the following research questions were identified:

- How socially well were women officers while serving in the NZ Army? The subsidiary research questions to contribute towards answering this are:
 - How did NZ Army recruiting video advertisements contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Four)?
 - How did the experiences of marginalisation and discrimination contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Five)?
 - How did the experiences of authentic leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Six)?
 - How did the experiences of embodied leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers (Chapter Seven)?

This research is grounded in the ontological assumption of nominalism, the epistemological approach of interpretivism and uses qualitative methodology. The use of case study was chosen. My case study examines the social well-being of women officers who have left the NZ Army; specifically, those who served between 2000 and 2018. The three sources of data were discussed in detail; insider research, NZ Army recruiting videos and participant interviews. Lastly, my application of the academic rigour criteria was presented. The next chapter presents the findings and discussion, beginning with 'No visibility'.

4.0 – No visibility

4.1 - NZ Army recruiting videos

This chapter contributes towards answering the main question: how socially well were women officers while serving in the NZ Army, by providing contextual information regarding the messaging used by the NZ Army to the New Zealand public. It specifically addresses the first subsidiary research question: how did NZ Army recruiting video advertisements contribute towards the social well-being of women officers? The data reveal that the visibility of women overall, and the visibility of women conducting the same embodied leadership tasks as men, was significantly lacking. During this two decade period, the NZ Army did not actively, or even passively, try to recruit women, setting the scene for the social well-being women entering the organisation may have experienced on enlisting.

This chapter analyses the gender representation and social well-being messages of eight recruiting campaign videos used by the NZ Army during the 1990s and 2000s. Recruiting videos are public facing and act as a window into the NZ Army. The aim of the recruiting videos used by the NZ Army is to attract people to join the NZ Army. In order to do this, the NZ Army highlights the positive aspects of serving, in order to appeal to potential recruits. Some of the messaging used by the NZ Army illustrate elements of the social well-being framework. Eight recruiting video campaigns are discussed, in chronological order, with respect to their messaging, both intended and unintended, regarding social well-being, with a particular focus on this messaging for women. These findings are

analysed in conjunction with participant comments and in light of the extant embodied leadership and social well-being research.

4.1.1 – ‘Arm me with a future’

<https://vimeo.com/88394244> (click link to view video)

This campaign, released in the mid-1990s, focused on the experiences and benefits that the NZ Army provides to people who join. It was a play on the words ‘Army’ and ‘arm me’. The words in the ‘master’ advertisement were sung by a male and were as follows: “Arm me with skills, skills. Arm me with confidence. Arm me with experience. Arm me with pride. Arm me with education. Arm me with good friends. Arm me with a career. Arm me with a future” (Army, 1995a). The screen pictures below depict a sample of images used in this advertisement, in line with the eight messages (skills, confidence, experience, pride, education, good friends, career and a future).



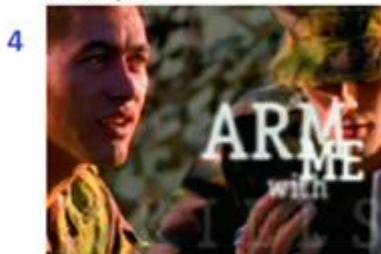
Man with camouflage uniform (including cam cream) & with a weapon



Man with webbing & rifle signalling to another man to continue on patrol



Woman receiving her degree



Man giving orders to another man



Woman at a formal military dinner



Man rock climbing



Man conducting physical training (with cam cream) in the water



Man instructing other men in a workshop



Man welding

Figure 4: Images used in the 'arm me with a future' campaign

In this advertisement, the NZ Army offers new recruits the opportunity to feel socially integrated in the statement, 'arm me with good friends.' Most of the images are of individuals; however the two images below depict social integration, which support the verbal messaging.



Friends at a formal dinner



Colleagues discussing a plan

Figure 5: Images depicting social integration

A woman is centrally depicted at a formal dinner and another woman is seen at the table also, in the 'arm me with good friends' section of the advertisement, which does suggest women will experience social integration. However, the overall images used throughout the campaign suggest that women will not experience the same degree of integration. This is because the tasks and activities being performed by the women in this video are not the same as for the men. The large majority of the clips showed men conducting more physical or combat related tasks, with the few women featured conducting administrative tasks. Ladkin and Taylor (2010) discuss how leadership is a physically based phenomenon. An important factor of being in the NZ Army and being a leader in the NZ Army is physical ability and physical performance; the concept of embodied leadership, as discussed in Chapter Two. This video contains several clips where embodied leadership takes place. Leadership is performed by the body, not just with words. Leadership is portrayed through the way a leader dresses, carries themselves, performs physically and participates in the field. The images numbered 2, 4, 6 and 8, in Figure 4 above provide some examples of leadership occurring where the body is paramount. These images are of men.

The two clips where women are featured in this video however (images 3 and 5 in Figure 4), do not display embodied leadership in the same manner as for the men. While the academic regalia signify a women achieving academically, this does not reflect the physical performance of leadership required within the NZ Army. This further demonstrates unequal roles and a potential lack of social integration for women. All of the women pictured, appear to be inside. None of them are doing active tasks. None of the women appear to be giving orders. None of them are wearing webbing or carrying a rifle. None of the women are sweaty or wearing camouflage cream on their face. Based on the gender of the personnel in each of the clips, the NZ Army's message did not show the same type of work and activities for men and women. Overall, women were largely absent in this video, and they were not portrayed in physical or command related tasks. The women are dressed cleanly and are conducting sedentary tasks in comparison to the men. While the NZ Army portrays a message of social integration ('arm me with good friends'), at the same time, it portrays a message of unequal opportunity and unequal roles for women. Being unequal to men does not send a message of social integration for women.

While this advertisement sends a message of social integration, and simultaneously sends the opposite message to women, more than half of the women talked about how the NZ Army *did* arm them with good friends. The women spoke positively about the friendships they made and the comradery they enjoyed; indicating the women experienced positive feelings of social integration in the NZ Army.

I am still really close to a couple of people. Not a lot, but the friends that you went through a lot of hardships with. One of my friends that I first started up

with, her and I are still very, very close. And they are the kind of relationships you, friendships in the Army, you can not see somebody for years and then catch up... The hardships you go through in the Army life and the training I guess. You are at your lowest of lows [on a field exercise for example] and there is always somebody to perk you up who is feeling your exact same pain and everything else. I don't know, I found that Army friendships are more like a family friendship than civilian world.

This sentiment was echoed by several other women; "you definitely form some really, really awesome friendships. Yeah, some of them, they're like family to me."

Messages of self-actualisation (Maslow, 1968; Ryff, 1989; Waterman, 1993), which is considered to parallel social actualisation, (Keyes, 1998) can also be interpreted in this advertisement. The majority of the messages in the advertisement can be related to a person achieving personal growth and progressing towards reaching their potential. Attaining these skills, confidence, experience, pride and education are also relevant to social contribution. Keyes (1998) draws on the concept of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977; Gecas, 1989), which refers to a person having belief in their ability to perform certain activities. If the NZ Army can provide a person the opportunity to acquire skills, confidence, experience, pride and education, this will likely increase their overall abilities and therefore their self-belief. This will likely lead to improved self-efficacy. If a person believes they are capable of making a positive contribution to the world through enhanced self-efficacy, then they are more likely to believe that they are making a positive contribution to the world (Gecas, 1989). In this sense, the NZ Army sends a message of enhanced self-actualisation and social contribution.

I had decided to join the Army from the age of ten. One of the confirming moments was watching this particular advertisement. I was inspired by how much the Army could offer. I wanted a career that was challenging. It was important to complete a university degree and I wanted a career that had a physical element to it. I wanted to be in a leadership role and I wanted to travel. I also wanted to have a career with variety and one which had a purpose of helping people. Even now, looking back, it is glaringly obvious to me why I wanted to join the Army and why I wanted to join as an officer (the leadership and university education factors are more immediately apparent for officers). The Army literally ticked every single box I could hope for in a career and there would not have been any other option for a career that could possibly fulfil all my desires. In this sense, the message regarding social actualisation and social contribution rang loud and clear to my ten year old self. I reflect with interest that I had never noticed that women were not represented in the same manner as men. It was not that I saw the women in the video and assumed I would do the same roles as them. I saw all of the people in the video and assumed I would do all of the same roles; this did happen.

The next recruiting video used by the NZ Army focused on the messaging regarding making a difference; social contribution.

4.1.2 – ‘Armed to make a difference’ - part one

<https://vimeo.com/88394244> (click link to view video – this video starts at 2:07 min)

This campaign came out in the mid-1990s and focused on how joining the NZ Army could give its personnel the opportunities to make a positive difference to the lives of others who are less fortunate. The background music throughout this clip was music that could be described as somewhat ‘haunting’. The campaign features a Pacific Island woman telling her story. The main voice that can be heard throughout the clip is a woman translator (with a Pacific Island accent).

My name is Seline. Our children are just beginning to smile again. My five year old has known war all his life. But today, men and women from your Army are keeping a peace that we had lost hope of ever reaching. We wanted peace, but it was difficult. At long wars, men lose their power to reason. We needed a people that could understand our culture. You stand out because you understand what it means to be a Pacific Islander. You have opened our roads and our airports, and people have come out of hiding. I feel happy now that my son can grow up in peace and forget the sound of gunfire. [Deathly silence].
Thank you (Army, 1995b).

Many of the images in this video were of Pacific Island people. The images below are of some of the clips where military personnel are observed.

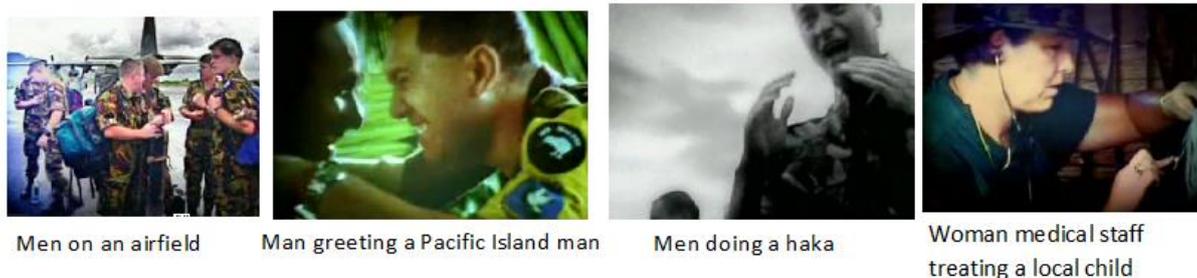


Figure 6: Images used in the 'armed to make a difference' (part one) campaign

The key messages in this video focused on how joining the NZ Army could give people the opportunity to make a real difference to the lives of people in need in less fortunate situations. This is a strong message of potential social contribution (Keyes, 1998); joining the NZ Army gives its personnel the opportunity to make a valuable contribution to other societies.

When speaking with the women officers who have left the NZ Army, many of them commented on how they felt they were able to make a positive contribution to the lives of others when they were deployed to other countries. One woman talked about being involved in a deployment in the Pacific Islands and how she saw “the awesomeness of the community that you work with and the outputs and the strength of what the Defence Force can do for people.” Another talked about how

I loved that overseas deployment. I think being able to contribute to the operations that we were doing over there and the work that we were doing in the community. It really felt that what we were doing was actually making an impact.

In these examples, the women felt like their social contribution was valuable and they were able to make a difference.

These comments are reflective of my own experiences. Making a difference to people in other communities was one of the most rewarding aspects of the role. Within New Zealand, this included working on construction projects such as 'DIY Marae' and 'Habitat for Humanity'. Overseas, this included making repairs to the Hadrians Wall track in the UK, building infrastructure in Afghanistan and distributing water to people in Tuvalu during a drought. I really felt like what I was doing mattered and that people received benefit from the NZ Army.

It was not just overseas deployments that provided this opportunity to contribute to society. Several participants spoke about the Christchurch earthquake response. "It was quite rewarding because you're actually doing real life support to a natural disaster and helping the community." Another interviewee talked about how she was tasked to "help people that needed to be helped and that was pretty cool. Like, actually helping people out that needed help, in real time, which was cool." The women felt they were able to make a positive difference, and this made them feel good about their contribution to society. In this sense, the NZ Army's message regarding social contribution (Keyes, 1998) matched the experiences of many participants, including myself.

4.1.3 – 'Armed to make a difference' - part two

<https://vimeo.com/88394244> (click link to view video – this video starts at 3:10 min)

This campaign also came out in the mid-1990s and focused on leadership within the NZ Army. This campaign starred Andy Dalton from the All Blacks. Andy Dalton captained the All Black during parts of the 1980s and has held management and coaching roles within

the NZ Rugby Union since retiring from playing. The background music throughout the clip is dominated by rugby sounds (cheering, whistles blowing, and rugby commentators in the background). Andy Dalton is talking throughout the video and says:

Every nation needs its heroes. The question is, 'who do the heroes look up to?' Some things never change and leadership's one of those. When I heard the Army were going to train the All Blacks, I thought, 'that's going to be interesting'. But when you think about it, if these guys don't know about leadership, then who does? The last ten minutes of a game, of a big game, lungs are bursting, the legs are lost, real hard work and that's when the training, the leadership training, really kicks in. They help train business people, students and the unemployed. Every All Black team sets out to be the best, to make New Zealand proud, and I guess you could say the same for the Army, and for whoever they're training (Army, 1995c).

Many of the images in this video were of rugby players and rugby scenes. The images below are of some of the clips where military personnel are observed.

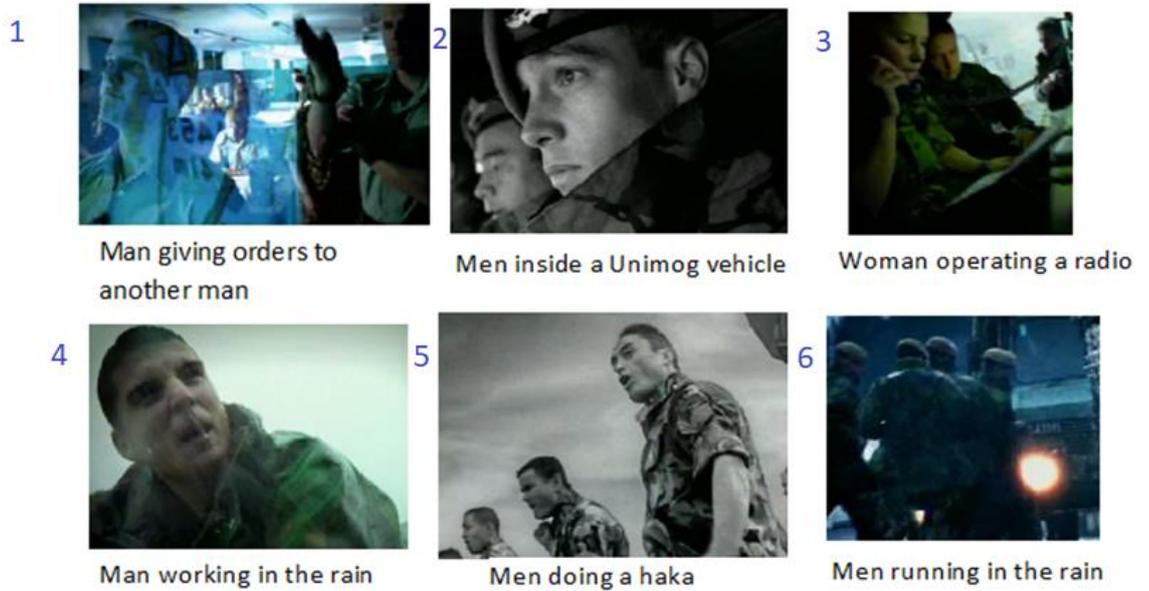


Figure 7: Images used in the 'armed to make a difference' (part two) campaign

The key message in this video centres on the opportunities for leadership development in the NZ Army. The NZ Army suggests that it is the 'centre for excellence' within NZ for leadership training, demonstrating the calibre in this area for the NZ Army. Therefore, if a person wants to develop and improve their ability to lead, the NZ Army will provide excellent leadership training to achieve this. Bandura (1977) and Gecas (1989) suggest that one of the sources of information for a person to develop an expectation around their self-efficacy is through performance accomplishments and experiences of personal mastery. The NZ Army sends the message that it will practically train its people how to lead; allowing them to achieve repeated success and build their self-efficacy.

The majority of the interviewed women talked with gratitude about how the NZ Army provided great leadership training and great opportunities to exercise and practice leadership. For many of the women, they use their army leadership experiences and capabilities in their roles outside of the NZ Army. "Leadership is a big part of my [civilian]

role. The Army definitely influenced that... I think it gave me a good training and development background generally.” Another woman talked about “having had leadership experience has helped me, so the job I’ve got now is partly because of the experiences I’ve had [in the Army].” One interviewee said her time in the NZ Army

changed everything. I’m much more confident. I have no problem giving public speeches or giving presentations, I’ve absolutely no problems in taking leadership in situations where I’m not necessarily, I don’t know everything about the situation, but I can still step in and be a leader, figure out who knows what and make the team work.

These three remarks reflect the array of comments from the women who feel strongly about the positive leadership training and experiences they gained from being in the NZ Army. The following chapters suggest that not all of the leadership experiences in the NZ Army were positive for the women and that many of them felt pressured to alter their natural leadership approach at times. Regardless, the women still spoke positively about their opportunities to practice and exercise leadership within the NZ Army.

My thoughts also echo these comments. While I also experienced challenges with leading in the NZ Army (discussed in the next chapters), I am still hugely grateful to the NZ Army for providing me with excellent leadership training and excellent opportunities to practice and exercise leadership.

This video also demonstrates embodied leadership. Andy Dalton talks about the embodied nature of leadership where people are tired at the end of the game, but rely on leadership training to push them through. Leadership is required even when the body is severely fatigued. The body is essential for affecting leadership in these situations. He

is talking about a situation during a rugby match and acknowledges that NZ Army personnel also experience this. Hence, the NZ Army was brought in to train the All Blacks in leadership. Images 4 and 6 in Figure 7 above, demonstrate NZ Army personnel pushing through even when it is raining and cold – they still need to undertake the physical tasks.

This video was dominated by men; rugby men and military men. The NZ Army did not provide a clear message for opportunities for women and this video highlights the masculine hegemony within the NZ Army. Only one woman out of 27 personnel was identified; she was inside, talking on a radio. The video was focused around rugby (a sport dominated by men); specifically the All Blacks (solely men). While there is a message of social contribution for potential recruits, social integration for women was not depicted in this advertisement.

The following recruiting video campaigns move from the 1990s, into the 2000s; the year 2000 is when the NZ Army removed all gender based restrictions.

4.1.4 - 'Virtual Viv'

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VHTPf5crOCg> (click link to view video)

This clip came out in approximately 2006 and predominantly involves a woman's voice. She starts with, "in the Army, good communications are essential. Our sophisticated equipment connects the command centre to the field operation. An encrypted message is coming in from a mobile reconnaissance" (Army, 2006). A male voice is then heard, "send that message back to command post" (Army, 2006), followed by the initial

woman's voice; "so, have you cracked the code yet? Go to army.mil.nz to see if you've got what it takes" (Army, 2006). The primary image during this video is of Virtual Viv.



Figure 8: Images used in the 'Virtual Viv' campaign

The key message in this video appears to be around the ability for the NZ Army to bring 'gaming' experiences to life. The animated character and the 'video game' style looks to target young men who enjoy gaming and solving problems. This is further demonstrated by Virtual Viv's (slight) resemblance to Lara Croft from Tomb Raider. Virtual Viv's shirt is significantly more fitted than any standard issued camouflage shirt exaggerating her rather large bust and very slim waist. Although she does not look as sexualised as Lara Croft, she does not look like a standard woman in the NZ Army, whose shirts are considerably looser fitting. The pictures in Figure 9 below provide a spectrum of dress; on the left is me in a typical, loose fitting shirt. In the middle is Virtual Viv with a more fitted shirt, through to Lara Croft on the right who is more sexualised than Virtual Viv.



Figure 9: Spectrum of dress: from NZ Army officer (me) to Virtual Viv to Lara Croft

While this advertisement primarily features a woman, she is not depicted in a way that is reflective of how most women in the NZ Army look. Mavin and Grandy (2016a) and Kelan (2012) discussed how it is important for women to not dress in a manner that is too sexualised. Yet, it appears that this advertisement has increased the level of sexuality in the uniform for Virtual Viv; possibly to appeal to potential male recruits. Further, this advertisement may appeal to women, as they see that it is possible to still look somewhat feminine in an army uniform (due to the tailoring of the shirt). Ironically however, the NZ Army does not allow women to dress in a uniform that is as flattering to the bust and waist line, as it is for Virtual Viv. NZ Army women have to wear a male shirt that is straight cut, with no shaping at all for the feminine figure.

4.1.5 - 'Have you got what it takes?' – volleyball

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dJCdCOWVmk> (click link to view video)

This video was one part of the 'have you got what it takes' advertising campaign, and was aimed at presenting challenges to viewers to encourage them to visit the website. The audio in this clip includes the sound of a volleyball being hit, as well as people cheering and clapping. The clip begins with the text, "Watch very carefully. A game is being played by NZ Army soldiers" (Army, 2007g). Approximately 16 people can be seen playing volleyball. They are all wearing physical training (PT), uniform (t-shirt and shorts). At least two women soldiers are viewed throughout the clip. The soldiers are hitting the ball back and forward over the net and clapping. The clip then moves to the text, "There was a vehicle mechanic at the back. What were they wearing?" (Army, 2007g). A second version of this clip includes the exact same footage; however, it ends

with the text, “Who would you sub on as your next attacker? A) The Physical Trainer. B) The Intelligence Operator. C) The Armourer” (Army, 2007f). A third version of this clip (with the same footage again) ends with the text, “How many people did you see training?” (Army, 2007e). Below is a snapshot of some of the images used in this video



Woman setting a volleyball



Man and woman congratulating each other during the game



Woman serving the volleyball



Man spiking the volleyball



Man spiking the volleyball



Man cheering

Figure 10: Images Used in the 'have you got what it takes?' (volleyball) campaign

The faces of two women soldiers can be seen on several occasions during the clip, and they are both seen hitting the ball. In total, seven hits of the volleyball are observed by men soldiers and four hits by the women soldiers. The key message for this video changed between the versions. Version one and three communicated that personnel in the military need to pay attention to detail and be observant; if someone has those skills, the NZ Army is the place for them. The key message for version two demonstrated that the NZ Army requires people with different skills and background – they are looking for a diverse range of people. This would suggest that the NZ Army are emphasising how they are socially accepting of diverse people, including women. The message for women

suggested that they are just as much a part of the NZ Army team as men and that they would feel socially accepted and socially integrated (Keyes, 1998). It appears the women are wanted in the team (Wrightsmen, 1991), and they are seen to contribute to the game by successfully hitting the ball over the net. This advertisement promotes social integration; the soldiers (both men and women) are seen playing a team sport and they congratulate each other throughout. This would suggest that the soldiers may feel a sense of community; social integration.

4.1.6 - 'Have you got what it takes?' – humanitarian

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wIOMMIL1alc> (click link to view video)

Just like the 'Have you got what it takes?' (volleyball) campaign, this was another video aimed at presenting challenges to viewers to encourage them to visit the website. The audio in this clip includes the sound of rain and people moving through wet bush. A male voice is heard yelling, "medic" and a second male is heard saying, "we've got some kids over here" (Army, 2007b). The video begins with the text, "Watch very carefully. 48 hours ago a major storm hit. Your team has been deployed for disaster relief" (Army, 2007b). The clip finishes with the text, "If you think you've got what it takes to carry the Medic's pack, pack 2 large suitcases and run them up and down 5 flights of stairs" (Army, 2007b). A second version of this video (with the same footage) finishes with the text, "The boy on your left needs urgent medical attention. How would you describe him to the surgical team?" (Army, 2007a). A third version (also with the same footage), begins with the text, "Your disaster relief team has just collected water from a nearby stream" (Army, 2007c) and ends with the text, "The civilians need water to drink. The injured

need water to clean their wounds. Who would you give the water to?” (Army, 2007c).

Below is a snapshot of some of the images used in this video.



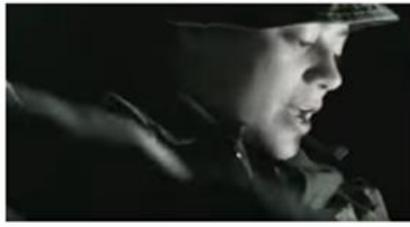
Figure 11: Images used in the 'have you got what it takes?' (humanitarian) campaign

This advertisement sends a message of social contribution (Keyes, 1998). Joining the Army will give people the opportunity to make a contribution to wider society by assisting with disaster relief. This video shows people in need, including children, following the major storm. Army personnel are deployed to assist these people in need; some of whom are injured. Further, the NZ Army requires its personnel to make difficult decisions; it is looking for people who can think on their feet and make rational (not emotional) decisions. From a social integration point of view however, there are no women observed in this advertisement. Marx's 'alienation from society' type of alienation (Nair & Vohra, 2012), which was subsequently expanded on (Seeman, 1959) is relevant here; women are effectively alienated from this society as there is no visible trace of them in this advertisement. This does not send a message of social integration for women.

4.1.7 - 'Have you got what it takes?' – would you unlock the door?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZvkMZCaMGiU> (click link to view video)

This campaign was also released in 2007 and was aimed at challenging viewers to think about complex situations that NZ Army personnel may encounter. The main audio is a woman soldier providing information over the radio. She is using the phonetic alphabet, with commentary such as, "romeo, two six, eight, three, bravo stop, three, two, one... more to follow, over" (Army, 2007d). The clip begins with the text, "Watch very carefully. You're patrolling in the area between two villages in dispute" (Army, 2007d). The video shows several NZ Army personnel inside a Pinzgauer vehicle and two Pinzgauers are shown driving across the Waiouru training area (it is possibly intended to represent Afghanistan). There are five civilian women walking outside (likely to be Muslim, as they are wearing hijab, head scarves). One has a firearm slung over her back and they are all carrying bags or babies. The woman with the slung firearm (who is also holding either a baby, or a doll) then bangs loudly on the Pinzgauer door, shouting "hello...hello". The clip finishes with the text, "Would you unlock the door for this woman? Go to www.army.mil.nz to check your solution and to find your next challenge. Have you got what it takes? NZ Army. Ngati Tumatauenga" (Army, 2007d). Some of the images are displayed below.



Woman in a vehicle, on radio



Man in a vehicle, on radio



Muslim woman banging on vehicle door

Figure 12: Images used in the 'have you got what it takes?' (would you unlock the door?) campaign

The key message here is that the NZ Army requires its personnel to make difficult decisions; it is looking for people who can think on their feet and make rational (not emotional) decisions. In this case, the NZ Army is advertising that social coherence, in terms of structure and predictability (A. Antonovsky, 1994), does not always exist in the situations that NZ Army personnel deploy to. Given that the woman holding a baby also has a weapon, it may not be appropriate, or safe, to open the door to her. As an army woman has the main role in this advertisement, the message for women is that they have the same roles and opportunities as men in the NZ Army; demonstrating social integration (Keyes, 1998). It also points out that a civilian woman can also pose a threat. Women and children are often portrayed as the victims in conflict environments.

4.1.8 - 'Get what it takes' – general list officers

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TohXIPPx8jI> (click link to view video)

This campaign was released in 2009 and was aimed specifically at targeting general list officers. It interviews five Lieutenants, LTs (junior officers) across a range of corps (Infantry, Engineers, Logistics and Military Police) about their roles as officers in the NZ Army. This campaign focuses on the experiences of officers who are in the NZ Army, with

the aim that their experiences will encourage others to join. The key message for this campaign focuses on the opportunities that becoming an officer in the NZ Army can provide: opportunities for leadership, to be challenged, to undertake training, experience a variety of situations, and do so alongside motivated people. With regards to social contribution, this advertisement sends the message that the NZ Army will give you the skills to 'get what it takes' to be a successful officer. This draws on the concept of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977; Gecas, 1989). Vicarious experience is where a person sees others performing a task, which leads them to believe they can do it too. This video shows other people doing the tasks, to demonstrate to a potential new officer cadet that they are also capable. The second source of information regarding self-efficacy is performance accomplishments. The video demonstrates the officers achieving tasks, suggesting that they had had the opportunity to practice and learn these skills in the NZ Army; leading them to personal mastery. Below is a snapshot of some of the images from this video.



Figure 13: Images used in the 'get what it takes?' (general list officers) campaign

Well over half of the interviewed women talked about how the NZ Army did help them to 'get what it takes'; this was discussed with significant gratitude. Also referring to the 'Arm me with a future' campaign, the women felt that the NZ Army did arm them with skills, education, experience and confidence. Much of this was discussed with regards to how the NZ Army helped them to 'get what it takes' to succeed in a career beyond the military. Some of what the women 'got' included: academic qualifications, leadership experience, management training, confidence, discipline, resilience, assertiveness,

organising skills, planning abilities, communication skills, analytical thinking, the ability to clearly articulate a problem and provide recommendations.

The university qualification, all the skills and training that I got, does set you up really well with skills and qualifications to go on and get good job opportunities... I feel like the Army really set me up, really well for future careers and having a life beyond the Army... In terms of experience, I guess the experience and what you learn about yourself and then the experience you get from leading soldiers and management and going on operations definitely makes you more confident and learn more about yourself. And learn those skills that do set you up for roles outside of the Army. I would definitely say that helped me get to where I am today.

The NZ Army paid for many of the women officers to complete academic qualifications external to the NZ Army. "They paid for all of my study. They paid for post-graduate study, they paid for all of these courses... Definitely very grateful for what they've done in terms of that in my career." Several of the women spoke of their appreciation to the NZ Army for setting them up in their subsequent careers.

[The Army has] given me the ability to think things through properly... It [Army] gives you that confidence that you have gone through a good appreciation of a problem and so you are confident in implementing things because you know that you have done a proper analysis of it... What else has it given me? The ability to talk, the ability to communicate, develop relationships with people... The military really did give me such wonderful skills that I apply in our lives today.

This reference to confidence suggests that her self-efficacy was increased during her time in the NZ Army; it allowed her to experience success and to have belief in her ability

to perform activities. Having the self-efficacy to believe she is capable of making a positive difference led to this woman feeling she was making a social contribution (Bandura, 1977; Gecas, 1989). Another interviewee talked about how the Army

has had a huge impact. I think it has made me what I am today. It really has. I think, especially going through as an officer. Because it teaches you so much responsibility... I think it makes you a very strong person; personal discipline, motivation and that kind of thing. There's things that I got from being in the military that you'll never get anywhere else in the world. I one hundred percent believe that. The unique experiences and life experiences as well.

She suggests that what she 'got' from the NZ Army could not have been 'got' anywhere else in the world. Another woman had similar sentiments when she talked about a course she went through; "I loved the challenge of it. It was tough, but it was epic, you know. Like, the experiences you would never get anywhere else." One respondent talked about how

some of those experiences [in the Army] definitely push you to your extreme... really just pushing yourself to the extreme and from there, I definitely learned more about myself than I ever would have if I'd gone through a normal university, or any kind of normal job.

In this case, she is also referring to self-actualisation (Maslow, 1968; Ryff, 1989; Waterman, 1993); pushing herself to the extreme and learning more about herself indicates progression towards her full potential. The NZ Army experience is so unique, yet the skills and experience acquired are highly useful in careers beyond the NZ Army.

It is fair to say that the experience of being an officer in the NZ Army was very beneficial to these women and that the skills, education, experience and confidence they developed in the NZ Army was of benefit to them. Therefore, the NZ Army's recruiting message regarding obtaining skills (which builds self-efficacy) absolutely delivered to these women officers, including myself. Further, the NZ Army helped the women to achieve personal growth, allowing them to progress towards self-actualisation (Maslow, 1968; Ryff, 1989; Waterman, 1993). Every woman who was interviewed made positive comments regarding the opportunities they experienced in the NZ Army; primarily around the skills and experiences they gained, as well as the overseas deployments and challenging activities.

In addition to the campaign focusing on 'getting what it takes' to build self-efficacy, the final quote in this video is a man saying, "the chance to make a difference I guess. That's what I really like about the Army" (Army, 2009). This also relates to social contribution, as the NZ Army gives people the opportunity to make a positive contribution to society. In this case, society includes both the society within the NZ Army (where officers can make a positive contribution to the people they work with) and also the society beyond the NZ Army (where personnel can make a positive difference to people in conflict or disaster situations).

One of the officers in this campaign was a woman; this woman is me (Figure 13, images 1 and 10). It is worth noting that the video was not intended to include a woman. A male colleague of mine was supposed to be involved, but was unavailable at the last minute, so I got the role. If I was not in this video, there would have been no coverage of women.

The majority of the visual material is of the individual officers being interviewed. The other images included: men changing the magazine on their rifle, men running inside a gymnasium, men applying camouflage cream to their face, men outside receiving orders, men outside a bunker, men running with webbing and rifle, men exiting a light armoured vehicle (LAV), men on a Zodiac boat and men in Afghanistan. Only two other women were observed in this clip; packing and preparing freight packages. None of the women in this video are running, none are wearing camouflage cream on their face and none are wearing body armour or helmets. With the exception of the officer featured, the NZ Army does not tell a story of integration for women, as they are not observed doing many of the tasks that the men are. Only one of the women (the officer) is viewed doing physical activity and carrying a rifle; I am commanding a Zodiac boat and then jumping off at the shore landing. The key message for women in the case of the officer is that it is possible for women to experience those same opportunities as a male officer in the NZ Army, as a woman officer is portrayed doing exactly that; giving orders to soldiers, conducting physical activities and wearing webbing with a rifle. This sends a message of social integration (Keyes, 1998); to women as well as men. It is necessary to reiterate that the recruiting video had not intended to include a woman officer; I was only in the video because my male colleague was unavailable at the last minute. If this had occurred, there would have been yet another NZ Army advertisement with a resounding message of unequal opportunities for women and reduced social integration for women.

This video also contains several clips where embodied leadership can be seen. Images 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12 in Figure 13 above, provide some examples of leadership occurring

where the body is paramount. In each of these images, the officer is providing leadership to their soldiers in an embodied manner. Images 1, 6 and 12 show the officers giving orders to their soldiers. It is necessary for the officer to be out in the field, alongside their soldiers to provide those orders. Images 8, 9 and 10 show the officer physically leading from the front; running up front, leading the vehicle convoy and leading the beach landing. These are good examples of embodied leadership being portrayed.

This recruiting video also sends a message regarding social actualisation, through the consideration of self-actualisation. One of the interviewed officers makes a comment regarding the officer training. “You really do find yourself at the end of it and you really do surprise yourself” (Army, 2009). He is suggesting that the officer training facilitates personal growth (Ryff, 1989) and progress towards reaching one’s potential (Waterman, 1993). Two of the other men talk about challenges, and doing a job that is more interesting. I also talk about the variety within the NZ Army and the opportunity to travel to unique locations. I would argue that these points also relate to a person achieving personal growth and progressing towards achieving their potential.

4.2 – Social well-being: Key messages

This section provides an overall summary of these eight campaigns pertinent to social well-being for women. Analysis has shown that the NZ Army recruiting videos used during the 1990s and 2000s were predominantly male focused. Using methods similar to Clavio and Eagleman (2011), the gender of the military ‘stars’ in each video (and clip within the videos) was identified. In total, 48 male ‘stars’ and 14 female ‘stars’ were

identified. The clothing worn and activity being performed, by gender, was categorised in accordance with Table 2 in Section 3.2.1 of the methodology chapter. A similar method to Guerin-Eagleman and Burch (2016) and Fink and Kensicki (2002) was utilised for this coding. The total number of clips showing each activity across the eight videos are as follows:

Table 3: Number of men and women conducting each type of activity

Combat	64 men	3 women
Non-combat and non-administration (mid-way)	60 men	6 women
Physical Training, non-camouflage	45 men	2 women
Administration	18 men	6 women

Table 3 demonstrates a significant discrepancy in representation of women when analysed according to task. When administration activities appear in the videos, (sitting at a desk, being in a classroom, providing medical attention and being with a child, were all assigned to this classification), 25% of the personnel were women. However, combat (carrying a weapon) and physical training activities only show 4% women, and ‘mid-way’ activities (giving orders, doing trade work, being outside) show 9%.

Table 4 below provides more detail of the approximate numbers of men and women observed conducting various tasks in all of the videos discussed above. This has involved manually counting the tasks. On occasion, an image has been counted in two task categories below, depending on the activity. For example, firing a weapon and having camouflage cream on is counted in both boxes.

Table 4: Number of men and women conducting each type of activity: Detailed

Task	Number of Men	Number of Women
Physical training (non-combat)	86	3
Physical training (combat)	10	1
Firing or aiming a weapon	23	0
Patrolling with a weapon	19	2
Giving orders or lessons	10	1
Trade task	5	0
Wearing cam cream on face	9	0
On a radio	5	3
At a computer	2	2
In a vehicle (plane, truck, boat)	33	1
Interacting with children	2	1
Hongi or Haka	7	0
Giving medical attention	1	2
Receiving a qualification	0	1
Logistics tasks	2	2

Here, the gender representation is highlighted further. Of the personnel featured sitting at a computer, 50% are women, and when medical treatment is being given, 67% are women. Yet, when an activity involves physical training, only 4% are women, and when a weapon is being aimed or fired, the proportion of women is 0%. Women are predominantly shown conducting less active, or less combat related tasks, compared to men. The women are not represented conducting embodied leadership. Using two methods of analysis, there are more military men ‘stars’ used in the videos, more men in total throughout the videos and more men conducting active or physical tasks.

These findings have similarities with the literature focusing on gender representation of athletes. Images of men focused on physical strength (Billings & Eastman, 2003), whereas images of women focused on their attractiveness, sexuality and femininity (Billings et al., 2014; Bissell & Duke, 2007; Clavio & Eagleman, 2011). In essence, the images depicting both NZ Army personnel and athletes portray men conducting activities that could be considered typically masculine and women conducting activities that could be considered typically feminine.

Table 5 provides a summary of the social well-being messages for women, used by the NZ Army in these eight recruiting video advertisements. The key points to note related to 'No visibility' are highlighted in bold.

Table 5: Summary of key social well-being messages for women, used by the NZ Army

Recruiting Campaign	Key NZ Army Messages	Key Messages for Women
1990s – ‘Arm me with a future’	There are many benefits and experiences a person can get by joining the NZ Army.	Women in the NZ Army do not necessarily perform the same physical tasks as men; less social integration for women.
1990s – ‘Armed to make a difference’ - part one	Joining the NZ Army can give people the opportunity to make a real difference to the lives of people in need in less fortunate countries.	Women who join the NZ Army can use their motherly or nurturing skills to tend to sick or needy children in difficult circumstances. However, they are still not fully integrated.
1990s - ‘Armed to make a difference’ - part two	There are many opportunities for leadership development in the NZ Army. It is portrayed as the ‘centre for excellence’ within NZ for leadership training, demonstrating the calibre in this area for the NZ Army.	The NZ Army did not provide a clear message for opportunities for women as they did not feature in this advertisement. Therefore, there is a lack of social integration for women.
2000s - ‘Virtual Viv’	The NZ Army can bring ‘gaming’ experiences to life.	The messaging for women is less clear in this video, but would appear to target women who also enjoy gaming.
2000s - ‘Have you got what it takes?’ – volleyball	Version one and three: personnel in the military need to pay attention to detail and be observant; if someone has those skills, the NZ Army is the place for them. Version two: the NZ Army requires people with different skills and background – they are looking for diverse people.	Women are just as much a part of the NZ Army team as the men. This advertisement demonstrates social integration of women.
2000s - ‘Have you got what it takes?’ – humanitarian	The NZ Army requires its personnel to make difficult decisions; it is looking for people who can think on their feet and make rational (not emotional) decisions.	The key messages for women were not clear, as no women were observed in the video. This does not demonstrate social integration for women.
2000s - ‘Have you got what it takes?’ – would you unlock the door?	The NZ Army requires its personnel to make difficult decisions; it is looking for people who can think on their feet and make rational (not emotional) decisions.	Women have the same roles and opportunities as men in the NZ Army. Further, a civilian woman can also pose a threat.
2000s - ‘get what it takes’ – general list officers	Becoming an officer in the NZ Army can provide: opportunities for leadership, to be challenged, to undertake training, experience a variety of situations, and do so alongside motivated people.	It is possible for women to experience those same opportunities as an officer in the NZ Army as men, as a woman officer is portrayed doing the same tasks as the male officers.

4.3 - Chapter summary

This chapter has addressed the first subsidiary research question: how did NZ Army recruiting video advertisements contribute towards the social well-being of women officers? The chapter provided contextual information regarding the messaging used by the NZ Army to the New Zealand public. Recruiting material is a significant part of the way that the NZ Army communicates with the rest of New Zealand. It sends a message to potential recruits, family, and the New Zealand public, about the NZ Army and about the type of people and roles available in the NZ Army. The overwhelming majority of the recruiting material used during these two decades focused on men. Further, men were consistently observed doing more physical and command related tasks compared to women. The recruiting material did not demonstrate equal opportunities for men and women. It did not demonstrate social integration for women. Even after 2000, the NZ Army did not appear to demonstrate this 'openness' and 'equal opportunity' message in its recruiting material. While several of the advertisements send messages of social integration, in that the NZ Army provides opportunities to create friendships, they simultaneously send a message of reduced social integration for women.

During this two decade period, the NZ Army did not appear to make any effort to recruit women. The women who do join, then find themselves in an environment where they were not even actively asked to join, significantly impacting their social well-being.

The next three chapters turn from the outward facing recruiting video campaigns, to inward facing, beginning with Chapter Five, titled, 'No voice'. Chapter Five focuses on

the social well-being of women officers as a result of harassment and gender discrimination in a masculine environment.

5.0 - No voice

This chapter explores the concept of 'No voice', highlighting women officers' experiences of marginalisation within the NZ Army. Some of the themes identified in the literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders, harassment and discrimination, having to prove themselves and difficulties balancing work and family, are relevant to women officers in this study. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the social well-being of women officers in relation to gender discrimination within a masculine hegemonic environment. It addresses the second subsidiary research question: how did the experiences of marginalisation and discrimination contribute towards the social well-being of women officers? The first theme examined is sexual harassment and sexual assault.

5.1 – “I didn’t understand how some of the guys could have mothers the way they were speaking about other women”

In the literature which focused on the experiences of women leaders, the experiences of harassment and discrimination did not tend to include many examples of sexual harassment, whereas the literature focusing specifically on women and women leaders in the military did find sexual harassment to be an issue (Estrada & Berggren, 2009; Harris, 2009; McGregor & Smith, 2015; Mengeling et al., 2014; Sims et al., 2005). Several

of the women in this study experienced varying degrees of sexual harassment. This ranged from being exposed to pornography and offensive sexual language, through to sexual assault and rape.

Sexual harassment and sexual assault impact women's social integration and can lead to alienation (Seeman, 1959). It would be difficult for women to feel integrated into a community when they are being sexually harassed, as it is a naturally alienating experience. Participants also spent time discussing the lack of punishment for the perpetrators of sexual harassment and sexual assault, which was similar to findings in the Royal New Zealand Airforce (RNZAF) culture review (McGregor & Smith, 2015). The lack of punishment is also relevant to alienation and powerlessness (Seeman, 1959) in that the women have no expectation that reporting the assault will lead to a just outcome. In the context of these discussions, I felt that this lack of consequence was discussed in a manner that was also relevant to social coherence. The women did not feel that logic, predictability or reason prevailed in these situations.

Several of the women shared their thoughts regarding the sexually degrading manner in which some men in the NZ Army spoke about women. One woman talked about the

blue male jokes that you get in the smoko room... it's sometimes the behaviours that you would see in the officers mess where it's alright to have a few beers and start being really stupid and crass towards the women... it was behaviours that were seen to be sort of laddish and jokish but that just weren't acceptable.

Several other women also spoke about the crass sexual behaviours directed at women by some of the male officers. One respondent discussed feeling uncomfortable in the officer's mess.

There were lots of times where I was like, I need to leave now because there's only two females in here and 42 men and they're very, very drunk and I need to get out... you can hear them in the back, 'oh, 100 bucks if you can bang a new girl' and you can hear them... you can 100 percent hear them.

On many occasions, men were heard bragging about their sexual exploits.

They [men] start bragging... and I just felt it was a culture of disrespect for females and that the leadership didn't do anything to stop it from happening. They would be just as much a part of it... A senior male officer was frequently telling stories about plying females with alcohol so that he could have sex with them and I pointed out to him that that's illegal. He would say things like, 'well, if that's illegal, then everyone is a rapist'. It was just those kinds of attitudes, it just felt like they were everywhere.

Another woman spoke about overhearing the conversations of the male officers in the courtyard outside her barrack room, where they would sit and talk after drinking,

I'm quite used to the way the guys talk [sexually about women], but sometimes I felt I didn't understand how some of the guys could have mothers the way they were speaking about other women, as though we were just for one purpose and one purpose only.

She also talked about how the sexual grossness she heard from male officers was far worse than anything she ever heard from male soldiers.

At that point in the interview, some of my own experiences came to the fore, as I also remembered thinking that male officers could be far more disgusting than what I had heard from any male soldiers. I thought of the 1982 film, 'An officer and a Gentleman' and remembered teachings at OCS where officers are always supposed to act as gentlemen and gentlewomen, with a degree of decorum and excellent manners. I shared that perhaps the idea of an 'officer and a gentleman' is more apparent for soldiers than for officers.

She replied, "I one hundred percent agree. I heard some disgusting things [from male soldiers] but I didn't hear anything to rival the stuff that I heard outside my barrack window [from male officers]." This demonstrates a lack of respect towards women, which impacts social acceptance (Wrightsmann, 1991). It would be difficult for women officers to feel accepted by the men as equals and peers, when they hear them making such sexually degrading comments. When these behaviours come from officers within the organisation, the conditions for anomic suicide (Durkheim, 1951) are apparent. Anomic suicide occurs when a combination of reduced social integration and reduced social regulation (also termed anomie) occurs. Officers set the rules and the standards, yet some are involved in sexual harassment and sexually degrading commentary, which is not in line with social regulations. In this case, social regulation is reduced causing anomie (Durkheim, 1951) at the same time as the women are experiencing reduced social integration.

While sexual harassment suggests a lack of social regulation, it appeared that this culture was accepted by some members within the NZ Army.

I did feel like there was a culture of disrespect towards women with the drinking culture. There's always a lot of inappropriate touching, slapping on the bum... If someone complained about it, then it would be a case of like, 'you need a harder skin because you're in the Army' or, 'boys will be boys'.

The acceptance of these behaviours further reduces the social well-being of these women.

I personally felt that this behaviour, and these offensive comments were tolerated within the NZ Army. It was not that all men made these comments and acted in this manner. Many of the men I served with did not speak like that and most did not carry out any 'bum slapping'. However, I have racked my brain to think of a time when a man told another man not to speak in that manner, or not to inappropriately 'rub against' or 'bum slap' a woman. I cannot recall any examples of this and none of the interviewed women commented on having a man speak up in this manner either. This 'bystander' approach by so many of the men further reinforced the 'acceptability' of these behaviours and comments. I believed the best way to cope was to thicken my skin, not let it phase me, and just put up with it.

I do need to point out that I did find some sexual jokes amusing and tolerable when they were being said by my friends, and I had many male friends that I felt quite comfortable with them speaking in a lewd manner. I did at times have a laugh with them and this was fine. It was when other men that I barely knew thought it was appropriate, that I found it more uncomfortable, but never bothered to say anything.

Further, I cannot recall how many times I was exposed to naked male officers at the mess. They would find it hilarious if they could get a woman officer to unwittingly look at their genitals. For example, 'hey Ellen, have you seen my helicopter?' and they would point down, causing me to unintentionally look down to see them waving their penis around like a helicopter. While I hated being exposed to this, it never even occurred to me that complaining about it could be an option. Thinking about the current organisation I work for, such sexual comments and nakedness would never be tolerated. In fact, I am confident that disciplinary action would be taken. So why did I think it was ok, or normal, or acceptable in the Army?

A friend recently reminded me of a time when we were away on a course. She had caught some of the men going through my overnight bag and sifting through my underwear. When she told me what had happened, I brushed it off and made some light hearted remark about 'at least I didn't pack any Granny panties'. Now, I know that this would have bothered me. This is an invasion of my privacy and is creepy. So why did I brush it off? It was just easier to act like I wasn't fussed.

In addition to observing and experiencing sexual harassment, one of the women interviewed told me how she was sexually assaulted; she was raped by a senior officer. "I don't remember much of what happened, but I was staying in barracks at the time and I had left the party and gone to my own room... but I'd forgotten to lock the door." She made the decision not to report it.

It was one of those situations where there are lots of grey lines. I couldn't remember everything and there was alcohol involved. I just didn't feel confident. I thought because of, he was very well liked, popular, high ranking officer... with a wife and kids... who I just felt like everyone would side with him. I just decided not to make my life more difficult I guess.

She spoke about how if this had happened to her now (a few years after the event, and since leaving the NZ Army), "I wouldn't hesitate to bring him down because I wouldn't have the fears that everyone would take his side... I just didn't feel like anyone would believe me."

Out of all the interviews, as an ex-serving member of the NZ Army, I found this the most horrific. The rape itself is heart-breaking, but her decision not to report it felt even more gut wrenching. I did not bat an eyelid at her decision because I instantly knew it would have been an uphill battle for her and I know that she would have experienced significant backlash if she did report it. It is this knowledge that made me most upset for her, and for military women overall.

This woman learned she was not the only person to experience rape in the NZ Army and that there were other women officers who had also not reported sexual assault. She spoke in confidence to a senior officer about the assault (and required them not to report it).

She [the senior officer] went and talked to some of her friends and she came back and said, 'well, two of my friends broke down and started crying because this has happened to them, several times, and they've never reported it either'. So obviously the tip of the iceberg.

Again, powerlessness (Seeman, 1959) is evident. Further, the social coherence was so weak, or non-existent, that the women could not even trust they would be safe when reporting a rape. During the period that these twenty women, and myself, served, the NZ Army was, and possibly still is, a place where there are significant risks to the victims who report sexual assault. This also appears to align with findings in the RNZAF (McGregor & Smith, 2015), in that there is risk to those who report sexual harassment and assault.

Other women gave examples where men had sexually harassed or sexually assaulted women, and also got away with it. These stories make it easy to understand why the woman I interviewed and the other women officers she spoke of, decided not to report their rape incidents. One participant talked about men being called out, and possibly disciplined, for sexual harassment and assault, but that their reputation seemed negligibly impacted. "People have done dumb things and they have been court martialled for it... but it's behaviours that were sort of, almost glorified."

I remember hearing a story about a senior male officer who had done something pretty gross when he was a junior officer. During a strategy assessment, where he was required to give a ground brief, he pulled out his genitals and referred to them when describing the terrain. I actually do not know if he got into trouble for this, so I am not able to comment on this. However, he was considered an absolute legend by the male officers. Just as my interviewee noted, this guy was glorified.

One woman told an example where "a young officer bit the bottom of a female officer and the female officer complained and it went to court martial and he was found guilty

of it.” While this male officer was found guilty, she noted that, “well, it’s not done that officer any harm. He’s doing quite well for himself now... he is now actually a high ranking officer,” suggesting that this crime did not cause him any long term career issues. She further went on to say,

It’s almost like some stuff, although it becomes very public, it also becomes almost like folklore, do you know what I mean? That one is almost like a folklore one. And that is what makes it almost like, acceptable behaviour. But it’s not. And although we [the Army] were seen to do something about it, there was a court martial, there was very little in terms of ramification at the end of it. I think it might have been a stay of seniority [delay in promotion to the next rank] or what have you, but very little in terms of what I would consider to be appropriate recourse for it... I think women were very conscious that if they rocked the boat then that could be the end of their career.

I remember learning about this bottom biting incident at the officer’s mess. I heard a lot of male officers make scathing remarks about the woman who complained, suggesting that she had made ‘too big a deal’ of it.

This aligns with a US military study, where victims were found to experience emotional distress as a result of a dissatisfactory response by their leader, following the reporting of sexual harassment or assault (Daniel et al., 2019). Another interviewee talked about an alleged rape incident where she felt the two accused men received a lot more support than the female victim.

There wasn’t a lot of support for her but there was this whole sort of ‘let’s gather around the guys that have been accused, we’ll look after them, we’ll get them their buddies, we’ll go to court with them, we’ll do this for them, we’ll do that

for them.’ But it was very much a case that the young girl didn’t really have a lot on her side apart from perhaps her family.

This lack of support for the woman contributes to her reduced social integration and social acceptance. It suggests that members of the NZ Army did not accept her version of the truth, but very much accepted the mens’ version. This would likely have been very isolating for the woman. From a social coherence point of view, regardless of whether the rape did or did not occur in that particular situation, it does not make sense that the woman would not receive any support in court.

A further participant discussed a senior male officer being court martialled for sexual harassment.

I don’t believe for a minute that anything the complainants said was untrue because why would they have said that otherwise, why would they have gone through a shitload of stress basically through the whole process, unless it was true?

In addition to the testament from several women, there was also hard evidence in the form of sexually harassing text messages, indicating that sexual harassment had definitely occurred. The male officer however, was found ‘not guilty’. This further demonstrates alienation (Seeman, 1959) in that reporting sexual harassment is not a straight forward, or safe thing to do in the NZ Army; reporting sexual harassment causes stress for the victim and unwarranted outcomes.

To me it’s really clear how that individual got off. He was just a really popular bloke. They just thought he was a bit of a Jack the Lad and the other blokes just thought it was normal, no big deal and so on. The three people who are basically,

like the jury, they were three males of a similar ilk and protecting the boys at the end of the day... That individual was a very popular rugby playing individual... The [civilian] person who presided over [the court martial] was a senior prosecutor and he was very apologetic and just couldn't understand how that [not guilty verdict] happened... I know how it happened, the three people making the judgements were that kind of, you know, male. Yeah, that would have to be a defining moment.

This is another example of women experiencing reduced social integration, social acceptance and also social coherence when it comes to the NZ Army dealing with claims of sexual harassment and sexual assault. I would argue that this can also be related to self-actualisation through Maslow's (1968) theory of motivation. In order to achieve self-actualisation, a person must first achieve the other four needs of physiological, safety, love and esteem. If a woman experiences, or even fears sexual harassment and sexual assault, it is likely she will not feel safe. The woman who told me about being raped noted how she had "never really experienced anxiety before that. But you just get a physical reaction, the heart rate really goes up and you just feel you're not safe". Further, if women observe instances of men getting away with this behaviour, it is understandable why these women do not feel safe to report it. Not feeling safe prevents these women from progressing towards self-actualisation.

The next section moves from sexual harassment and sexual assault, and examines further experiences of gender discrimination in relation to social well-being.

5.2 – “I haven’t seen any advantages to being female”

One of the questions I asked every woman, towards the very end of the interview, was, ‘tell me about being a woman leader in the Army’. Every woman went immediately to one of two responses. They would either (a) tell me about some negative gender related experiences or (b) tell me that they had never experienced anything negative as a result of their gender (although many of these women then shared stories which contradicted this at some other time in the interview, similarly to contradictions made by women leaders in other studies (Patterson et al., 2012)). The point is, not one of the women responded by saying, ‘the great thing about being a woman in the Army is...’ They all jumped straight to discussing how it was, or was not, negative.

This caused me to reflect on my own experiences of being asked (by non-military people) about what it was like to be a woman in the Army. I distinctly remember saying something along the lines of, “it’s great. As a woman, I get to do all the exciting, physical and challenging tasks in the Army, just like the guys. But unlike the guys, who have to be tough 24/7, I have the luxury of getting to take off the tough layer when I’m off duty and I get to dress nicely and be a girl, which is awesome; the guys can’t do that.” By ‘tough’, I don’t mean ‘gruff’ or stern; I mean tough as in showing no weakness and pushing through physical and mental pain. I did genuinely believe that at the time and even now, I believe my statement to be true. I was surprised by the difference here and after noticing the women

jumping straight to the negative after several interviews, I asked one interviewee why she thought that was the case.

Sure, I think because I don't see any advantages of being female in the NZDF within its current construct... so I don't have an issue with being female as such but I think the things about being female that make me different... are all disadvantages within the current construct within the NZDF. I haven't seen any advantages to being female.

The literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders found that many women leaders experience gender related harassment and discrimination (Brinia, 2011; Dhar, 2008; Diehl, 2014; Haber, 2011; Johnson & Tunheim, 2016; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Lord & Preston, 2009; Maleta, 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Patterson et al., 2012; Tariq & Syed, 2017; Titus, 2011; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016; Weidenfeller, 2012). This was also found to be the case in the literature specifically focusing on women and women leaders in the military (Estrada & Berggren, 2009; Harris, 2009; Mengeling et al., 2014; Sims et al., 2005). It is therefore, not surprising, that the women in this study also experienced discrimination because of their gender. This section examines these experiences through a social well-being lens, starting with findings that suggest not all men believe women add value to the NZ Army.

5.2.1 – “People say women add value to this unit environment. I don’t agree”

More than half of the women specifically talked about how some of the gender discrimination in the NZ Army seemed to stem from the beliefs of some men that women should not be in the NZ Army, or that their value is less than men. It is worth noting that the majority of the participant’s stories regarding men not thinking women added as much value, were about male officers, not male soldiers. This was similar to findings in the RNZAF culture review, where older, higher ranking males were the most likely group to exhibit anti-women attitudes (McGregor & Smith, 2015). It is possible that male soldiers held the same view as the male officers. As women officers hold a higher rank than male soldiers, it is unlikely that a male soldier would have spoken poorly about women officers in their presence. However, the women did not discuss feeling less valued by male soldiers. The comments relating to feelings of low social acceptance, low social integration and low social contribution appeared to be as a result of comments, attitudes and behaviours, almost exclusively of male officers, and they are the ones creating and reinforcing the culture.

Some of the men discussed by the interviewees were not remotely subtle about their views. One of the women had a male boss who blatantly told her, “look, as far as I am concerned, people say that women add value to this unit environment. I don’t agree.” In a similar vein, another woman overheard an argument between her boss and another senior member of the unit about whether she, as a woman, should be in the unit. “So my sub-unit commander was arguing that I should be there and whether or not he

believed that I don't know... and the Warrant Officer obviously disagreeing that females should be in that unit." From a social well-being point of view, it is difficult to think that these two women had any chance of feeling socially well while working within those units. This is linked to social acceptance in that the first woman would have had zero feelings of acceptability to her boss. It is also unlikely that she would have felt valued by the unit (social contribution), as her boss specifically told her that she did not add value. While the second woman may not have felt unaccepted by her boss, not being accepted by a senior member of the unit, who would be influential to all the other members in the unit, would likely have caused her to feel less socially accepted. Further, it would be extremely difficult to feel part of a community in that unit (socially integrated) with these senior men effectively saying that women were not wanted in their units. These examples are perhaps the most extreme, however, there were numerous other examples that were less direct than these, but still explicit.

Another participant also encountered a number of instances where male officers made it clear they did not believe women added value. At the more subtle end, she spoke about a situation where, as the subject matter expert, she provided advice to a senior male officer which was not respected. "He had very much a 'you're only a female' [attitude]... I had some difficult conversations and that was definitely the male, female issue there." A less subtle example is when she heard a male officer say under his breath (about her), "oh, you're just a stupid female, what do you know?" At the overt end of the spectrum, she spoke of a situation where she managed another officer. "He was difficult to manage, didn't appreciate being managed by younger people or a female. He was very, 'females shouldn't be in the military', pretty old school." He even put it in

writing that he would not do any further work “if he was going to work under a young female.” These examples all depicted male officers not valuing women in the NZ Army. Being disrespected as the subject matter expert devalues her feelings of social contribution. The second two male officers also detract from her social contribution, as well as demonstrating their lack of acceptance towards her (social acceptance).

A further respondent reflected on the attitudes of male officers towards female officers, “some of it is just covert as well. It’s that sort of underlying bubbling sort of, not nice behaviours. It’s sarcastic comments that come out sometimes or, ‘what do you know, you’re just a chick’, that sort of thing.” While she suggested that some of these attitudes are covert, she still picked up on those attitudes, meaning the attitudes were not secret. It would be very difficult for her to feel true social integration and social acceptance if she felt that some men did not have positive attitudes towards women. Many of the women felt that some of the male officers spoke about women officers in a disrespectful manner.

They are less respectful in how you hear people talk about women officers; it is very different to how they talk about male officers... When it comes to women officers, I have heard other male officers basically infer on the basis of gender that women can’t hack being officers in the arms corps and they just don’t last and it’s all on the basis of gender, not anything else... I’ve specifically heard other male officers in the mess say ‘bloody women can’t be arms corps officers, none of them survive long.’ I’ve literally overheard those conversations. ‘They can’t hack it emotionally, they don’t have the nuts to do it’ is kind of a general statement... I’ve heard senior commanders just be really disrespectful and

derogatory of females but in a way that is derogatory because of their gender as opposed to their performance.

This is relevant to social integration when considering the isolation type of alienation (Seeman, 1959). The male officers in these stories have the belief that women officers are less valuable. This is surely a belief that is contrary to the woman officer hearing the conversation. Another woman also spoke about how male officers would speak poorly, and be judgemental of, women officers. "Watching how they as guys would talk about other officers, or other female officers, who they would spend time with and who they would show respect for... I think it's just a general feel that I got." Similar comments were also made by several other women. While the male officers in these stories were not specifically speaking poorly to, or of, the particular woman officer present, the men seemed to have no qualms in speaking poorly about women officers in general, in the company of a woman officer; demonstrating a significant lack of care and respect.

When discussing these findings with my supervisors, I started thinking about my own feelings of social acceptance and social integration. I can recall hundreds of conversations by male officers about the ability, or supposed lack of ability, of women officers. Like the women above, men would speak in my presence about women not being as good as men due to factors such as their emotions or their physical abilities. As someone who would frequently speak up to protect the under-dog, be that women, or less popular men, I would always argue these points. I am ashamed however, to say my 'speaking up' only really occurred with people of equal or lesser rank to myself. As an extreme 'goody good', I never had the courage to properly argue these points with male officers who were senior in rank. While I don't recall ever changing the minds of these men with my

arguments, I do remember feeling great acceptance and satisfaction when these men would say things like, 'oh but Ellen, you're not like those girls; you're one of the boys'. I was tough, not emotional and could withstand pain, and was physically fit. I always took this as a massive compliment and was genuinely 'chuffed' that these men didn't see all the 'bad' qualities of women in me. Reflecting on this now, it all seems a bit sick; I took pleasure in not being viewed as a 'typical' woman. While I did feel as though I was socially accepted and socially integrated, this may have only been to the point that I didn't act too much like a member of my gender group. This led me to think of the theme that 'a woman can be very successful in the Army, provided she doesn't act too much like a woman'. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

Some of the women felt they were not taken seriously because of their gender. One interviewee spoke about an incident where she was working with another, more male-dominated, unit and how she was “not really taken seriously by some of the male officers. Like I definitely got the distinct impression that they didn't want to speak to me and wouldn't take me seriously... it may have been because I was a female.” She did not feel like her opinion was respected, demonstrating a lack of social acceptance (Wrightsmann, 1991). Another woman felt that men did not think women deserved a place in the NZ Army.

I sometimes thought maybe this idea I have that maybe, if I came in and carried my pack as well as any guy, and I could do the things physically and I could do my job really well, that that would automatically earn you a place. And sometimes I

felt like it might be impossible, just with the sort of ideas they [men] had about females.

Many of the women spoke about the masculine culture and about the old boys' network. This was also reflected in the literature (Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Lord & Preston, 2009; Maleta, 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Titus, 2011). The women described the culture in the NZ Army using terms such as: misogyny, male dominated, ingrained masculinity and chauvinism.

I think there is still this underlying mentality that it's a man's world and women choose to join it, if that makes sense to you. So if I am coming into the organisation I am not coming into a gender neutral organisation, I am coming into one where I choose to work in a man's world and therefore I must compromise and I cannot expect to have manicured nails and to straighten my hair and wear makeup, and be a good officer because, it doesn't work that way because the men don't do it that way. Like, I am being facetious but I do honestly think that and that mentality is still very strong.

These comments highlight a lack of social integration for women in the NZ Army. She expresses how a woman joining the NZ Army is required to make compromises. Her example of such a compromise (forgoing manicured nails, straight hair and make-up) was a tongue in cheek example, to reflect the many other ways that women need to compromise in order to join the man's world. This point relates to the isolation type of alienation (Seeman, 1991), where the woman leader does not necessarily have the same beliefs that the men in the NZ Army do, meaning she must consider compromising. Some of those compromises are reflected in the next chapter, where some women felt they

needed to adopt masculine leadership approaches. For the women who did not naturally lead in this masculine manner, which was the case for 18 of the 20 women, they felt pressure to forgo a degree of their authenticity as a leader.

In addition to the rhetoric regarding some men's opinions of the apparent lack of value that women bring to the NZ Army, the women shared examples of experiencing career disadvantages due to their gender.

5.2.2 – “It’s definitely not a course for female officers”

These career disadvantages ranged from covert, through to overt examples. One woman talked about submitting her corps preference prior to graduating from OCS.

I had to go to the Adjutant [senior staff at OCS] and I had to convince him and explain to him why I wanted to go to that corps. I guess they wanted to make sure of my motivations... so I had to stand there and argue my case.

Incidentally, the male officer cadets wanting to join that corps did not have to argue their case. Another woman needed to do a promotion course and there were two spaces on the course. Out of the three potential candidates, she felt she should have been the top candidate, as she met far more of the prerequisite criteria than the others. Yet, she did not get a place on the course and the other two men did. “It was kind of a slap in the face by the unit to me. I was kind of like, oh right, is that how it’s going to be?” She did not say whether that happened specifically because she was a woman, but said she could not think of any other explanation for it.

The XO [senior member in the unit] came up to me and said, 'I'm really sorry, I don't understand why you missed out on that course. I don't understand why. You should have been on it.'... So yeah, I don't know why.

These two stories demonstrate a lack of social coherence. Based on how the process for selection had worked for others, it was expected that a similar process would be followed in these instances; this did not occur. The process for selecting personnel for the course was not structured, predictable or explicable (A. Antonovsky, 1994; Srole, 1956). This lack of social coherence was frustrating and unfair for these women.

When another woman graduated from OCS, it was she and two males who graduated into her unit.

The two boys went into command positions. I went into a training officer position which actually didn't really exist and it was sort of a holding pattern until the next year... and then the end of the year I was meant to get a command role, the two boys went to another command role

and she was put into another non-command role. "So I never got the chance to be a commander until after two years I had been there and by then, so people had pretty much written me off. So that was pretty challenging." In this case, it did not make sense that she would be the only person to miss out on a command role two years in a row. Perhaps the first year could be justified if there were not enough positions, and she was the unlucky one to miss out. However, for the second year, it seems that it should have been her turn to get a command role, yet she still did not. With regards to the concept of meaninglessness (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989), the decision to not assign her to a command position two years in a row did not appear to have rhyme or reason, also

reducing her feelings of social coherence. This two year set back would also likely have impacted on her ability to achieve personal growth (Ryff, 1989) and develop her potential (Waterman, 1993).

Many of the women spoke about the old boys' network and noted it was still prevalent in 2018, at the time the interviews were conducted.

I think there's certainly, and we call it an old boys' network, and it certainly still exists. And yeah, if you're part of that old boys' network then that's all good and you get preferential treatment, you get advanced, you get opportunities... they say the right things and they scratch the right backs and it's just like, 'oh come on', so performance means nothing?

The powerlessness associated with alienation (Seeman, 1991) is relevant here. This woman feels no expectation regarding the outcomes as a result of performance. Instead of performing well to earn advancement opportunities, she feels as though gender and not being a member of the old boys' network is more likely to negatively impact her career outcomes. This also relates to social coherence as the decisions regarding advancement do not seem structured or predictable (A. Antonovsky, 1994).

One participant talked about not being given the same opportunities as the men to practice leadership during OCS, which was disadvantageous to her training.

I just found that me and the other girls in my year group, by the time we got to month four, we'd always get the clean-up type command positions which nobody wants... which are challenging in their own right, but not the best for leadership development activities.

Here, a 'clean-up' command position literally means supervising the cleaning of equipment at the end of the exercise, which is considerably less complex and challenging than the command tasks allocated during the field exercise. This command task does not provide the best opportunity for developing leadership skills in the NZ Army. When asked why she thought she and the other women were allocated these administrative type tasks for their 'turn' at being in a leadership role, she replied, "because we were women, girls. That's my perspective." This is another example of women missing out on career opportunities without any clarity or coherence around why it was happening. She is left confused, not knowing for sure if gender was the reason for missing out on the command roles. If gender was the reason, she is not provided with any information as to why that is the case, leaving her guessing. As a cadet at OCS, the locus of control (Lefcourt, 1982) for deciding who gets allocated what command task rests far away from the cadet.

Another interviewee discussed an operational environment where she was the only woman and she found out that some of the other staff "weren't happy that I was the only female working in this place and maybe it was because there were so many males, that things could potentially go wrong." In this case, the 'fear' from the males that a sole woman may get harassed caused them to think that the solution to avoid this possibility was to remove the woman from the situation.

I was like, 'well, if you've got soldiers that you don't trust, then maybe you should take that soldier away rather than saying that I can't do my job'. So he was kind of saying that I should be taken out of the equation.

Another respondent told a story where a woman soldier in her unit wanted to join a patrol that was comprised solely of men. Similar to the situation above, the men did not want to have the sole woman soldier join their patrol in case the male soldiers harassed her. "If we say that every time, females aren't going to be allowed to do very much are they?" Once again, a woman was being disadvantaged because men did not want to risk that she might get harassed for being the only woman. The four women at the start of this section believed their different treatment was due to their gender, but they could not be completely sure. These two women just discussed, were specifically told that gender was the reason for the men not wanting them, or a woman soldier, to be the sole woman in the male dominated environments. Even though the reason of gender was clearly articulated, this did not mean the situation made sense and was therefore not socially coherent.

At the extreme end of the scale, some of the women interviewed were specifically disadvantaged by senior male officers because of their gender.

Some of the horrific stories from my career management days where they actually refused to come up with a plan [career path] because I was female. This was actually said to me. That 'we're not going to bother planning your career because you could get pregnant... the reason we aren't giving you a plan is because you are female and you could get pregnant so that [the career plan] would all go out the window'... That always stayed with me and I like, clear as day remember exactly what they said.

Having senior male officers concern themselves with the possibility of women officers getting pregnant was also highlighted by another woman. She was about to depart on

an overseas posting and was called in to see her male commanding officer as part of a departure interview. "The only thing he said to me was 'don't get pregnant'." In these cases, their value was reduced to their reproductive possibilities. As well as reducing their feelings of social coherence, it is likely that their feelings of social integration, social acceptance and social contribution would also have been reduced.

Another respondent talked about a course she wanted to go on.

My [male] boss said to me, 'it's not a course for officers and it's definitely not a course for female officers' ... There was no other explanation [other than gender], but that was just the end of that, so he got the S1 [HR] to withdraw me from the course and that was the end of that.

This is another example of a woman officer experiencing a career disadvantage for nonsensical reasons (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989).

With one exception, none of the women who experienced gender related career disadvantages said that they did anything about it; they just put up with it while they were serving and did not take action. The woman who had talked about her career manager blatantly telling her that there was no point in planning her career in case she got pregnant noted,

I remember telling my mates about it... and they just cracked up and they went, 'yeah, that's exactly what he's like' and it's not that they accepted it, it's just, what could you do about it?... I let myself down by not challenging those sorts of things. You're kind of just in shock, but they actually just said it and it's like, I should challenge that, but I didn't... Well, when they're your superiors as well

and you're so indoctrinated not to talk to them in a way, especially when one is a full Colonel and the other one was a Major and I was just a Captain, you can't just, you know, talk to them on the level... [Looking back, if I did it again], I would have a word with myself and I'd challenge a little bit more and just sort of recalibrate some of those attitudes in hindsight. Yeah, have a word with a more mature me and say 'oi, don't put up with that, that's not okay, don't let them say shit like that'.

She experienced flagrant unfair treatment due to her gender. However, she could not conceive any clear way to stand up to this and fight for her right to be treated fairly. As she did not see her career manager's comments as fair or reasonable (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989), she did not know how to even go about challenging his comments. There was no process for challenging such actions and comments.

Another participant noted that "there is a lot of pressure put on women to be the ones to complain and then when they complain, they are the ones who end up not fitting in." This would suggest that a woman would experience reduced social integration as a result of challenging unfair treatment, presumably meaning the women felt it was easier to just put up with it. She suffered because of this discrimination.

I ended up getting depression for six months. I mean, because I take myself really seriously... it's really challenging... At that time it was just really hard being so lonely. I didn't have anybody else to talk to. Very, very challenging. It's nice to be able to talk about these things now.

She felt that complaining about the gender related career disadvantages would lead to her to not fitting in; reducing her feelings of social integration. However, not

complaining and feeling lonely and alienated (Seeman, 1959) in her situation also reduced her feelings of social integration; a cruel 'damned if you do, damned if you don't' situation.

This section discussed the impact on social well-being to women who experienced career disadvantages due to their gender. The next section examines another area where the women felt reduced social well-being; the existence of double standards.

5.2.3 – “That massive double standard”

Many of the findings discussed throughout this research suggest that some members of the NZ Army hold men and women to different standards, treat men and women differently, and judge men and women differently. This section examines a specific area of this phenomena; double standards regarding mistakes, followed by double standards regarding sexual choices. More than half of the participants discussed the different and unfair standards for men and for women in these areas, which leads to reduced social well-being.

“I find that a male’s indiscretions can be excused a lot easier”

Many of the women spoke about how women were judged more harshly, or punished more severely, than men when it came to making a mistake. This was in line with a study focusing on senior women officers in the NZ Army (Brosnan, 2015) and a study focusing on women officers in the Swedish Armed Forces (Alvinus et al., 2018). The examples regarding men getting away with sexual harassment and sexual assault, presented

earlier in this chapter, are also relevant to this section; they are not presented here to avoid repetition, but they are also very pertinent examples of double standards.

One woman talked about an example where a male officer made up a story about her and then punished her. She fought this and was eventually acknowledged as innocent, however, the senior male officer was never disciplined for making up this lie about her. “Nothing ever happened to him though. That was just such an outrageous thing to do to a subaltern [junior officer] but you know, nothing ever came of it.” The career manager who was not prepared to plan a career for a woman due to the possibility of pregnancy; “that guy is now a senior Brigadier who will probably one day be promoted into a senior position who’s still got a similar attitude and has made similar comments to me and to other people.” This further indicates that men in the NZ Army have said and done inappropriate things, with little to no repercussion. When the men make mistakes and do not suffer any real consequences, the rules are ambiguous and therefore contribute to reducing social coherence.

A significant number of the women interviewed provided examples where the mistakes and behaviours of women officers were judged and punished more harshly than for men.

That massive double standard... I just don’t think you’re ever going to address or get it out of them because they [men] think they’ve got a right to do it, they’ve got a right to judge and they just think you’re less of a person, but it doesn’t apply to men.

Another participant spoke about how women get punished far more harshly than men when it comes to mistakes.

Blokes could do dumb stuff to a reasonable extent and they could make mistakes to a reasonable extent. But if they were a good bloke and you know, therefore considered to be a good leader, they [mistakes] would be ignored really and they would still progress on their path. I think with women, you only have to make one mistake really and that has a consequence and everybody talked about it and everybody knows about it.

She spoke about a friend who was disciplined during a course for using notes from the previous course. While that may or may not have been the right thing to do, she noted that

everybody I know who ever did that course had done that. That's just what you did... She was a good officer. She was a good operator. So that really tarred the rest of her career basically. She knew that she was never going to get far after that.

It did not make sense that none of the male officers were disciplined for using the same notes. The concepts of fatalism (Lefcourt, 1982) and alienation (Seeman, 1991) as they are applied to social actualisation and social coherence are relevant here, in that the outcome following a mistake by a women is completely outside her control.

When hearing this story, I thought about my own mistakes in the Army. One of these mistakes involved getting a small tattoo while on a deployment overseas. To someone outside of the Army, getting a tattoo may not be a big deal and looking back now, I don't feel that it was a hugely 'naughty' thing to do. However, I do acknowledge that tattoos do come with a risk of infection and this was not a

responsible thing to do while on deployment. In the Army, a person can be charged for getting sun burnt because they did not take the appropriate precautions of applying sunblock to prevent becoming a potential liability. As a result of my bad behaviour, this was reported in my end of tour appraisal and upon return to NZ, my OC (male boss) 'tore strips off me' for being so bad. I had no issues with being in trouble as I knew it was not good behaviour. However, during that deployment, at least four male officers also got a tattoo and not one of them received so much as a talking to. They were men and it didn't matter.

Another woman spoke about the differing levels of importance for 'playing the social game' between men and women officers in the NZ Army. If a male officer is not great socially, in that he does not have a great rapport with senior officers, he is less likely to be negatively impacted career-wise in the way that a woman officer with less social skills might be. She elaborated by talking about a friend.

She is one of the best officers I've worked with but she does not have the 'play the game' skill either so I think her career has been less than some of her peers, who she is a lot more competent than, which is, from my perspective, down to a combination of her lack of skill in negotiating the social game, while being a woman. Because there's a number of men that are senior officers in the Army who have very few social skills that seem to get ahead. Whereas, if you look at the examples of our senior women, I would put all of them as very good operators, very good operators, but they also know how to play the game. Whereas I think in the male side, you've got much more of a spread, where people might be good competently, but have less interpersonal skills... I guess

my viewpoint is that I think there is a narrower profile for how to be successful at a senior level as women than there is for men.

This again reflects the lack of structure and predictability. This narrower profile makes the tight rope that women officers walk even thinner.

A further participant also talked about the different standards. When asked to elaborate,

I don't actually know why that is the case. But I just know that it's true. I've got lots of examples where male officers have failed RFLs [fitness test] and then that's fine. You know, whereas if a woman does. If a male gets drunk at the bar and makes a fool of himself, or if a female officer does, it's a completely different perception. And it is something that follows them around after that. Whereas, I find that a male's indiscretions can often be excused a lot easier by the male peers or male officers before a women's would... I believe wholly that there is stigma associated with being a female officer and that you are held to a higher standard and that any mistakes or repercussions are held and I feel like, punished, and the repercussions are worse... I know a lot of male officers that have been done for drunk driving, they've been arrested for fighting or something like that. And it's never really been made a massive issue of. But I feel that if that was a female officer, that would be a really big deal. Actually, I have no doubt that it would be... I think, as a woman, you've got to be really careful about how you're perceived. I do think that you're being watched more and that your reputation is very important. Because if you make a mistake, I do think it's harder to come back from than if you're a male officer. And I do think also that

things change the higher up you get. So as a woman, depending on what your reputation has been like through your career, and as you get higher, it will really depend on how you're perceived and treated by your peers and your commanders.

These examples indicate that male officers receive less punishment compared with women officers. One woman spoke about how these differing standards were not just with regards to how superiors discipline their officers, but it was also a double standard when it came to judgement from male officer peers.

So other male officers may suddenly not want to talk to you because they don't want to be associated with you because you've done something that's got a bad reputation. Whereas if a male did it, their mates would probably still talk to them.

This would indicate that women officers face reduced social coherence due to the rules not being applied evenly across genders; this reduced social coherence also exists when interacting with male officer peers. Further, the women experience reduced social integration and social acceptance from their male peers.

One participant was judged negatively for being blunt, which incidentally is a more typically masculine approach; bluntness and directness is what the women said OCS taught them and this is examined in more detail in Chapter Six. Further, if the women adopted feminine approaches, they received criticism, so being blunt would be considered positively, surely? However, she spoke about receiving a performance appraisal where she was criticised for being difficult, which she thought was unfair. Her male officer peer, "whom I love to death, he's a great officer, one of the best I've ever

worked with, but he's a huge pain in the arse and I'm the challenging one??" Her report stated that

I needed to work on my abrasiveness... so I just think that there is definitely behaviours perceived in a different way if it comes from women and that also mirrors the experiences of some other women that I know where if you're a little bit blunt and focused on getting things done, it can be held against you.

This negative judgement for adopting a masculine approach is also in line with studies focusing on women police officers (Osterlind & Haake, 2010), women banking CEOs (Liu et al., 2015) and women US Marines (Germano, 2018). Another participant remembered

my boss saying to me after I stuck up for one of my soldiers who had been bullied, but he said that 'people think you're officious' and things like that... I was taking action and not being the bystander.

Being officious suggests being assertive of authority in a domineering or overbearing way; a potentially masculine trait, which she was criticised for. While the women were taught to lead in a masculine manner, and were then criticised if they adopted feminine approaches, they would also receive criticism for adopting masculine approaches. From a social coherence point of view, coherence was virtually non-existent; again referring to the situation of 'damned if you do, damned if you don't'. This ambiguous balancing act was also found to be an issue for women in the literature (Herbert, 1998; Karazi-Presler et al., 2017; Silva, 2008; R. Woodward & Winter, 2007).

One interviewee shared a story about her friend who participated in a mess game which involved racing another woman officer to find a particular item in the mess. Both women

got to the item at the same time and tussled over it; the rumours suggested they had a punch up, which was an exaggeration.

Anyway, she had a [senior] female officer turn up in her barrack room and berate her. Told her she was a disgrace, blah blah blah. Yet, at the same function, there had been male officers put a burning tyre though the mess, had walked around in ass-less chaps, had been wrestling on the grass. And none of that seemed to be an issue. But the fact that she'd had some perceived tussle with another female officer was seen to be in warrant of an absolute dress down, in her own barrack room."

In this case, the friend was in trouble for 'tussling', which is likely to be considered a masculine type of behaviour and one that would not be a serious issue in the military. This is another good example of the delicate balance between adopting a certain level of masculine behaviours, but not too much. Social coherence is reduced for women who have to operate in this environment.

In addition to experiencing double standards with regards to mistakes, the women officers also reported experiencing double standards with regards to sexual choices.

"What about him over there? I know he's with a soldier, but he's ok and I'm not. What's that about?"

It is interesting to highlight just how significantly sexual choices can impact on a woman officer's career. In the corporate world, if a woman is thought to have 'slept around' or 'slept with the boss to get ahead', she will likely get a bad reputation for it. This can be

the case whether this is fair or not, and whether a man would be judged in the same way or not. However, in the military, sexual choices can do *much* more harm than damage a reputation. Some of the women officers were interrogated by their bosses and even punished by their bosses for their sexual choices. The women were judged in two ways: firstly, with regards to the frequency or quantity of their sexual experiences and secondly, with regards to their choice of person for their sexual experiences. In the NZ Army, officers are generally negatively judged for having sexual relations with soldiers, but there is an overwhelmingly disproportionate consequence for a woman officer sleeping with a male soldier, compared to a male officer sleeping with a female soldier. These negative perceptions however, appear to mainly come from officers, rather than from soldiers. It is unique for an organisation to place so much weight on sexual choices with regards to performance with respect to women officers. This research makes a unique contribution to literature examining the experiences of women leaders, as this is an area which is far more extreme than the literature. This section examines these examples.

Not only do females end up with names, it then impacts on their credibility, like, how people perceive them in the workplace. So basically your reputation matters and people seem to go from your personal life, or how you run your personal life as a female... It then impacts on how much respect you get given... I don't think it's fair that females get labelled where guys don't... but it's under scrutiny who females have relationships with and how many, if they have multiple relationships and sequentially or whatever. Whereas guys don't have that level of scrutiny over who they have a relationship with... It [getting a reputation for sexual exploits] might end up affecting their career in a way it wouldn't

necessarily outside the Army... There isn't a correlation between the number of relationships you have and how effective you are at your job. So that's sort of uncovering an assumption within the military of those two being correlated but actually they're not.

These comments reflect the lack of social coherence at two levels. Firstly, having a sexual relationship, or having multiple sexual relationships, does not have any correlation to a person's skill and aptitude at work. So it does not make sense that a person would have their work performance negatively judged and appraised because of their sexual relationships. The second level of social incoherence is the double standards. If sexual relationships do lead to negative judgement at work, why is this only the case for women officers and not for men? This second level was discussed by another participant. She talked about a conversation she had had with a senior officer.

They said to me, if you are a woman officer, you are either a slut or a bitch. And there isn't that for men. I think that your behaviours, when it comes to sexual behaviours, are a lot more criticised if you are a female officer than if you are a male... the guys aren't criticised in the same way.

The RNZAF culture review also found that men were praised for having multiple sexual partners, yet women were negatively judged (McGregor & Smith, 2015).

One woman experienced having rumours spread about her that she had cheated on her partner; which was not true. To make this worse, she was then "marked down on my personnel report because he [her boss] said I don't get on with others because I am not more understanding of the fact that people think I've cheated on my partner." Although she was upset herself about these untrue rumours, she was supposed to be more

considerate about how other people, her male officer peers, might be feeling about her supposed indiscretions. This was actually written in her performance report by her male boss. This example seems incomprehensible. She was supposed to demonstrate a degree of empathy to her male officer peers because they may be feeling upset with her for, not actually, cheating on her partner.

In addition to being judged for sexual choices in general, the women faced greater scrutiny regarding their choice of sexual partner; this was specifically more of an issue if that partner was a soldier. Several of the examples from the women do not even relate to women *having* a sexual relationship with a soldier; the women would be judged poorly, or interrogated simply because they were *perceived* to have been having a sexual relationship with a soldier.

On one occasion, I went to Ohakea Airport to greet soldiers from my unit that were returning from Afghanistan, which was a customary practice. When the soldiers from my unit got off the plane, I gave them each a hug and thanked them for their service overseas. The next day, I was pulled into the CO's office (the CO is the next rank above the OC) and endured a one-way conversation about my inappropriate and unprofessional actions. The message was delivered in such a way that it was implied my hugging was interpreted as sexual. The soldiers I hugged were not thirteen year old boys and I am extremely confident they did not perceive my hug as an invitation for a subsequent sexual relationship. Yet, I was made to feel as though I had greeted them at the airport with a lap dance and strip tease. The action of a hug causes further reflection. At my current organisation, NZTE (NZ Trade & Enterprise), each time I see my manager, we give

each other a hug. I really love that we do this in our organisation, as I feel it demonstrates that we care for each other. When I hugged my soldiers at the airport, it was also to demonstrate care. It is interesting that two organisations can view the same action as so very different.

Another story involved an end-of-year unit function. There would have been 100 – 150 personnel at the party and there was food, alcohol, music and dancing. Well I love dancing. It is one of my favourite things to do and I am not a person who needs alcohol to get on the dance floor. So when the music started, and the soldiers started dancing in a circle, I joined the outside of the circle and danced along also. It is important to note that I was not dancing in a duo with anyone; I was just one of the twenty or so people around the circle. Further, I was not dancing in any kind of seductive manner and my clothing was fairly conservative. I left the party relatively early, so as not to ‘cramp the style’ of the soldiers, who likely wanted to have fun without the officers around. That night, one of the male officers got inebriated and was viewed by all the soldiers in his drunken stupor. He passed out in the gutter in a pile of his own vomit and was carried back to the officer’s barracks by several of the soldiers. Well, come Monday morning, I heard that the OC was not very impressed with the antics of one of the junior officers and I assumed it was my male peer. Nope. Guess who got called into the OC’s office and received a telling off for their inappropriate actions at the party? The OC just laughed about my peer’s actions, but told me off for my lack of professionalism and giving the wrong idea to the male soldiers at my unit.

I remember being specifically accused of sleeping with soldiers on numerous occasions when I was a young troop commander. The basis for the accusation would be that I had seen the soldier in a night club on the weekend and said 'hello'. This would then transpire to my OC asking me on Monday morning about my relations with the soldier. Thinking about this now, many years after having these experiences, I find that I am now really wound up. The OC never finished the meeting with saying, 'sorry Ellen. I got that wrong.' Why were the people who started these rumours never punished? Further, I always left the meeting with a feeling that I was somehow responsible. The OC would tell me that I needed to be more careful in the future. Why the heck should I have to be more careful? I didn't do anything wrong!

Another woman experienced the hierarchy incorrectly accusing her of having sexual relations with soldiers.

The other really bad thing was the rumours of a sexual nature. I mean constantly, people were talking about people I had slept with or not slept with. And in fact there wasn't even names most of the time, it was just a general comment. And I had a partner [a male officer] and he used to get marched into his boss's office, have them say, 'we know your girlfriend's cheating on you and this is why because a soldier has told us'... Fortunately my partner and I actually lived together, so it was actually physically impossible for me to be going and seeing somebody else, unless I was doing it in the toilets at work. But it was still pretty demoralising, so really undermining. The whole time that you are just constantly having these rumours. And the thing is, it's really hard. I wouldn't find out about

them for quite a long time and it's really hard to disprove that you have slept with someone who is not even named and you don't even get an opportunity.

This woman truly experienced some senseless attitudes. In the first instance, it is confusing as to why a person's personal sexual choices are judged in a work situation. In the second instance, it is confusing as to why this judgement is significantly more apparent towards women than for men. Further, she was not even having these sexual relations; she was just perceived to have done so. She would not even be told the detail of her supposed sexual relations, so she did not even have a fair chance to refute the rumour. Her situation seems impossible to navigate.

Another participant experienced a soldier bragging about sleeping with her and this got back to her commanding officer. It is important to note that this was untrue; she had no such interactions with this soldier and in fact, the night that it supposedly happened, she was in a barrack room with several other officers watching a movie. Without any knowledge whatsoever of this false accusation,

I got marched over to his [Commanding Officer] office and I didn't even get to say one word. I wasn't asked anything. And I was called a slut, how dare I do this and it was absolutely disgusting and I was just standing there... I wasn't allowed to say anything. I had to stand to attention while he was doing that. It was absolutely appalling and disgusting and not a very good experience and not many people know that story Ellen... So I was accused and I wasn't allowed to say anything.

She only found out after this yelling session what it was that she had supposedly done. Further, she was punished by being assigned an entire month of Orderly Officer (OO)

duties. For context, being assigned a week of OO duties is significant. Not only was she punished in a way that seems very harsh for the 'crime' of sleeping with a soldier, she had not actually done the supposed 'crime'. Even if she had committed this supposed 'crime', it is immensely inappropriate for a senior officer to be calling her a slut.

This tarnished my soldiers' perception of me, because [they would think], 'why is Ma'am always on Orderly Officer? What did she do wrong?'... So I guess that was kind of hard for me as well... It actually affected the position I was in... it degraded me I guess in front of the soldiers.

As well as the entire situation reflecting a complete lack of social coherence, this also impacted on her ability to do her job. When an officer does OO duty, they patrol the camp and monitor the soldiers' barracks and mess facilities; the soldiers know which officer is on OO duty. The soldiers also know that if an officer does multiple OO duties in a row, then the officer is receiving a punishment for doing something wrong. Given that one week of OO duty is significant; a full month of OO duty is extreme. This sends a message to the soldiers in camp that this officer is a very poor performer and has done something extremely bad. Therefore, soldiers saw her on OO duty and assumed that she must be a bad officer; making it extremely difficult for her to maintain credibility and do her job as a leader. The lack of fairness within this entire situation is phenomenal and again demonstrates a lack of social coherence.

If a woman officer did actually sleep with a soldier, she would be made to feel that she had to apologise for it, like she had made some huge mistake and await the punishment. While there were numerous male officers who slept with women soldiers, no one ever seemed to blink an eye; the double standard in this area was extreme.

You just wouldn't hear of it, of a male officer who'd slept with a female soldier. It would not even come up, it just would not be a thing. From my experience, like, it definitely happened. Was it ever considered a thing... it's just like, what's this double standard thing?

One woman spoke about a long term relationship she had had with a soldier, who was not under her command.

I remember as soon as we decided that it was going to be a relationship, which was pretty early on, I went and told my boss... I declared it straight away because I didn't want to hide it. I'm not ashamed of it. I knew it was the right thing to do, to declare it.

It is worth pointing out the uniqueness of this situation. She had to 'declare' her relationship, like she was bringing illicit goods into the country, or 'declaring' a criminal record on her arrival card, or 'declaring' a defect product prior to sale. The military is unique compared to other organisations in this regard. Further, this was far more of an issue for women officers compared with male officers. After this 'declaration',

that's when the problems started. I remember, there was quite, there was a handful of male officers who would call you a dirty rotten baggy [informal term for a soldier] shagger and they would just scowl at you at the mess and they'd actually be quite rude to your face. And you know, basically treat you like you're the most useless officer there is... But it was such a frowned on thing and such a no-no, but again, they'd [the judgemental male officers] be drinking with their buddies who had hooked up with soldiers and that was okay. And I'm like, 'what

about him over there?' I know he's with a soldier, but he's ok and I'm not. What's that about?

In addition to being judged and treated poorly by male officers in the mess, she was almost removed from an overseas deployment because of this relationship.

There were so many bad attitudes towards it [her relationship with a soldier – who was not part of the deployment], that the OC wanted me kicked off the deployment because he said I'd compromised my leadership through my relationship with a soldier. So that nearly went to the Human Rights Commission until Major X [a senior woman officer] came to the rescue, told them to pull their heads in and that they can't actually boot me off a deployment because of who I chose to be in a relationship with. So I think that was the start of my exposure to that prejudice about females. Because if I had been a bloke, and there were plenty of blokes that were hooked up with female soldiers, it wasn't a problem.

One woman commented on

a friend of mine who probably should have been promoted about four years ago, but she's married to a soldier rank so they [Army promotion board] don't look at her and it's just wrong. And I know there's males. I know of a half Colonel who hooked up with an administrator and married her. She was a soldier and he went really far in his career. It wasn't a problem, not a problem at all.

When I returned from Afghanistan, I met a guy at a mutual friend's party. He was a real gentleman and after only a few dates, I realised I really liked him. After spending some time together, I received a terrible text message that caused an overwhelming sense of dread, and my stomach to sink. My friend messaged me,

“hey Ellen, did you know that guy you are seeing is a soldier?” Oh shit!... We had not talked about our careers and did not know that we were both in the Army. He was based in Christchurch and I was based in Palmerston North.

At any other time in my career, this would have caused me to terminate any further interaction immediately. However, my Afghanistan end-of-tour report (which I will tell you more about in the following chapters) spoke poorly of my professionalism with specific regards to being friendly to soldiers. ‘Captain Ford needs to be more distant with soldiers’. The OC of the tour told me that my friendliness could give the male soldiers the wrong idea and lead them to think I wanted a sexual relationship... Well, I guess I had then proved him right! I remember cynically thinking, ‘well at least now I have actually done something wrong to deserve the grief I had been getting.’ I thought long and hard about whether to continue the relationship or not. We were at different bases, in different units, in different corps and we would never be in the same place together for work. Further, he was already planning to leave the Army and I also knew that I would be leaving the Army in the next year or so. So, we kept the relationship a secret for a while, as I wanted to make sure it was serious before I risked my career over it. When I finally ‘declared’ my relationship with a soldier, my OC was disappointed in me, as were many of my male officer peers. The judgement as a ‘dirty rotten baggy shagger’ definitely existed.

This story does end well, as that guy is now my husband and I am so very thankful for my shitty Afghan report which generated in me the attitude needed to keep seeing Ray.

The negative judgement appeared to come predominantly from male officers as opposed to male soldiers. One woman noticed that the male officers were considerably more judgemental than any of her soldiers.

I had some pretty quality soldiers that worked for me and not one of them gave a shit [about her dating a soldier]. They knew who I was, they knew what I was there to do and they would respect me and rated me on my ability... they didn't show any level of judgement... they thought the whole thing with the male officer perceptions was just ridiculous.

Another woman spoke about how the male officers become worse and more judgemental as they become more senior within the NZ Army.

The juniors [junior male officers] haven't had a chance yet to be influenced by the seniors but unfortunately, what I saw, was that the juniors grew into the senior and adopted those attitudes. So the guys I joined up with were pretty footloose, fancy free, didn't really care about that stuff. But as they got more mature, you watch them change and when they got more rank they were just wankers about it. I'm like, 'you weren't like that as a subbie [junior officer], why are you taking on this mantle of being, you know, holier than thou, judgy and you know?' Yeah, it was really sad to see that happen but I think they did that because they thought that's what's expected of them in order to get ahead. So

they would model themselves off these people who would promote them and be just like them. And it's like, 'wow, we're never going to get rid of this attitude'. This was similar to the findings of Boyce and Herd (2003) who suggested that masculine views become more prevalent the longer a person is exposed to this hyper-masculine military environment. The NZ Army is an organisation where the sexual choices of women officers have serious consequences for their careers. This then negatively impacts their social well-being.

The NZ Army has acknowledged that some women do experience harassment and gender discrimination, and that they do face unique challenges; many of these examples and their impact on social well-being have been explored in this chapter. As was discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Two, the NZ Army has committed to increasing the representation of women and to improving conditions for serving women. An outcome of these commitments being successful, and the increased focus on women, should be improved social well-being for women. However, this has not necessarily been occurring and is discussed in the next section.

5.3 – “It’s another spotlight on women”

Several of the participants spoke about the NZ Army's recent focus on increasing women's representation, inclusion and safety. This focus is partially as a result of the Maximising Opportunities for Military Women in the NZDF report (MOD, 2014) and the RNZAF culture review (McGregor & Smith, 2015), as well as the implementation of the Women's Development Steering Group (NZDF, 2013) and the development of Operation

Respect (NZDF, 2016b), which was designed in response to inappropriate sexual behaviour in the NZDF.

Military women interviewed in existing research tried very hard not to highlight the fact that they were women (Kronsell, 2005). This also appeared to be the case for the women in this study. Women already stand out because they are a minority in terms of numbers. Since approximately 2014, the NZ Army has placed a greater focus on increased equality and inclusion of women. Holistically and from a long term point of view, this is likely to be positive for women in the NZ Army. This would suggest that these women observed efforts by the NZ Army to progress the organisation's culture in a positive direction; implying that the women may have had positive feelings regarding social actualisation within the NZ Army. While some of the women talked about this increased focus on women's inclusion as being positive, several of them talked about the challenges for women as a result of this focus.

I guess there is that big push at the moment for, and the responsible attitudes around sex, and it's very much pushed as men respect women, because of the balance I guess of gender within the NZDF. But it does, to some degree, like a lot of women are really uncomfortable with it, because they feel they are being made the men's problem and they don't like it. They don't want to be made to feel any more different than they already do.

Another woman spoke about how some men in the NZ Army do not like it when the organisation pushes messages regarding 'women's' rights. "The males are actually hating it so much because it's another spotlight" on women.

I am conducting research which focuses on the social well-being of women officers who have left the NZ Army. I am hopeful that my research will help the NZ Army to better retain their women and I am hopeful that the Army will make changes that positively impact current and future serving women. I am extremely excited that the NZ Army want me to write a report for them, summarising my findings. This leads me to positive feelings of social actualisation. Yet, at the same time, I still, even now, feel a level of discomfort when talking about how my research focuses on women. There is still a part of me that feels uncomfortable about highlighting the challenges that women face. I guess this is because I had been, still am, and probably always be, somewhat indoctrinated into the NZ Army 'way'. When I was serving, I tried very hard to not be noticed as a 'woman officer', but as an 'officer'. When I experienced or observed gender-based differential treatment, I made myself believe this was not the case and buried these thoughts. As far as I was concerned, anything that highlighted women was undesirable. Yet here I am, six years after leaving the service, shining a powerful flash light over the exact issue I previously suppressed. To go a step further, I am currently technically re-enlisted in the NZ Army while I compile their report of my findings. I have noticed in the past months, since late 2018 when my work with the NZ Army was confirmed, that I have felt myself being pulled to revert back to my old behaviours of suppressing any discussions suggesting that women experience challenges in the NZ Army. In fact, I was, and still am, extremely nervous about sharing many of my vignettes and this is explored further in Chapter Eight – the conclusion. I am making a conscious effort to not allow this reversal to happen, and this effort is assisted by support from my supervisors.

One of these challenges resulting from increased focus on women was around perceptions that may exist regarding women only being promoted to fill a quota, instead of being promoted on merit. This was similar to another military study, where women tended to not like positive discrimination, or perceptions of positive discrimination (Kronsell, 2005) . One participant spoke about the possible, negative, outcome of people perceiving women to be getting unmerited promotions as a result of the NZ Army's focus on women. She felt there was a drive to

increase the female numbers within the organisation and there has been a lot of focus and a lot of press around it, about gender equity... I think because the focus has become very heavily engaged around women in leadership roles in the defence force. I think there are a lot of people out there now that think, 'well, we're just promoting people and putting them into the jobs because they are female'. I don't think that this is so. I think the people that we are promoting as female leaders are very strong personalities... There are some very good female leaders out there. But I still think the people have this focus that we are actually promoting women now to fill that, sort of, gap, that perception of a gap. Whereas the women that have come through are doing so under their own volition, under their own right, under their own merits.

Another participant also felt there were issues around aiming for gender quotas; for both the NZ Army and for the individual women.

I think the organisation wants to have women statistically in a better position... But I think that is the wrong way of looking at an organisation's health. I think you need officers who are functional, not female officers or male officers. You

just need the right people. And if you've got a female who has been recruited and the standard has been changed or like, 'oh, well, you know, she's good for our numbers, so just put her through', you are not doing the individual any service. You are not doing the organisation any service.

I personally would have hated the idea of gender quotas and would have been extremely against the idea of receiving any opportunity based on my gender as opposed to my performance.

These comments suggest that positive discrimination may be intended to improve the lives of women in the NZ Army; improving feelings regarding social actualisation. However in reality, it may actually cause reduced credibility for the women being promoted, making it more difficult for women. Women did not do anything wrong, so they should not have to change and they should not have to experience negative outcomes. It is the NZ Army structure that needs to change to address this underrepresentation and exclusion. While the NZ Army's increased focus on women is aimed at improving the lives of women, and will hopefully make a positive difference long term, the short-term consequence is additional, unwanted, attention for the women currently serving.

This chapter focusing on 'No voice' has discussed how, in addition to sexual harassment and sexual assault, women officers experience gender discrimination in the NZ Army. This includes men not valuing women, women experiencing career disadvantages, women experiencing double standards regarding mistakes and sexual choices and women experiencing reduced credibility due to perceptions regarding gender quotas; all significantly reducing their social well-being. Given this, it should not be surprising

that many of the women felt they needed to constantly work harder and to repeatedly prove themselves; this is discussed next.

5.4 – “So you’ll have to work twice as hard as these men”

Several studies focusing on the experiences of women leaders identified that women leaders felt they had to constantly and repeatedly prove themselves and perform better than their male counterparts (Dhar, 2008; McNae & Vali, 2015; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016; Weidenfeller, 2012). This was also found to be the case for the women in this study. The women talked about needing to work harder to prove that they deserved to be there. It would appear that the masculine hegemony in the NZ Army was a key factor in making them feel this way. Much of the ‘needing to prove yourself’ discourse focused on proving physical ability. The physical role of the NZ Army and its relationship to embodied leadership is such a strong theme in this study that Chapter Seven is specifically dedicated to discussing this. This section however, is not focused on women feeling the need to prove themselves physically, but more generally. Over half of the women interviewed talked about needing to prove themselves because of their gender.

“I think a woman leader still, when I was there, still had to be twice as good to be half as good.” In order for her contribution to be valued, she needed to be far better than her male peers. One woman felt the need to prove herself due to gender was tiresome,

“I felt like a big part of my day was trying to make up for the fact that I was a female.”

Another participant’s male boss actually told her she needed to work harder solely because she was a woman.

He invited me into his office the day I got posted there and said to me, ‘um now, I need to talk to you about the fact that you’re a woman. So you’ll have to work twice as hard as these men’ and he was dead serious.

Another interviewee also talked about “always trying to prove yourself” and proving that her achievements were earned because of merit and not because she received any ‘easy’ passes for being a woman.

It’s just that thing of showing that I am as capable as them [men] so that I can lead them and be in charge of them [men]... and that thing that there is kind of this idea that, ‘oh, you are going to pass just cause you’re a girl’. So I had to make sure I proved that very very wrong at OCS. That I wasn’t getting any female passes or anything, that I was as good, if not better, than most of the guys.

The women felt they needed to prove themselves in order to prove they were of value and that they were making a valuable contribution.

I absolutely remember feeling that I needed to needed to prove myself. When I graduated as an officer into the Engineers, I spent eight months in Sydney for the engineering officer training. A male officer on the course told me on the first day that the only reason I got engineers (this corps is highly sought after) was because I was an ADFA graduate and because I was a woman. From that point, I felt intense pressure to prove to him that I deserved to be an engineer. I had a whinge to one of my friends about him and he told me it was just because the guy was jealous and was threatened by me. Whether that was the case or not, I will never

know, but I was consciously aware of my grades across all areas, in comparison with his grades, for the rest of the course. Thank goodness I performed better than him!

In contrast to the women feeling they needed to prove themselves, one woman commented on how she did not think this was the case for men.

Male leaders perhaps were more comfortable in the role and the environment than their female counterparts... The guys were just there doing their job and it didn't really matter. Like, it's a guy's world. It's a man's world there really. So I think they were just kind of cruising along with it a bit more, just doing their job. They didn't have anything to prove. They just had to be there and do their job properly.

Some of the women's stories suggested that this pressure may have been self-imposed, but many seemed more likely to be Army-imposed. When one woman spoke about feeling she had to work harder because she was a woman, she said, "maybe it's [this pressure] wrong. That's the sense I got. And maybe it was self-imposed, just that feeling of being on trial and there only being a few of us [women]... so it might have been self-imposed." Conversely, a number of examples were given where male members in the NZ Army actively put additional pressure on women, to make them work harder, to make them prove themselves or to cause them to fail. As discussed earlier in this chapter, it appeared that some men did not even think that women should be in the NZ Army, or did not add as much value; providing more reason for why the women may have felt they needed to prove themselves. While the woman above said that she

thought the pressure to prove herself may have been self-imposed, she also talked about an activity where she was the only woman on a course and was assigned heavier equipment to carry for two steep hill climbs, with none of the men being assigned this load. She noted that she was “very conscious of the course, the people running the course being quite, looking for opportunities to discredit me or to prove their theory that I shouldn’t be there.” This would suggest that the pressure she felt was not self-imposed. Another woman felt that she had a really tough time in one particular unit.

It was that I was one female and there were so many guys. I didn’t have a very good environment going in and I was told later by one of the officers, much, much later, that they had already decided to make my life very difficult and they [the male leaders within her unit] didn’t want me to be there. So the other officers weren’t very supportive. So that made it really challenging.

Another interviewee also talked about an example where male staff put additional pressure on a sole female on a course, to make her prove herself. “They made her carry the Mag 58 which is obviously a frigging heavy weapon and they made her [and only her] carry it just to sort of make or break you know. And that was again something because she was female.”

Whether the pressure to work harder, and the pressure to prove themselves was self-imposed, or Army-imposed, a significant number of the women interviewed felt they needed to work harder because of their gender. In order to feel like the men valued their contribution and to therefore have a degree of positive feelings of social contribution, the women felt they needed to consistently work harder and repeatedly prove themselves.

This next section examines the impact on social well-being in relation to family and personal life. The inclusion of this section in this chapter focusing on 'No voice' is primarily because the impact on family is generally greater on women military staff compared with men and an explanation for this is provided.

5.5 - “The Army is a greedy organisation and if you’re going to serve, you need to be willing to do what you’re told”

It is important to discuss why and how the NZ Army impacts on the personal lives of its personnel in a far greater way than is the case for most jobs. In general, the NZ Army is an organisation that needs its members to fully commit and to be able to travel overseas at the drop of a hat. While the NZ Army does aim to assist personnel with families, the reality is, at the end of the day, if the organisation needs you to go somewhere, you go. The needs of the NZ Army are generally prioritised over the needs of its individual members. This may be a six month overseas deployment, it may be a two week field exercise, it may be a three month promotion course in a different city, it may be a 24 hour Orderly Officer duty, it may be a three year posting to another region, or it may be a 10pm finish one evening. The point is, the NZ Army regularly requires its personnel to be away from home. For personnel, both men and women, with family, especially young children, this can be very difficult.

If a person is required to be away from home, sometimes with little notice, it may be that they feel a lack of control. This can be related to several of the social well-being components. With regards to social contribution, Gecas (1989) discusses how self-efficacy is related to a person's locus of control. If that locus of control is outside of the individual, in this case, it lies with the NZ Army, then the person may feel a sense of alienation (Seeman, 1983); specifically in the form of powerlessness. Control is also referred to in the conceptualisation of social actualisation. Lefcourt's (1982) concept of fatalism suggests that we are subject to destiny, in this case, subject to the needs and direction of the NZ Army, and are powerless (Seeman, 1991) to change its course. Control, and its relation to meaningless in life is also discussed in the social coherence component, referring in this case to the work of Mirowsky and Ross (1989), and again, alienation (Seeman, 1959, 1991). The findings from the women regarding family and personal life are discussed in relation to these social well-being components.

5.5.1 – “Well what am I supposed to do with my children for seven weeks?”

Many of the participants who spoke about children, felt that mothers were the primary caregiver. If children are still young and being breast-fed for example, this is something that only the woman can do (even if the woman is expressing breast milk, it is generally preferable for her to be in the same city, to deliver the expressed milk in a timely manner). If the NZ Army requires a parent to be away from home, it is likely that a father can attend to these tasks, provided he has someone who can look after his child(ren).

However, in the case of a breast-feeding mother, it would be almost impossible to attend to these tasks. Further, if a woman is heavily pregnant, several of those tasks would also not be possible. If she is the primary caregiver of a child, even if she is not breast-feeding, it would still be extremely difficult to do some of the tasks above.

So because a man can do it [be away from home for work] because he is not pregnant or breastfeeding or having young children as the primary caregiver.

None of those things stop it from being a problem for him to deploy or go on course and leave his partner for three months.

The NZ Army essentially relies on its members who have children, to have a partner who can take care of the children when the military member is away for work. It relies on a more traditional patriarchal model of the man at work and the wife being available to look after the children when the man is away. This is in line with a masculine hegemony and is why this topic is discussed in this chapter. Given that 87% of the NZ Army is male (NZDF, 2013; Parsons, 2018), it is more common for a male military member to have a non-military partner. There are quite simply, not enough women for all the NZ Army men to have a military woman partner. Therefore, it is more likely that military men will have a partner who is not required to be away from home in the way that military personnel are, and can, therefore, look after the children when he is away with the NZ Army. In contrast, most military women who have a partner, have a partner who is also in the military. While serving, I only ever remember knowing a handful of women who had partners outside of the military; the hundred or so other military women that I knew who had partners, all had partners within the military. This suggests that if she needs to be away for work with the NZ Army, her army partner may also need to be away from

home, providing these military mothers less access to a parent who can be at home with the children in comparison with the military fathers. The masculine hegemony within the NZ Army therefore, perhaps inadvertently, provides further challenges to women due to their gender.

Research focusing on the experiences of women leaders found that women found it difficult to balance the demands of work and family (Brinia, 2011; Dhar, 2008; Diehl, 2014; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Sexton et al., 2014; Tariq & Syed, 2017; Titus, 2011). This was also strongly experienced by women in the military (D. Anderson et al., 2010; Ayre et al., 2013; Bridger et al., 2013; Brosnan, 2015; Escobar, 2013; Harris, 2009; MOD, 2014). Further, Harris (2009), Jervis (2018), Mazuji et al. (2005), Shelley et al. (2011) and D. G. Smith and Rosenstein (2017) found that family supportiveness towards a military career impacted on the military members' intent to stay or resign. More frequently than the corporate sector, women in the NZ Army are regularly required to be away from home, or work long hours, making the logistics of childcare difficult. These findings differ from the literature in that the requirements to be away from home are considerably more significant in the NZ Army than they are in most other organisations.

The interviewed women mainly spoke about the difficulties of being away from their children while working; predominantly being away for more than the standard 9-5 work day. One of the difficulties of being away so much is missing their children. It is important to note that I am not suggesting this 'missing' factor is only relevant to women. Army fathers are also likely to miss their children when they are away from home.

When you go away, you feel guilt for going away and leaving hubby and the kids at home. It's a real conundrum sometimes... The guilt that you are going away in the first place, the guilt that you are away doing something that you love, the guilt that you are leaving the partner at home to look after the kids. The guilt that you feel as if you are missing out on six months of milestones that they might be doing. It might be their first day at school. It might be their first riding lesson, or their first day in a big school, and there is that element of guilt around it. And then there is also the fear. Fear that are they going to still love you as a Mum when you come back after six months? You've been away for six months and all they've had is one-on-one with Dad. And it's like, 'do they still want me to come home?' Am I being usurped as a Mum? Am I any less of a Mum now than I was before I went? And I think that's really quite tough.

While the 'missing' factor is relevant for both parents, it is the logistical challenges of organising childcare that I am suggesting is more difficult for the average NZ Army mother compared with the average NZ Army father due to the army mother being considerably less likely to have a partner available at home to look after the children in comparison with an army father. This section discusses these challenges with regards to social contribution; primarily the locus of control (Gecas, 1989) and powerlessness (Seeman, 1983).

Several of the women discussed the difficulties regarding being a mother while serving in the NZ Army. One woman left before having children, but spoke about her thoughts regarding the NZ Army and families.

I thought it [the Army] was a good career for people without children. I don't think it's a good family career. I think we would have tried having both of us in with a child but eventually one of us would have had to leave, just given the number of trips, and my husband has been away... We would have definitely given it [both being in the Army, as parents] a crack and we've got friends that both husband and wife are military, but one of them has always had to take a step back... so it's always the female that's taken the step back and some commanders were great and they were like, 'yeah cool, your husband is on this exercise, so you stay back [and not deploy].' Then there were others that were like, 'no, figure it out'. Well, what am I supposed to do with my children for seven weeks? 'Not my problem'. You know, they're flying their parents in from other cities and their parents are taking seven weeks annual leave so they can look after the kids so they can both go to, not something crucial, another Brigade exercise that you've done ten of or so, you know. So I just didn't see how that was going to work for us.

She alluded to the concept of control; some units were supportive about not deploying in the field if one parent is already deployed, but other units were not. This would suggest that the locus of control (Gecas, 1989) regarding deploying into the field as a parent did not rest with the individual; it rests with the unit commanders in the NZ Army. Further, she did not agree with the NZ Army enforcing a parent to deploy on a field exercise which they had done several times already. If there was more value to be gained from the field exercise, due to it being a new learning opportunity perhaps, the parent may be able to achieve a degree of personal growth (Ryff, 1989). In this case, the impact

on home life may be justified, but not if this was the tenth occurrence of deploying on this same field exercise.

Two of the women specifically spoke about leaving the NZ Army for family reasons.

My ability to be a good mother and wife was in conflict [with the Army]... So I got asked to do a deployment and they said, 'can you go away for two to four weeks?' And that was fine. We kind of arranged it with my husband and had my parents coming in to do support as well and that was going to be fine. And before I went, it got extended to five weeks and then while I was away, it got extended to eight... and it was kind of this logistical nightmare... That's really hard work and I can't expect my husband and my parents to drop everything because you [Army hierarchy] can't organise yourself... it also defined for me the push-pull aspect of having a family and the split allegiance that that created... I think it's really hard in the Defence Force to say 'no' and people don't really respect or fundamentally value people saying 'no, I can't do that because of my children.' It's still not actually at base, an acceptable excuse for lots of things that it should be.

In this example, the locus of control regarding when to return home from the overseas deployment rested with the NZ Army. She did not have certainty (A. Antonovsky, 1994) over her return to home date, making it very difficult for her to control her personal life.

While children was not a factor for me when I left the NZ Army, as my son was not born until four years after I left, it is something I reflect back on now. Would I have remained in the Army as a mother? The answer is 'no'. I do not want to

ever be in a situation where I need to be away from my son for any significant period of time. To be clear, my current temporary role with the NZ Army is specifically to compile a research report; there is no requirement for me to deploy, go in the field or conduct other duties. Even a couple of nights away, which is required in my current NZTE role, is less than ideal for me. It would not be feasible to take a child on most of the overseas trips in the NZ Army.

5.5.2 – “We were passing ships in the night”

As well as the NZ Army taking mothers away from their children, the organisation also impacted on relationships between the women and their partners. The women who spoke about this topic, typically talked about spending a lot of time away from their partners; this was either due to being posted to different locations or being deployed at different times. This was not a strong theme in the literature review. This issue is not strictly related to gender discrimination or the masculine hegemony in the NZ Army as it is also likely for men in the military to find this an issue. However, because it is more likely for a military woman to have a military male partner than it is for a military man to have a female military partner, some of these points below are more relevant, or significant, to women in the NZ Army compared with men.

One woman left the NZ Army because her partner was being posted to a different city and there were no posting positions available to her in that city. She submitted an application to take leave without pay for the duration of his posting “and it was flatly declined, that kind of put a bit of a bitter end to my career... I’m not doing

unaccompanied and they didn't give me any options for posting to that city, so I left." This can also be related with the concept of control, which is referred to in the conceptualisation of social contribution (Gecas, 1989), social coherence (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989) and also social actualisation (Lefcourt, 1982). In this case, she did not want the NZ Army to control her career by the ability to live in the same city as her partner, so she left.

Another woman, who was posted to a different city to her partner, noted that

the key reason for leaving was more around trying to get that work-life balance which I couldn't achieve. I was into my fourth year of commuting between two cities and you just didn't feel you were doing the job justice and you didn't feel like you were doing your family justice, so I think the pressure kind of got to me in the end.

She did acknowledge that her manager did work very hard to try to support her personal situation and reduce the level of commuting, however, it eventually got too much, and so she left the NZ Army.

Several of the women with military partners referred to being "ships in the night".

One of the big reasons we [her and her military partner] took release was that we really wanted to live together overseas and that was never really going to happen in the military... we were passing ships in the night. He would go on a deployment and then come back and then I would go and come back and he could go and come back.

Regular postings to different cities is common in the NZ Army, much more so than in the private sector. Just as deployments take mothers away from their children; it also takes women away from their partners.

5.5.3 – “I left because I no longer wanted to be so beholden”

In addition to the family specific challenges in the NZ Army, there are additional impacts on life, such as a lack of control regarding constantly moving. This was similar to the literature focusing on the experiences of women and women leaders in the military. The requirement to deploy on operations, change postings, and the stress endured in the military impacted on military turnover (Badger, 2004; Bridger et al., 2013; Fricker, 2002; MOD, 2014; Quester et al., 2006; Shelley et al., 2011). This section is not specifically related to gender discrimination or the masculine hegemony in the NZ Army. It is also likely for men in the military to find this an issue. However, because I have just discussed the women officers’ personal lives, which included children, where I feel that the impact of the NZ Army on mothers is related to the masculine hegemony, and then I discussed partners, which I feel is somewhat related to the masculine hegemony, I feel it is an appropriate time to also talk about how the NZ Army impacts on other factors of the personal life. The women primarily spoke about the lack of control that they had on their own personal lives while serving in the military.

One woman talked about wanting to have

a bit more control in my life and where I live and what I do and can the Army give me that? And the breaking point was that I knew when I went overseas on

deployment, I knew that I was leaving my current base because I'd come to the end of my posting and there were no other jobs for me there. But they couldn't tell me where I was going to be coming back to. So I had to pack all my house, all my belongings to deploy, not knowing what location I was going to come back to and that to me just indicates that was going to be the trend for me and I wasn't okay with that, which was the thing that really pushed me out. The lack of ability to see what the future was and get some stability and get a life; that you can't have when you're moved every one to two years... Really, I guess my fundamental view of the Army is that the Army is a greedy organisation and if you're going to serve, you need to be willing to do what you're told and at a point that you're not willing, then you leave. Which is why I left, because I no longer wanted to be so beholden to them... I think that just came through as the Army is a greedy organisation and it asks a lot of you.

She did not have a clear view of where she would be living, or what role she would be posted to. This lack of clarity and predictability (A. Antonovsky, 1994) reduced her ability to feel in control (Gecas, 1989; Lefcourt, 1982; Mirowsky & Ross, 1989) of her life.

Another participant also felt like the NZ Army prevented her from feeling like she was in control.

I've kind of been tired of moving around so much, so that is the reason why I left. I was, all the time, moving. I came back from a two year posting overseas and when I got back to New Zealand, I couldn't access any of my stuff for seven months or move anywhere properly because I was put on a course. So I'd had this awesome settled life [during the overseas posting] and then I came back and

I was just in a barrack room with two roll bags. So I just sort of had had enough by then and it just wasn't really the life I wanted anymore... I felt much more disrupted. Like, we had to go to Happy Hours [unit functions at the mess]. We had to do, we were just on orderly officer, or you are on call for the unit for the week with the phone. And then you have to come in on the weekends... It's not like I was working all these hours, nothing like that. But I think I felt, still tied back to camp, instead of just on the weekend, you are just doing your own thing... I guess the umbrella of the Army went into my private life.

She talked about being on call, which is applicable to fatalism (Lefcourt, 1982). If a person is 'on call', whether or not they have to go into work, and what time they have to go into work, and for what reason they have to go into work, is outside the locus of control of the person who is on call. Staff working in emergency services and medical centres have found that being on call can negatively impact on sleep and also mood (Bamberg, Dettmers, Funck, Krahe, & Vahle-Hinz, 2012; Jay, Paterson, Aisbett, & Ferguson, 2018; Rose, Manser, & Ware, 2008). When on call, she has no predictability (A. Antonovsky, 1994) regarding what will happen to her during that on call period. Further, returning to a barrack room with access only to her two roll bags for seven months also demonstrates a lack of control; she did not have control over the access of her belongings.

5.6 - Chapter summary

The purpose of this chapter was to answer a considerable portion of the over-arching research question: how socially well were women officers while serving in the NZ Army?

It specifically addressed the second subsidiary research question: how did the experiences of marginalisation and discrimination contribute towards the social well-being of women officers? This chapter focused on women having no voice, as their views are not solicited and their voices not heard because of fear and lack of appropriate policies. The women experience harassment and gender discrimination within a masculine hegemonic environment. In addition to sexual harassment and sexual assault, women officers experience gender discrimination which includes: men not valuing women, women experiencing career disadvantages, women experiencing double standards regarding mistakes and sexual choices and women experiencing reduced credibility due to perceptions regarding gender quotas; leading them to feel pressured to constantly need to prove themselves. In addition, the women experienced significant challenges balancing the needs of the NZ Army, with the needs of their personal lives. All five components of the social well-being model were discussed in this chapter, making it very difficult to suggest that women officers were socially well while serving in the NZ Army.

Chapter Six provides further evidence to support the finding that women officers did not experience high levels of social well-being while serving in the NZ Army. It specifically explores the clash of the masculine approach versus the feminine approach and discusses authentic leadership in relation to social well-being.

6.0 – The clash of the masculine versus the feminine approach

This chapter examines the clash between the masculine approach to leadership taught and reinforced in the NZ Army, and the feminine approach to leadership that came naturally to most of the women in this study. This chapter focuses on the intersection between authentic leadership and social well-being. It provides further information to suggest that women officers do not experience high levels of social well-being while serving in the NZ Army. This chapter also answers the third subsidiary research question: how did the experiences of authentic leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers? In many cases, the women officers either: led authentically and then received criticism for doing so, reducing their social well-being, or modified their leadership approach, reducing their ability to lead in a truly authentic manner. It did not seem possible for the majority of the women to lead authentically and be socially well.

I have adopted a commonly used approach when applying the terms of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’. Table 1 in Chapter Two summarises my application of these terms. In brief, masculine refers to terms such as: competitiveness, autocratic, control, directive, aggressive and rational (Ashcraft & Muhr, 2018; Boulton, 2017; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Schnurr, 2008). Feminine refers to terms such as: compassionate, democratic, participatory, empathetic, emotional and collaborative (Boulton, 2017; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Patterson et al., 2012; Sandler, 2014; Stevens & Greener, 2017). Both men

and women can exhibit both masculine and feminine approaches. The next section examines the masculine approach to leadership taught and reinforced by the NZ Army.

6.1 – “How do they teach us to be leaders?... It’s very masculine – there’s no doubt about that”

The women in this study were asked about their experiences of Officer Cadet School (OCS) and about their conceptualisation of leadership. The findings indicate that OCS teaches and forces a very specific approach to leadership. Several women used the term indoctrination when talking about how the NZ Army trains its leaders. OCS “just breaks everyone down and then builds them up again, so that you are all the same little automation kind of robots... just trying to make everyone the same kind of vanilla template.” Another woman spoke about how there are “stereotypes of what leaders should look like and be like. That kind of, there’s quite a strong stereotype in the military about what a good leader looks like.” One interviewee shared her views regarding the trouble with the NZ Army enforcing such a narrow scope of leadership approach;

You do get so indoctrinated and because, like I said, you’re hanging out with those people all the time. Yeah, it felt a little bit like being brainwashed... one of the massive flaws [in the Army] because you know, now [that I have left the Army] I’ve seen other leaders and the way that you should be able to have all different types of people and all different types of personalities in a team. So that you can get the best from a team and get different ideas and then, you need to have leaders that can relate to all different people in different ways. There’s

no way that they've got that one type of leader that's going to fit and appeal to all of the soldiers in the Army or all the people out there. So they're [Army] almost doing themselves a disservice.

Ashcraft and Muhr (2018) specifically note how military leadership is characterised by the gender binary: "hard-soft, tough-weak, competitive-collaborative, calculated-intuitive, rational-emotional, hierarchical-egalitarian, active-passive, top-down versus bottom-up" (p. 209), suggesting that military leadership is in line with the masculine options in each of these opposing combinations. I am not suggesting that male leaders in the NZ Army solely adopt a masculine approach to leadership. Many of the men may also adopt feminine approaches, such as caring for their soldiers and including them in decision making processes. This research however, is not focused on the experiences of male officers, so does not seek to address this.

The women noted that the NZ Army trains, and expects its leaders to fit a specific mould. When referring to this mould, one woman noted, "how do they teach us to be leaders? I think it's really structured right. It is, ok, you know, it's very masculine. There's no doubt about that." Almost all of the women talked about the leadership approach taught at OCS as being very masculine. Some of the words used by the women to describe the taught and reinforced leadership approach included: directive, masculine, dictatorial, aggressive, regimental, stern and controlled. All of these terms are in line with the terms used to reflect 'masculine'. One respondent talked about how,

when you come out of OCS, I find that you're definitely quite regimental. Because you've been taught that and you take a hard line... the officer cadet style of leadership I think is definitely more direct and more of a stern type of leadership..

So, I definitely learned that through the Officer Cadet School and I came out a lot like that.

The women were taught that yelling and aggression was to be expected. One woman noted that, "I don't yell, but I had to yell at OCS because, you know, that's just what you've got to do." Another woman even recalled being praised by her instructors for yelling.

As well as being directive and in some cases, aggressive, the women also discussed being taught not to develop close relationships (not referring to sexual) with subordinates. They gave examples demonstrating how OCS teaches its leaders to maintain distance from their soldiers. The women were taught to not focus on, in fact, to avoid, the development of relationships with their soldiers.

There's this quite big emphasis on [not] forming relationships with soldiers. So, how we as officers, need to be completely separate and different as officers from soldiers. So the old school theory is that you don't have friends who are soldiers or anything like that. You don't get too close.

Another woman noted how she was taught to have the approach of, "you know, I am the boss, you listen to my authority, I am here because I have got the pips [rank for officers]."

These findings suggest that the NZ Army specifically teaches its leaders to take on a very directive leadership approach, with less emphasis on developing relationships with soldiers. According to the literature, this is a more typically masculine approach to leadership. The next section discusses how the women in this study did not discuss their

conceptualisation of leadership using masculine terms and did not discuss their experiences of exercising leadership using masculine terms.

6.2 – “I wouldn’t say I run off a dictatorship model. I’m very much inclusive... I run a joint leadership model”

The women discussed how they were taught and directed to lead in a masculine manner in the NZ Army. However, when the women talked about their conceptualisation of leadership and provided examples of exercising leadership, they used considerably more feminine terms than masculine terms. Their discussions of leadership included terms such as: inclusive, care, compassion, rapport, relationship building, personable and collaborative. These terms are all considered to describe typically feminine approaches to leadership (Boulton, 2017; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Patterson et al., 2012; Sandler, 2014; Stevens & Greener, 2017). This would suggest that the leadership approach that was most authentic to these women officers was naturally a more feminine approach. Before examining the predominant discourse examining the feminine approaches to leadership, there was some discussion where the women used phrases which could be considered as either masculine or gender neutral; these are explored below.

6.2.1 – “Leadership for me is leading by example”

Three of the women talked about leaders being required to make decisions; decisiveness would be considered a more masculine term (Elliott & Stead, 2008; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Liu et al., 2015). “At the end of the day, sometimes the buck stops with you and sometimes the decision maker has to be you.” Five of the women talked about the requirement for a leader to motivate a group to achieve a goal, which is not overtly masculine or feminine. “Leadership is the art of motivating a team to collectively work towards an aim they might not otherwise want to do. So it’s that setting of a unified vision, buy into that, and motivating until completion.” Leading by example was also mentioned on several occasions as a required behaviour of a leader. I also consider this to be gender neutral; it is not overly masculine or feminine. “A leader leads by example rather than telling... leads by example in that they are happy to get down and scrub the toilets or dig the gun emplacement.” Another woman noted that “leadership for me is leading by example, getting in there and actually doing the work with them... leading by example and you can’t ask somebody to follow you if you are not willing to do it yourself.” In the recruiting advertisement that I am featured in, which was discussed in Section 4.1.8, I explained that leadership requires that you “don’t ask your soldiers to do things that you wouldn’t be prepared to do yourself” (Army, 2009), which infers leading by example. Integrity, another gender neutral term, was also noted as an important character for a leader to have. One woman specifically felt that leadership is about “being true to yourself and true to others... being honest, being trustworthy... And it’s also about knowing yourself, knowing what’s good and bad about yourself.” This

point is very relevant to authentic leadership, which is discussed in more detail later in this section.

These points relate to the women describing their conceptualisation of leadership using masculine (making decisions), as well as gender neutral (motivating a group to achieve a goal, leading by example and having integrity) terms. The rest of this section provides significantly more discourse from the women where they described their conceptualisation of leadership using feminine terms, starting with caring for soldiers. Further, when the women provided examples of actually exercising leadership, as opposed to just talking about their conceptualisation of leadership, they all included feminine terms. This suggests a significant disconnect between the leadership theory that is taught (masculine) and the leadership approach that most of the women in this study naturally exercised (feminine). The leadership approach that was most authentic to them was a more typically feminine leadership approach.

6.2.2 – “[The leader] places the good of the team before anything else”

Several of the women spoke about how a leader needs to look after, and genuinely care for, their staff. This was also found to be the case in the literature examining the experiences of women leaders (Brown & Light, 2012; Mazerolle et al., 2015).

It [being a leader] meant that we had to set aside our own needs to make sure that what was happening for the group was there for the group... [the leader] places the good of the team before anything else.

One woman spoke about having to deliver bad news to a member in her team, which resulted in that member having to leave the unit earlier than desired.

Long story short, we had to say 'no' because it just wasn't going to work out for the organisation... Yeah, it's just a horrible feeling in the pit of your stomach and I'm still really upset about it. You know, these people's lives, you are kind of mucking around with.

While she was not able to deliver the outcome the individual wanted, her feelings about this demonstrates a genuine care for her staff. One respondent talked about one of her instructors at OCS and why she respected her as a leader.

So I remember quite vividly asking her why she was at OCS rather than being with soldiers at a unit. And she said to me the way for her to have the impact on the widest number of soldiers was to turn us into the best officers that we could be and that was really inspiring in its own way and just showed that that was her motivation. Like, she'd come to OCS to make us better, to make the lives of our future soldiers better. So that was why I thought she was really good.

All of these comments reflect the importance that the women placed on a leader caring for their staff, which is typically seen as a feminine leadership approach (Boulton, 2017; Brown & Light, 2012; Chodorow, 1994; Sandler, 2014; Sjoberg, 2014).

As well as caring for their soldiers, half of the women spoke about the need for the leader to develop their soldiers to grow. One participant talked about this in a way that related to self-actualisation (Maslow, 1968; Ryff, 1989; Waterman, 1993). She talked about the leader

who can mentor their people to help them to understand who they are. For me, that is really the greatest gift, because people will come and go in jobs. But if you help them to understand how they can shine, what their gifts are, how they can see their best version. For me, that's the leader's job.

Helping the soldiers to achieve their potential is also likely to enhance her own feelings of social contribution. Another participant spoke about how she

mentored them [soldiers] and said to them, 'my door is always open, come to me if you need anything'. I felt kind of proud being able to bring them up to a good standard, for them to be good leaders for the soldiers they had below them.

These women really cared about their soldiers as people and they also cared about developing their soldiers to reach their potential. Given this desire to help others progress towards self-actualisation, it is interesting to learn how the women felt they personally were able (or not able) to achieve self-actualisation within the NZ Army. Further, when the women leaders helped their soldiers to develop and progress, it could be suggested that this enhanced their own feelings of social contribution; they felt they were making a positive difference to the development of their soldiers. In addition to caring for their soldiers, the women also talked about the importance of developing relationships with their soldiers, another typically feminine approach to leadership.

6.2.3 – “Being a leader is also about being able to get trust and build that team relationship”

Most of the women talked about the importance of developing relationships with their soldiers. This was also found to be the case in the literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders (Brosnan, 2015; Brown & Light, 2012; Haber, 2011), and is in line with the concept of relational leadership, which centres on leaders using relational skills for the purpose of achieving organisational outcomes (J. K. Fletcher, 2010). Developing relationships with staff is one of the very common approaches of feminine leadership (Brown & Light, 2012; Sandler, 2014; Stevens & Greener, 2017) and is also the opposite of what was taught in the OCS leadership training. One woman specifically commented on this tension. She spoke about, as a leader, needing to

understand the problem that you are dealing with or the people that you are dealing with and then find a way to get the best from them... so it was kind of like the theory [taught at OCS] didn't really fit the reality when I got to the unit.

The women talked about how it was important for the leader to know their team members. As one interviewee put it, good leaders “get to know their soldiers, as a human, rather than as a tool.” Another woman spoke about the importance of

building a working rapport and relationship with them [soldiers] so that they actually felt they could approach you if there were issues. So if they had concerns around anything to do with their own personal wellbeing... that they could come to you and discuss issues or concerns or problems in a professional but compassionate manner.

She identified the importance of her soldier's well-being, which likely had a positive impact on her own social well-being. Demonstrating compassion towards her soldiers is likely to have had a positive impact on those soldiers' acceptance of her, thereby enhancing her social well-being through enhanced social acceptance.

In addition, trust was commonly cited by the women as another positive outcome for getting to know their soldiers. Interpersonal trust (Wrightsman, 1991, p.411) is an important factor within social acceptance. When considering social acceptance in both directions (the women's acceptance of others and the women's feelings of acceptance by others), developing trust, by building relationships, is important. The women talked about the mutual trust they built with their soldiers by getting to know them. Some of the terms used by the women included: being approachable, building rapport, being personable, using soft skills, being contactable and being available.

Being a leader is also being able to get trust and build that team relationship so people do believe what you believe and they will follow you and trust you as a leader... You know, some of them [soldiers], like with everyone, have different struggles and it's just being able to pick up on that... being a good leader and actually knowing when something is not quite right with people. Just being really personable with them, so that they feel okay to come to you. I wasn't like some hard arse person in the military, I wasn't one of those.

The fact that this woman commented on herself not being a 'hard arse' reflects that being a 'hard arse' is the norm in the NZ Army. By building relationships with their soldiers, the women leaders were able to learn more about their soldiers and develop mutual trust with their soldiers. This also gave the women leaders a better

understanding of the resources and skillsets available within their team. In these comments, the women were not simply saying that they felt it was important to build relationships in order to ensure the soldiers would perform well for them, which is a critical component of relational leadership (J. K. Fletcher, 2010); they built relationships because they genuinely cared about their soldiers. This would suggest that the women who built positive relationships and mutual trust with their soldiers were likely to experience social integration and social acceptance (Keyes, 1998) within their troops or platoons.

6.2.4 – “A more collaborative type approach isn’t weak, it’s actually a better way to lead”

As well as building relationships with their soldiers, several of the women specifically spoke about collaborating with their team members and seeking advice from them to make better decisions, another typically feminine leadership approach (Brown & Light, 2012; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Sandler, 2014; Whitworth, 2004). This was also found to be the case in the literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders (Brown & Light, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010). The women were happy to admit that they did not have all the answers and that it was perfectly acceptable to ask their soldiers for advice and for suggestions. As well as learning good ideas from soldiers, asking their opinions also led to the soldiers feeling more included. One woman articulated this double benefit of collaboration.

I wouldn’t say I run off a dictatorship model. I’m very much inclusive. Everybody has ideas no matter what rank they are, or what knowledge or experience

they've got. So long as they feel they're included in the decision making and some of their ideas would be better than mine. I run a joint leadership model I would say.

Her comment (and other women made similar comments) can be related to social integration (Keyes, 1998). By adopting a more participatory or collaborative approach, the women allowed their soldiers to feel integrated into the decision making process; potentially improving the soldier's feelings of social integration. Further, instead of making the decision in isolation, collaborating with soldiers created a decision-making team for the women leaders. Thus, instead of being the sole, and possibly lonely, officer making decisions in isolation, the women included others, enhancing their own social integration.

Another participant felt it was important to include the team. "It's not just about being a manager; it's about experience and sharing. It's not just one person leading. It's bouncing ideas off and trying to get the best outcome for everybody." Her reference to sharing, bouncing ideas and getting the best outcome for everybody could also be linked to the concept of social integration. By including her team members in the decision making process, she integrated the team; creating a sense of community. A further participant also talked about her leadership approach as being "more participative... it's about serving and influencing as opposed to authoritarian dictatorship type leadership." One woman commented on how, "to me, a leadership relationship is two-way, so it's not just about what I want them to do, it's about what they want me to do." This two-way relationship also relates to social integration. She further noted that "a more collaborative type approach isn't weak, it's actually a better way to lead... I don't

remember being trained at OCS like that.” The NZ Army teaches a directive masculine leadership approach, yet the majority of the women exercise leadership in a more collaborative feminine manner.

Further, these women are aware of this disconnect, as they explain that their leadership approach is not the approach that may be expected. Many of these comments begin with the women specifically clarifying their approach as contrasting with a masculine approach. These comments include: ‘I wouldn’t say I run off a dictator model’, ‘as opposed to authoritarian dictatorship’, ‘collaborative type approach isn’t weak’ and from the previous section, ‘I wasn’t like some hard arse’. The fact that the women provided this clarification further highlights the discrepancy that appears to exist in the NZ Army. If a person says, “I *don’t* do X”, it is probably because they feel the person listening is expecting that they *would* do X; hence their need to specifically clarify.

This section has discussed how the women conceptualised and discussed exercising leadership using typically feminine terms; caring for their soldiers, developing their soldiers to grow, building relationships and trust, and collaborating with their soldiers. Further, leading in this feminine manner appeared to build both social acceptance and social integration; for both the soldiers they were leading, and also for the women leaders themselves. As well as the women experiencing increased feelings of social well-being within their troops and platoons, their feminine leadership approaches led to positive outcomes for their soldiers. Further, there are studies specifically focusing on the NZ Army which suggest approaches that are typically considered to be feminine can and should be valued (Army, 2017b; Gold, 2014; Stevens & Greener, 2017; Wineera,

2017). The next section discusses how these feminine approaches to leadership were not always valued by male officers; causing the clash.

6.3 - “My OC really just didn’t agree with my style of leadership”

A large number of the women told stories where they felt that their feminine approaches to leadership were not valued within the NZ Army. The women explained that the personnel who did not value these approaches were male officers. The women did not discuss instances of male soldiers, or women of any rank, having an issue with their feminine approach to leadership. It was only male officers that featured in the discourse surrounding the lack of value the NZ Army placed on feminine leadership approaches. One interviewee felt that the way that senior officers judge subordinate officers is different to how soldiers might judge that officer.

There’s quite a strong stereotype in the military about what a good leader looks like. But actually, it’s not true, or it doesn’t bear out when you talk to soldiers about who their leaders were that they valued and stuff like that. It’s different to what maybe, when a senior Army officer is writing a report on what someone [subordinate officer] should be doing. I think it differs.

These comments suggest that the attitudes regarding feminine leadership approaches may differ between male officers and male soldiers. The majority of performance appraisals in the NZ Army are conducted by the individual’s superior, as 360 degree reporting is not routinely conducted across the organisation. This means that officers’

performance appraisals are conducted by officers more senior in rank. Regardless of whether the soldiers appreciate and see value in feminine leadership approaches exhibited by their woman boss, the only opinion that counts in a performance appraisal is that of the superior officer. Therefore, critical comments in performance appraisals about feminine leadership approaches can negatively impact career progression and opportunities. Examples of the lack of appreciation for feminine leadership approaches by male officers are discussed below, beginning with emotions.

6.3.1 – “Well, I’m a human”

Some of the women highlighted how displaying emotions was not encouraged in leaders. One woman talked about getting into trouble with her male boss due to her more feminine approach to leadership. She was not the only woman to experience this.

I noticed what I’d learned as a leader. I actually disagreed with a lot of the things that we were told we had to be as leaders and it actually got me in a bit of strife really with my boss. Because, I wear my heart on my sleeve and I’m a human being and I don’t see that being a leader means you have to hide those things. Obviously you have to keep an element of control and you know, present yourself in a manner that still inspires and gives people trust in you.

On one occasion, one of the participants had the responsibility of telling her unit about the death of a soldier in camp.

In that particular example, yes, you know, I welled up with tears... because someone had died, that is obviously an emotional thing anyway. I had to sort of step my soldiers through the process... I managed the situation while still being

human and obviously, showing some emotion, because it was a very sensitive subject. And I actually stood my ground because my boss sort of questioned that [displaying emotion]. You know, 'why did you let your soldiers see you emotional?' I felt, well, I'm a human. I wanted them to see that I actually genuinely cared about what had happened and cared for the soldier that was involved. But I still showed up to work, I still managed every other thing on the list that I had to do that day... Some other people might question that, like my OC really just didn't agree with my style of leadership. But I think that particular example, the results showed because I got a lot of respect from my soldiers, and various other staff within the camp had a really good rapport with me and gave me really good back briefs on what had happened and stuff.

The response from her boss was in contrast to the example of Hillary Clinton's tears in the media (Ladkin & Taylor, 2010). In that case, Clinton was viewed positively for displaying a softer, emotive side, and it was argued this positive response from others was due to her emotions being in line with a feminine approach (Ladkin & Taylor, 2010). It is worth highlighting that this woman officer did not weep uncontrollably, or break down. Here, the NZ Army 'society' has the belief that showing emotion in front of soldiers is not acceptable. She does not have this same belief. It was not a case of this woman showing emotion and then feeling guilty for 'making a mistake'. She did not believe it was a mistake. Because she does not value this belief to the same extent that is typical among this NZ Army officer society, she experienced isolation (Seeman, 1959), and reduced social integration. From a social acceptance and social contribution point of view, it is clear that this display of emotion led to reduced feelings of acceptability

(Wrightsmann, 1991) to her manager, as well as a lack of value towards her leadership approach.

In contrast, this woman felt socially integrated among her soldiers and felt she was part of that community. The respect from, and rapport with, her soldiers also suggests that she felt higher levels of social acceptance. Wrightsmann (1991) talks about faith in people, which includes 'brotherliness'; where people relate to each other and show affection and care (Merriam-Webster, 2018). He also refers to respect when measuring acceptance; something she felt she gained from her soldiers by being 'human' throughout this difficult situation. This participant talked about receiving positive feedback about her 'humanness' from other soldiers, which likely increased her feelings of being valued, and therefore, her sense of social contribution. The response from her soldiers was more in line with Clinton's example (Ladkin & Taylor, 2010). On the one hand, demonstrating a feminine approach, such as displaying emotions, led to reduced social integration, social acceptance and social contribution within the officer society. Yet on the other hand, this same approach led to increased social integration, social acceptance and social contribution within the platoon or troop society.

6.3.2 – “The military as a whole does suppress that whole bubbly... skill set”

Another feminine approach that caused issues for the women leaders was bubbiness and friendliness; this was another approach that the NZ Army did not appear to value. An Australian Army study which focused on gender, also commented on bubbiness.

“Some women are very expressive, smiley and ‘bubbly’, but this could be labelled as being an ‘air-head’ or a ‘flirt’, rather than being appreciated for its ‘warmth giving’ or uplifting and motivational impacts” (Boulton, 2017, p. 103).

This concept of ‘bubbliness’ is something I personally struggled with in the Army. On multiple occasions I received negative feedback from senior male officers for being too bubbly or friendly around soldiers. This was a struggle for several reasons as I was essentially being directed to not be me. I am, generally, a friendly and bubbly person. This meant I either (a) would try to be less bubbly, which meant I could not be true to myself, or authentic, although this never lasted, or more commonly the case, (b) I would feel ‘naughty’ for being too bubbly. It was also a struggle because I did not understand (lack of coherence) why it was a problem. My soldiers seemed to appreciate my bubbliness and I was able to develop good working relationships with them as a result, which enhanced social acceptance and integration, as well as positive performance outcomes within the team. A reason sometimes given to me by the male officer telling me to be less bubbly was that soldiers may perceive me to be flirting with them and therefore I needed to change. They seemed to have a very caveman understanding of flirtation, as I can assure you my conversation was far from flirtatious and I do not recall ever having one of my soldiers suggest a relationship with me. I distinctly remember one particular male officer suggest that my being too bubbly equated with not being professional. This really ‘ground my gears’ as professionalism is a quality I value in myself. The irony is that this same male officer made inappropriate comments about the ‘ass’ of one of the female

soldiers, in front of a group of male soldiers. Yet he was still considered professional, as he delivered this message without smiling or being too friendly...

Being bubbly was mentioned by several women as something they were criticised for. One woman talked about observing other women officers receive negative treatment for being bubbly, as well as experiencing this herself.

I felt like she was getting a really hard time for being herself and I felt like I saw that again in another woman officer. Like, people would give her shit when I think that should have been really appreciated. The fact that she's really bubbly and she's a really positive person. But then, I know that people wouldn't take her seriously, I just felt like that was the norm... That was the same for me. When I was out of the Army and you know, that kind of thing [bubbliness] is actually really appreciated in most workplaces. Because you're getting people involved and you're making yourself approachable and that's what really promotes good team work. So yeah, it's just crazy that that's not actually appreciated in the Army... I know they kind of create this particular leadership type which is very dictatorial. And I just don't think it really works [in the Army]. I think that clashes with getting the best from people when you're in normal camp life... Getting the best from each individual from a team the way that they train people in the military to lead, is not necessarily I think, the best way to getting the most out of individuals and the most from a team... Females that were too overtly feminine, or ones that, I don't know, like, if you were too humorous or not serious enough... and just the way you interact with people and I think sometimes females do it differently and that's kind of what let them down.

Women who displayed too much bubblyness would not be taken seriously, which is comparable to not having their opinions respected (Wrightsmann, 1991, p. 411). Another woman also felt that this was not appreciated in the Army.

See, this is it. I'm a friendly person. The masculine world of leadership. I do think it's really interesting that the military as a whole does suppress that whole bubbly, that whole empathy, that natural, that is a huge gift, it is a huge skill set. And yet, in the Army, it's genderised to be a negative. 'Oh, she's emotional', yeah.

One respondent talked about an overseas posting that she had and how she enjoyed the leadership approach she took there, which involved more bubblyness.

I think that's where I really started to do some leadership. And probably because over there, it's free rein, you're in a different country and you can do whatever you want. So I could be a bit more me, which was quite loud and laughy... And I think I really enjoyed that there, and so my approach there was probably more about being accessible as a leader, as a boss to them.

These stories suggest that bubblyness, a more typically feminine approach, is not valued by the NZ Army, reducing the women's feelings of social acceptance and social contribution. As was indicated in the commentary regarding showing emotions, isolation (Harvey et al., 1983; Seeman, 1959, 1991) is also relevant as the women do not have the same belief that bubblyness is negative. When the women talk about the 'Army' in these stories, it is conceivable that they are referring to officers, because the officers are the leaders and the hierarchy within the NZ Army. When the first woman talked about people not taking the other woman officer seriously, the 'people' she was

referring to was other officers; peers and superiors. Further, when the third woman referred to having 'free rein' overseas, 'reins' are more likely to come from officers, especially superiors, rather than from soldiers; therefore implying that this dislike for bubblyness is more likely to come from officers.

Conversely, displaying bubblyness may actually be positive for generating feelings of social integration, social acceptance and social contribution within the troop or platoon society. The women talked about how bubblyness in leaders can promote good teamwork, which can be related to social integration and social acceptance. Social contribution is again relevant, as the women suggest that bubblyness can be beneficial to the team; suggesting they feel their contribution to the team is of value.

6.3.3 – “I basically got told I cared too much, and well, a leader shouldn't care as much”

As well as emotions and bubblyness, the third feminine approach to receive criticism was caring. One woman found that if she was seen to be looking after her soldiers in a caring fashion, it was seen as a mistake, but this was not the case if male officers demonstrated a similar leadership approach.

If you do it [look after and care about your soldiers] as a male, that's kind of your role as an officer. If you do it as a female, then you're mothering... that's very frustrating that there's that different perception of the same skill set... sometimes a phrase was used [like camp mother or mother hen] but I don't know if that would be equally applied if there was a guy.

This example is in contrast to some of the literature. Gentry et al. (2015), Liu et al. (2015) and Ladkin and Taylor (2010) found that women who behaved in more typically feminine ways, such as demonstrating empathy, were perceived as more likely to advance their career, or were considered as being more authentic, which was considered positive. This did not seem to be the case for this woman.

Several of the women talked about how they received negative feedback from their managers for displaying what was considered 'too much care'. One participant's story provides a good illustration of this, and also details the impact that this experience had on her personally.

I actually got in trouble quite a lot. I had a lot of reports written about me. I contested every single one, which probably got me in more trouble. I basically got told I cared too much, and well, a leader shouldn't care as much. I should just be there, in and out, you know, black and white, that's that. I got told I was getting too close to my soldiers and I don't mean that in a close personal relationship sort of way. I just mean the fact that I knew everything about them and that's because they actually trusted me, to come talk to me... But my command chain really were opposed to that. They ignored the fact that my productivity was still at a high, our team were still performing to a high standard. We had one of the top records in the unit for, all across the board; for physical training, meeting all the operational requirements, that sort of thing. But they [bosses] failed to see past that, and only focused on the fact that my leadership style wasn't what they liked. And my opinion was that, you know, as long as my soldiers are performing, they know when to respect me, they know when to obey

me, they command whatever I said. What does it matter if I know that they've got a love triangle going on, or, money woes. What does it matter? But it never came across that way and I was always slandered for it.

These comments suggest that a feminine leadership approach can and did, lead to successful outcomes for her team, highlighting that there is not only one way to successfully lead in the NZ Army. This participant talked about going through some dark times as a result of constantly being criticised for her approach to leadership.

I began having relationship problems. I actually turned to drinking as a way to block out all the bloody critiquing I was getting on my way of doing things. I just questioned everything like that, and it turned me into a really nasty person. My family and probably my friends even probably remember that particular point in time because I turned into a real bitch. And it was because I was going into work and doing this, doing that, doing things well. And then being pulled into the [boss's] office and being told, 'oh, you did this wrong because you shouldn't have said their [soldier] first name, you should have called them by their rank'. You know, it was just like, oh, for God's sake, not again. Like, it actually just made me want to leave and give up, it was just shit... It made me question everything, it made me question the military, it made me question that I'd chosen the right career. It just made me feel really shit.

This story exemplifies the occurrence of women officers being criticised for demonstrating feminine approaches to leadership. Like the other feminine approaches of emotions and bubbiness discussed above, the isolation component of alienation (Harvey et al., 1983; Seeman, 1959, 1991) is relevant. This participant receives feedback to suggest that the NZ Army has a belief that showing too much care is an issue. She

clearly does not have the same belief, as she contested the reports that criticised her for demonstrating care; indicating that she does not value this belief to the same extent that is typical in the NZ Army. I would argue that another component of alienation that is relevant to this situation is self-estrangement; the inability of a person to find self-reward in activities they participate in (Seeman, 1959). Instead of feeling good about herself at work, and good about the successful results she was achieving within her team, she was made to feel 'really shit' and this contributed to her drinking alcohol as a way of blocking out the negative feedback she kept receiving. A further component of alienation that can be applied to this situation is powerlessness (Seeman, 1959). She was achieving good results within her team so would likely expect to receive praise from her superiors. However, she felt the only feedback she received was negative and was focused on something she did not even agree with as being a fault; demonstrating too much care. Therefore, this participant likely experienced powerlessness, as a consequence of having unclear expectations regarding the outcome resulting from her performance. This would all indicate that she was poorly socially integrated.

This respondent also likely experienced low feelings of acceptability (Wrightsman, 1991) to her boss, due to his constant critiquing of her leadership approach. Further, when considering Horney's (1945) model, the directions of 'against people' (aggressive) and 'drawn away from people' (detached) are relevant. She talks about this period where she felt she became nasty and was a bitch, suggesting that she was being pulled in the 'aggressive' direction. Where she talks about questioning her choice to be in the military, it is possible that feeling pulled her in the 'detached' direction. These factors would also suggest that her experience of receiving constant criticism for displaying the feminine

leadership approach of care, caused her to be less socially accepted. She did not feel that her leadership approach was valued by her manager, reducing her feelings of social contribution. These poor feelings of social integration, social acceptance and social contribution are again, relevant to the officer society; it was a superior officer who provided all this critique. In contrast, her leadership approach was delivering successful outcomes for her unit, suggesting her contribution actually *was* of value.

I want to now share with you more detail about my seven month tour to Afghanistan. It is really important to note that this was one of the greatest highlights in my Army career. I worked with a fantastic team of engineer soldiers and also locally employed civilian (LEC) tradesmen. I felt like we were making a genuine difference to the community and also to the infrastructure within the NZ bases. From a purely mission oriented point of view, our team performed to a high standard. We achieved all of our tasks and more. I am confident that my leadership of the team was successful in that we met all of our objectives.

I am also confident that my leadership was successful with regards to building relationships with my team members and demonstrating care for them. To back this up, at the end of the tour, three of my soldiers, individually, came up to me and thanked me for a great deployment. They told me that they really enjoyed working for me and that it was one of the most rewarding tours they had been on.

I was also really proud of the way I conducted myself during the trip. Being on deployment is tough. The environment is austere, the risks are real and the conditions are basic. Throughout the deployment, most people, at some stage, would 'lose their shit' and have a minor explosion. This is something I never did and I remained positive and 'chipper' throughout the deployment; something I am really proud of and I felt that it demonstrated professionalism. I did mention that I got a tattoo in an earlier chapter and I completely acknowledge that this was not professional. During the tour, I organised a number of activities to raise morale for the contingent. I hand-made Christmas cards for all personnel, organised fun activities for Christmas Day, New Year's Eve and Waitangi Day. I ran aerobics classes in the mornings when I was at the main Kiwi Base and I also spent additional time with the LECs, teaching them basic business skills. I also ensured that my team were able to enjoy some of the amazing aspects of Afghanistan, including visiting Bandi Amir Lakes and the Bamiyan Buddhas. I really cared about my soldiers, about the LECs and about the other hundred or so members of the deployment. I genuinely believe, hand on heart, that I did a good job on this tour. I also genuinely believe that the contingent appreciated my enthusiasm and that I made a positive difference to at least some of the members. In fact, some years later, one of the infantry soldiers told my NZTE colleague that I brightened up his day and helped him to get through the tour. This was due to my friendly nature on the radio calls and always being kind to everyone.

In the final weeks of the deployment, I received my end-of-tour report from the OC. He commented positively on all of my outcomes. However, the main focus of the debrief centred on the issues he saw with my leadership approach. He told me it was not professional to be friendly to soldiers and I needed to 'tone it down'. As an obedient junior officer who was eager to please, I felt guilty for doing something wrong. However, I did not understand what I had done wrong. I asked the OC if he could please elaborate on the issue so that I could understand the issue and then take steps to rectify it. His response was vague and he suggested that I smile less. When pressed to give me a more tangible example, he told me that officers shouldn't join in the karaoke - another activity I organised and participated in. He further told me that he had overheard one of the infantry soldiers make an inappropriate sexual comment about me and that I needed to modify my approach to ensure soldiers didn't make such comments. Not to sound crass, but six months into a tour, where there has been minimal interaction with women, the male soldiers would have made sexual comments about almost anything with two legs. Yet somehow, it was my fault the soldier had made the remark in the OC's presence?

This was a very low point in my career. I had been on cloud nine about the Army and about the deployment and then my entire tour was reduced to this apparent flaw in my leadership approach. I spoke with the 2IC of my team and asked for his feedback on this and asked him if he felt the soldiers didn't respect me because of my leadership approach. I distinctly remember him saying to me, 'Ma'am, you are different, that's for sure. But you are one of the best leaders we

have ever had. The guys know you are competent and know that you care about them and they would follow you anywhere'. So on the one hand, I was confident that my leadership approach was successful and I was relieved to have my 2IC support me on this. However, on the other hand, I was left feeling that there was something wrong with my approach and that the issue was me and my entire character. The tattoo part was easy to comprehend. I should not have got it due to potential infection and therefore knew not to repeat that action again. However, being less friendly and not participating in karaoke was like asking me not to be Ellen. I also asked the CO (commander of the entire contingent who I regard highly) about my report. This was not to argue the report; it was to seek his guidance on what I needed to change. He actually didn't provide any additional clarity in this instance, but he must have seen my face drop when he said to me, 'now Ellen, don't go thinking that you're too nice for the Army and leave now, ok?' However, that was pretty much the moment that I knew I would be leaving the Army. Strangely, this was not something I consciously realised until just this minute, while typing this story.

When I returned to New Zealand, I had my engineer OC call me into his office to talk about my report. He told me he was disappointed to read about my performance and that he expected that I would have been more professional with my leadership approach. This was despite the fact that my performance appraisal commented positively on all of my outputs. My entire tour was deemed in his eyes as unsuccessful and he viewed me as a failed leader. He told me that he

*would be keeping a closer eye on me with regards to interacting with soldiers.
'You need to be more professional around soldiers Ellen'.*

All of my career, I had been a high achiever; receiving awards, being selected for overseas scholarships and deployments, achieving mission objectives and yet now, I was a sub-par officer because I was too friendly. As I write this, I can feel a tear rolling down my cheek. This incident really did affect me; much more than I had realised. I know that I was a good leader and I know that my subordinates thought I was a good leader. They never disrespected me. Yet I was made to feel like I was a poor performer and I still cannot understand why being friendly is considered a negative characteristic in a leader? Further, even though I knew in my heart that my leadership approach was successful, I lost a lot of confidence and that point and I started to constantly second guess myself. My social well-being was not high during this period.

The next section discusses how some of the women felt, as a result of the clash of approaches, that they needed to adopt a more masculine approach to leadership; reducing their ability to lead in a truly authentic manner. It specifically examines the concept and application of authentic leadership in relationship to social well-being.

6.4 – “I wasn’t allowed to be me. I felt I had to be somebody that wasn’t true to me”

The findings from the women suggest that the NZ Army requires its leaders to adopt a masculine approach to leadership. If this masculine approach is ‘natural’ to the woman leader, then it would presumably be easy and also authentic for her to adopt this ‘normal’ approach and to be socially accepted. However, 18 of the 20 women discussed the conceptualisation and exercising of leadership using feminine terms, causing them issues from both a social well-being and authenticity point of view. Feminine approaches did not seem to be as valued by the NZ Army and many women felt pressured to become more masculine within the NZ Army. The NZ Army 2035 strategy document specifically reported “the aim is to integrate individuals so they adopt the Army’s culture without losing their identity” (Army, 2017b, p. 68). Findings from these women officers would suggest this did not always occur during their service and this conflict is discussed below.

The section above highlights some of this conflict, where the women’s feminine approaches to leadership were not valued, and they experienced reduced feelings of social integration, social acceptance and social contribution. Another outcome of this clash is that many of the women felt pressured to be more masculine. This is where authentic leadership becomes relevant. The over-arching theme of authentic leadership is being true to yourself. If the women felt they had to adopt a more masculine approach to leadership, it is reasonable to suggest that they were not able to consistently lead in a manner that was truly authentic to them. This is in line with the literature focusing on

the experiences of women leaders. Several studies found that in order to succeed, women leaders who did not naturally have a masculine approach to leadership, needed to adapt (or felt they needed to adapt) their leadership approach to become more masculine (Haber, 2011; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010).

6.4.1 – “I was conforming, conforming to be this masculine leader”

More than half of the women specifically talked about feeling pressure to become more masculine, which is also reflective of comments in a NZ Army article (Werder, 2018) and a study focusing on senior women officers in the NZ Army (Brosnan, 2015). One interviewee gave an explicit example of such pressure, where she was abused by a senior male officer for not joining in with a game of rugby at the mess, arguably, a more masculine behaviour.

One of my worst experiences actually, well, not worst experiences, but I was really gutted... Anyway, it was a mess dinner and everyone was really, really drunk and people were running people's heads into the poles, playing like, mess rugby. People were going unconscious and there was blood everywhere. And I was just standing back and I probably had my arms crossed standing back watching. And a senior male officer came up to me and he was the PMC [President of the Mess Committee] and he said, 'what the fuck is your problem?' And got right in my face. And I just said, 'look, I am just not into the mess rugby.' And he goes, 'well get the fuck out of the Army, you don't fit, just get a real job.' And it just hit me and I was scared... I just was like, what the fuck am I doing?

Many of the women acted on this pressure and adopted more masculine approaches at times during their NZ Army career. Some of the phrases used by the women to describe this were: being stern, being stuck up, being regimental, being scary, toning down their personality, being wrapped in the green shell of a cocoon, being blokey, being tough, putting on a tough face, being direct, being a tomboy, being butch, being gruff, and being authoritarian.

Several months after my Afghanistan tour, I deployed to Tuvalu during a severe drought as the Senior National Officer. I was so afraid of having my OC tell me he was disappointed in me that I really hid my personality during that trip. I actively avoided joining in any activities with the soldiers during the evenings and adopted a very regimental and guarded approach. I was very uptight. The good news is that I didn't get into any trouble this time... But the down side is that I wasn't me for that month. I didn't have fun. I was very lonely and I don't think I did a good job at developing my soldiers during that trip. Following my 'trial' at being an inauthentic leader, I decided to ditch that approach and luckily, I was posted out of that unit and into recruiting only a month later.

There were consequences for the women when they altered their approach, to become more masculine. One woman talked about adopting a sterner and regimental leadership approach while serving with a particular unit. When she completed her posting there, she was able to return to her 'normal' self and felt like this was "easier than having to be seen as rigid and stuck up all the time." She did not talk about it being difficult to

adopt a more masculine approach with that particular unit. However, she did comment on it being easier when she no longer had to take that approach. The posting to that unit was for two years, which is a significant period of time to adopt a less than natural leadership approach. This would suggest that she was not able, or did not feel she was able, to lead in a truly authentic manner for that period. Another respondent spoke about how it was tiring to lead in a less than natural, masculine manner.

There is a lot of pressure to be someone who I don't think I was. So a lot of pressure to be this very in control, directive person... But then I think now, it's like, wow, I was conforming, conforming to be this masculine leader that was directive... This concept of authentic leadership, yeah, I think it's interesting because I don't consciously remember trying to be someone else, but I do remember sometimes being just more tired, or not feeling as happy.

This pressure to conform was taking a significant toll on her emotionally, which was experienced through being tired and less happy. In order to feel socially accepted, she had to be a directive, masculine, leader which was clearly not in line with her authentic leadership approach.

Another participant felt quite specifically, that she could not be herself in the NZ Army, suggesting that she was not able to lead in an authentic manner.

I wasn't allowed to be me. I felt I had to be somebody that wasn't true to me...

The perception of an officer was up here. I guess I felt like I wasn't able to be me... I had to be careful about what I did. I was never allowed to be truly me.

In this case, the woman was not able to live in accordance with her true self, or the daimon (Waterman, 1993). This suggests that she could not progress towards self-

actualisation. Another woman talked about it being difficult to be authentic in the NZ Army.

It's very hard to, I guess, be authentic... It's very difficult to be yourself... and so you are constantly having to check yourself and that's quite exhausting. So, it's very difficult to lead authentically... If you try to fit in, then you don't get to be yourself... How to approach it in relation to fitting in? You can take the path of least resistance and become one of the boys... it's disappointing that sometimes females chose that path, if that's not truly who they are... I think there is a real temptation to adopt a male leadership style, and not be who you are... I guess it's hard to be yourself... You have to be strong and directive and have a command presence and have the authority otherwise you get undermined, and so I probably was quite strong and quite forceful at times.

This woman's comments really sum up the subsidiary research question: how did the experiences of authentic leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers? In order to fit in and feel socially well, women officers have to adopt an inauthentic leadership approach, which is exhausting. There appears to be no 'win-win' option for women leaders who naturally lead in a feminine manner. In these stories, the women refer to fitting in and see this as the reason why some women, including themselves at times, adopt a masculine approach. 'Fitting in' is directly relevant to social integration and social acceptance. In order to achieve social integration and social acceptance, the women leaders were not able to lead in an authentic manner. This also relates to Ryff's (1989) model for psychological (eudaimonic) well-being. One of these six components is autonomy (having confidence in one's own opinions even if the majority of others feel differently (Keyes, 2002)). Considering the component of

autonomy, the women who altered their leadership approach in order to fit in would presumably not have experienced high levels of the psychological well-being component of autonomy. Leading in an inauthentic manner reduces the psychological well-being of the women leaders as it affects their autonomy. It seems problematic that the women altered their approach in order to 'fit in', to achieve higher feelings of social well-being (through social integration and social acceptance), which ultimately led to reduced feelings of psychological well-being (through autonomy). As was identified in the mental health continuum (Keyes, 2002), it is possible for a person to have high levels of social well-being, while experiencing low levels of psychological well-being (Shapiro & Keyes, 2007).

One respondent talked about putting on a tough face, which is applicable to the relational transparency tenet of authentic leadership. Relational transparency refers to being open and transparent with others (Walumbwa et al., 2008). She highlighted the requirement to act tough and while this did not originate from the NZ Army, it was exacerbated during her service.

I learnt how to put up a defence system where people couldn't see my insecurity and that wasn't just from the Army. But my shell got harder in the Army and I didn't know how to be feminine in that place. I've come from quite a background, so it wasn't just the Army that was the reason for it, but it certainly amplified that feeling of needing to have this layer of protection around myself. I couldn't really see who I was or what my emotions were, or that I was feeling... So I learned how to be a tomboy basically and that meant for me to fit that identity I had to be tough... Yeah, sometimes it meant really pretending that I was tough,

even if I didn't feel like it. And so along those lines, I didn't feel comfortable wearing dresses. I didn't feel comfortable showing my emotions, showing softness.

She eventually felt that

I didn't want to have one mask for someone and one mask for someone else...

When I recognised that I didn't want to be two different people, I was like, well, that probably means that you are going to have to leave [the Army].

She believed that she had to put on a tough face and that she could not show any vulnerability. It is likely that this respondent decided not to show vulnerability in order to avoid the potential risk of people questioning her ability, as was the case for the General Manager in the study by Ibarra (2015). Her thought process seems logical of this being the outcome, especially given the criticism that some women received as a result of displaying emotions.

Another woman provided some deep insights to why she left the NZ Army. In order to achieve social integration and social acceptance in the NZ Army, she adopted behaviours to 'fit in', which caused her to lose her sense of authenticity.

The main reason [for leaving the NZ Army] for me was I felt like I had, and this is probably quite deep, but I felt like I had lost a lot of who I was as a person....

Towards the end of it I found that if I wanted to be successful, you really have to kind of be a tomboy and trying to fit in with what is quite heavily male kind of group persona. I felt like I was losing a lot of my personality and who I was. To try and fit this mould and to be successful in the Army and to try and fit in with that kind of clique and that across the peers, across all the other kind of male

counterparts... I didn't really know it at the time. It wasn't until I'd gotten out and after a couple of years... I'm not a girly girl, but I like to be able to. Now I feel comfortable in my job to be able to have fun and have a laugh in the office and just be much more relaxed and be kind of happy go lucky and not have to be like, serious. I'm not kind of tomboy-ish, but you have to have like, a realm, it felt like a gruff exterior, be really black and white and be serious to kind of fit in with everyone.

In this case, adopting a masculine approach and not being truly authentic as a leader had some significant consequences. She felt as though she was losing who she was, and she was allowing this to happen, presumably, in order to increase her social well-being (primarily social integration, acceptance and contribution). However, doing so must have negative consequences on social actualisation as it would be difficult to see that society is improving for women if they are not able to be themselves. Further, the coherence around why the NZ Army 'required' its leaders to adopt a masculine approach is lacking. Therefore, her overall social well-being is still unlikely to be high, alongside experiencing reduced psychological well-being through reduced authenticity.

18 of the 20 women discussed their leadership approach using traditionally feminine terms. More than half of the women specifically talked about feeling they had to adopt masculine approaches which meant they could not truly be themselves. These women experienced negative consequences as a result. In all of these cases, it appeared that the women had to balance between being authentic and feeling psychologically well (through autonomy), and feeling socially well (through social integration, social acceptance and social contribution); they could not be both.

There were two exceptions to these findings. Two women that naturally had a masculine approach to leadership, and three women who achieved authenticity alongside social well-being; after more than a decade of serving.

6.4.2 – “I’m way nicer now [outside the Army]”

Only two of the twenty women did appear to achieve social integration and social acceptance alongside being authentic as a leader. This is because these two women naturally demonstrated a more masculine approach to leadership, as they talked about being very comfortable with a directive leadership approach. One woman spoke about how she found it easier to lead when she was in the NZ Army and her comments suggested that her natural leadership approach was more in line with the masculine approach required in the NZ Army, allowing her to be authentic while serving.

I’m way nicer now [outside the Army]. I guess ‘cause, well, in the Army, you are able to just really say whatever you want to people. Not that I really ever used to, but, you know, if someone was playing up or, being naughty or anything, you could just be like, ‘no, you have to do it. I’m the boss, that’s it. If you don’t, I’ll charge you’. You can’t really do that in civvy world [outside the Army]. So, I think you have to work, well, personally, I work much, much harder now on building relationships with people... I guess that’s what made it easy in the Army because doing, like, making everyone be accountable for all of their actions... so I was very comfortable with that.

It appears that the two women who were able to lead in an authentic manner and feel socially integrated and socially accepted could only do so because they naturally led in a masculine manner.

Further, three of the women suggested that they were able to be authentic, but this only occurred more than a decade on in their career. This is in line with the findings by Brosnan (2015), which focused on senior women officers in the NZ Army. Brosnan (2015) found that the women officers were able to develop their leadership approach to one which was more authentic to them as they gained more experience and that this generally occurred when women reached the rank of Major or Lieutenant Colonel. It generally takes an officer at least 12 to 15 years to reach the rank of Major and Lieutenant Colonel is another three to six years after that. One woman talked about how she was able to be herself; once she got to the rank of Major.

But it did take a few years to get there. And when you are in a safe environment where you trust other people and you can actually be yourself without having these assumptions being made. So I think it would have to be probably not until I was a Major I reckon. That is when you are senior enough in the organisation. You are in more mature working environments and you are able, for me, able to have that freedom to be who you are.

Given that the median number of years served for the women in this study was ten years, the majority of the women interviewed did not remain in the NZ Army long enough to become Majors. This would suggest that many of them never got to a stage where they felt they could be truly authentic.

6.5 - Chapter summary

The women identified that the NZ Army trains and forces its leaders to lead in a masculine manner. In contrast, almost all of the women conceptualised and exercised leadership in a more feminine manner. This included approaches such as: caring for soldiers, developing soldiers to grow, developing relationships with soldiers and collaborating with soldiers. With the women predominantly using feminine terms to describe leadership and to discuss examples of exercising leadership, and OCS training leaders to lead in a masculine manner, the clash in this area is not surprising. This chapter highlights some of this conflict, where the women's feminine approaches, such as emotions, bubbiness and caring, were not valued. In these cases, the women experienced feelings of reduced social integration, social acceptance and social contribution within the 'officer society'. Conversely, these same actions actually led to increased social integration, social acceptance and social contribution within the 'troop or platoon society' among their soldiers.

One outcome of this reduced social well-being in the officer society is that many of the women felt pressured to be more masculine. If the women felt they had to adopt a more masculine approach to leadership, it is reasonable to suggest that they were not able to consistently lead in a manner that was truly authentic to them and several of the women specifically mentioned this. This led to negative consequences for the women such as: feeling tired and unhappy, not being themselves, and in some cases, termination from the NZ Army (which then led to positive psychological well-being for these women). With only two exceptions, women were not able to achieve authenticity as a leader

while feeling socially integrated and socially accepted. In all other cases, women were not able to lead in a truly authentic manner, while also feeling socially well; answering the subsidiary research question addressed in this chapter.

The next chapter explores the physical aspect of leadership and examines how embodied leadership impacts on the social well-being of women officers.

7.0 – The wrong body

This chapter explores the impact of the physical requirements in the NZ Army, on social well-being and how, as a consequence, women are often considered to have the ‘wrong’ body. The purpose of this chapter is to address the final subsidiary research question: how did the experiences of embodied leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers? If the women look and perform in accordance with the physical requirements, then social well-being was generally not negatively impacted. However, if the women do not look or perform in accordance with the physical requirements, then their social well-being was negatively impacted. This chapter opens with a discussion regarding physical appearance, and then focuses more closely on physical performance; both with respect to social well-being.

7.1 – “Every single woman, no matter what your shape or size, has a tight shirt across your hips that makes you look less tidy than the men do”

In the NZ Army, officers and soldiers are required to wear a uniform, every day. In most units, the daily uniform, dress of day, is the camouflage print uniform. This is a camouflage shirt, camouflage cargo pants, and boots; worn with either a beret or a camouflage bush hat. The uniform is a male uniform; the sizes are as per male civilian clothing sizes and the cut is for men. There is no female version of the uniform and the

uniforms are not tailored to fit a woman's body. A new combat uniform was purchased in 2014, "but no consideration was given for the female body form. It was decided that as women do not represent a large proportion of the organisation then a special fit need not be created" (Derbyshire, 2017, p. 184). This has been the case for the past several decades. One woman aptly commented, with cynicism, about the NZ Army uniform, "oh guess what, it [uniform] doesn't have hips in it, so now, every single woman, no matter what your shape or size, has a tight shirt across your hips that makes you look less tidy than the men do." There is no accounting for breasts, narrower shoulders or wider hips; women are required to fit and to wear the male uniform as best as they can. Quite simply, women in the NZ Army wear men's clothing every day. When comparing the findings regarding physical appearance and leadership in this study, to the findings in the existing literature, it is pertinent to understand that the women in this study had to wear the issued male uniform to work every day.

The majority of the studies in the field of embodied leadership examined the relationship between physical *appearance* and leadership; focusing on how the body looks. As outlined in Chapter Two, this can be further divided into two sub-streams; the appearance of the coverings for the body (clothing, hair, make-up, accessories, grooming) and the appearance of the body itself (shape, size, weight, height). The first sub-stream is termed 'dress and grooming' and the second is termed 'physique'. The findings regarding dress and grooming, followed by physique, for NZ Army women officers are discussed next.

7.1.1 – “I was very envious of the civilian women who could wear whatever they liked and look glamorous”

Dress and grooming, referred to as ‘dress and bearing’ in the NZ Army, is considered to be important. Right from the start, officers and soldiers are taught how to iron their uniforms, how to wear their head dress, how to polish their boots and how to wear the correct accoutrements. They are also provided with regulations regarding their dress standards for non-uniform clothing while attending the Mess facilities. The NZ Army is allowed to discipline staff who do not meet the correct dress standards. While dress and bearing may be important in the corporate sector, it is unlikely that managers are able to discipline their staff for having a thread loose on their shirt, or scuff marks on their boots, as can happen in the NZ Army. This section discusses some of the findings from the women in this study regarding being judged for the way they dress and their perceived standard of grooming.

The way a woman leader presents herself, with regards to dress and grooming, seems to be considerably more important than for a male leader (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Fitzgerald, 2018; Haynes, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016b). As identified by Kelan (2012), the research participants’ discussion of dress was almost exclusively focused on women and not on men. Existing studies found that women leaders needed to wear ‘appropriate’ clothing; this required them to balance between not dressing in an overly feminine or, in an overly masculine manner, and not dressing in a way that was too sexual (Fitzgerald, 2018; Johansson et al., 2017; Kelan, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a, 2016b; J. K. Smith et al., 2018; Trethewey, 1999). Further, the women leaders needed

to have tidy hair and be well groomed (Mavin & Grandy, 2016a, 2016b). The study by Ladkin (2012) and J. Ford et al. (2017) did outline the importance for male leaders to dress well also, however, these findings were considerably fewer.

As the women officers in this study wore a uniform, their choice of personal clothing was not judged on a daily basis. However, when they attended mess functions, or other events not requiring uniform, these women officers faced scrutiny as do women in other spheres. In these instances, it can be more difficult for women to select the 'right' outfit, as the "informal rules governing women's attire and appearance are not as explicit or traditional as the archetypal professional male suit" (Haynes, 2012, p. 496). This was especially the case with regards to not dressing in a sexual manner and maintaining high grooming standards. Five of the twenty women specifically made comments in this area.

If a female officer turned up to a function dressed inappropriately and if a male turns up dressed inappropriately, you're probably talking shorts and jandals or something, whereas they should probably be wearing a suit. But you know, female inappropriateness might be a dress that might be a bit too short or something a bit more revealing. I think that's going to be more of an issue. I don't know why. It just would be more of an issue.

In this case, this woman is talking about the importance of women officers dressing in a manner that is not too sexual; not revealing too much leg or cleavage. She also suggests that a woman in the NZ Army would be judged more harshly for wearing inappropriate attire compared with how a man may be judged for wearing inappropriate attire. This sentiment is in line with the comments regarding double standards that were discussed in Chapter Five and is also similar to the literature (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Fitzgerald, 2018;

Haynes, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016b). Two women spoke about the difficulties associated with looking too feminine, or being sexualised. This was also the case for women in corporate sector settings (Kelan, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a). One woman took steps to look less attractive in order to be taken more seriously and another woman refrained from wearing dresses, to not appear too feminine. The women in this study felt as though the way they looked and the non-uniform clothing they chose were judged. It appeared as though their dress choices influenced their perceived leadership abilities from others. Given the comments overheard by one participant, these feelings appear to be accurate. She heard senior male officers say, “have you seen the way she dresses, it’s no wonder no one thinks she’s any good”.

Sitting at my desk, looking around my wardrobe (which is an entire room), I can see that I probably have around two hundred dresses and many of them are very feminine. They have floral patterns, they are brightly coloured and they are pretty. I think perhaps I bought so many pretty dresses to over-compensate for the fact that I had to wear a male uniform to work every day. Further, when I went to the mess, I had to dress very conservatively, and in my opinion, quite boring and unfashionably. We had to wear closed toe shoes, a collared shirt and nothing too tight or revealing. I did feel my desire to wear bright and bold clothing was suppressed while in the Army. Further, when there were partners’ functions, I was very envious of the civilian women who could wear whatever they liked and look glamorous. I felt incredibly ‘dowdy’ next to them in my plain clothing, or my unflattering mess uniform.

For the majority of the time in the NZ Army, the headdress worn is a beret; this fits tightly around the head. The beret, and the grooming standards associated with wearing a beret, is based around a male head that has short hair. The standard male hair cut is 'short back and sides', which matches perfectly with a beret that fits tightly around the back and sides of the head. Unless a woman decides to cut her hair short, like a man, hair longer than 'short back and sides' is more difficult when wearing a beret. Most women in the NZ Army have hair that is long enough to tie back and wear in a bun. For women with straight hair, this can look relatively tidy. However, for women with curly hair, it can be very difficult to control every 'wisp' of hair that is prone to sticking out under the beret. Given that men in the NZ Army are not allowed to have long hair, issues with hair 'sticking out' are only relevant to women in the NZ Army. One woman made comments that were in line with the literature (Ladkin, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a, 2016b), with respect to having tidy and well-groomed hair.

It starts with my fricking hair. I used to have really short hair and I cut it off when I joined the military and I regret it. But it turned out to be Krusty the Clown type hairstyle, it was like a little afro. Of course, that doesn't fit under a beret very much, so for the three years that it took me to grow it out again [and be able to wear it in a bun], every report was, 'Miss X needs to work on her dress and bearing. Her hair is out of control'. It's like, yeah, I have curly hair... so that was always in my reports. It used to really annoy the frig out of me. So I grew it out and then it wasn't a problem anymore. But terrible, you went through all that kind of stuff.

If her hair did not meet the accepted levels of 'tidiness', it is possible that a woman in the corporate sector may also be judged in this manner. However, in this case, it is the

NZ Army uniform that contributes to her hair not looking as tidy as it could or should be; the mandatory beret is what caused her hair to look untidy. This is different to the studies in the literature, as the corporate women, in general, did not appear to have to wear headdress. Further, unlike in the NZ Army, it is unlikely a corporate woman would actually be criticised in her performance appraisal due to having hair that was deemed as untidy.

In the previous chapter which focused on the intersection between authentic leadership and social well-being, women were criticised for *acting* feminine, or adopting a feminine leadership approach. With regards to embodied leadership, the women were criticised for *dressing* in a feminine manner. The women had to be careful not to dress in a way that made them stand out as being too feminine, or too sexual. Therefore, the women officers had to be careful that they dressed in a way that was acceptable to men. Dressing 'inappropriately' would lead to reduced feelings of acceptability to others; reduced feelings of social acceptance. Further, it may be difficult for women to feel completely socially integrated when they look different to the men and are so excessively scrutinised for the way they look compared with men. It is also worth noting that the rules around what is considered as appropriate attire are not always clear; causing reduced levels of social coherence. The next section examines how physique played a part in the embodied leadership and social well-being experiences of women officers.

7.1.2 – “I never fit my uniform as well as some other members of the Army”

Physique is a topic that was discussed in both the existing literature, as well as by some of the women in this study. In several cases, women’s leadership ability was judged by their physique; specifically with regards to the perceived ‘fitness’ associated with that physique. It appeared that a slender figure that does not look to be overweight or oversized was desired in a leader (Johansson et al., 2017; E. B. King et al., 2016; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a; Merilainen et al., 2015; Trethewey, 1999; Webb et al., 2008). Being fit and not being overweight appeared to demonstrate control (Trethewey, 1999) and suggests that the leader can endure the requirements of the job (Johansson et al., 2017; Merilainen et al., 2015).

Two of the women in this study commented on how they were judged as leaders based on their physique. In these examples, their bodies were judged as not being fit. What makes this situation more unique is that these two women actually *were* physically fit. The issued, male, uniform was not well-suited to, or flattering for, their body shapes and this meant that they appeared to have a physique that was less fit. The women in the corporate sector studies by Mavin and Grandy (2016a), Haynes (2012) and Trethewey (1999) were, at least, able to choose their own clothing, giving them a greater opportunity to wear clothing that was more flattering to their body shape, therefore having a greater opportunity to make their body appear as fit as possible. In contrast, the women in my study were not able to wear attire that was more flattering for their body shape, they had to wear the issued male uniform and make it fit them as best as

possible. One participant's comments illustrate this point; she felt that the way her uniform looked on her body, gave some people the impression that she was not physically fit.

Well, I never fit my uniform as well as some other members of the Army, which means that, even though I passed my fitness test, people have always had a perception about me because of that, which has always been a challenge that I've had to overcome. So when I was on operation for example, I was working for a Major who said that he had real misgivings when he first met me based on visuals alone. Because I was not the same corps, because I was a woman. Because again even, I passed my fitness tests, I'm a more solid build than a number of people within the Army and I think that is something that's more against women than it is against men.

She also suggests that people appear to be disproportionately more judgemental of, the appearance of women leaders' bodies compared with male leaders. In comparison to studies focusing on dress and grooming, studies examining physique and leadership appear to be more evenly spread across the genders, with many of the studies including both men and women (Johansson et al., 2017; E. B. King et al., 2016; Merilainen et al., 2015; von Rueden et al., 2018; Webb et al., 2008). However, the bodies of women leaders appear to be more fiercely scrutinised and judged more harshly compared with the bodies of men (Brewis & Sinclair, 2000; E. B. King et al., 2016; Levay, 2013; Puhl & Heuer, 2009; van Amsterdam et al., 2017). It has been argued that this spotlight on women leaders' bodies is because women's bodies are considered as 'other' and therefore much more visible compared to the white man's body, which is considered as the norm (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Butler, 1993; Fitzgerald, 2018; Johansson et al., 2017;

Kenny & Bell, 2011; Liu, 2015; Merilainen et al., 2015; O'Neill, 2018; Puwar, 2004; Trethewey, 1999; Wolkowitz, 2012). The male leader's body can enjoy a degree of invisibility, whereas women's bodies stand out and are considered in contrast to the 'normal' leader. In this woman's case, she stood out, as her body did not fit the issued male uniform in the way that others, especially men, did. Her physique was not considered to be acceptable to the male Major and he negatively judged her for it. Even though she wore the same uniform as the men, she did not look the same in it as the men did, impacting her feelings of social integration and social acceptance.

Another woman also spoke about how the issued NZ Army uniform did not fit her properly and as a result, she never felt truly comfortable, physically or mentally, in it. She spoke about her current job which does not require a uniform and noted that now, "I don't have to wear a shapeless kind of sack to work... [now, my clothes are], very smart, and very tailored and you look nice in it [non-Army clothing] and it makes you feel good about yourself." It did not seem as though she felt as good about herself in the NZ Army uniform.

It's just, I didn't find it flattering. I am a big chested lady. It just didn't fit. I could never get it tailored to the point that it was good for me. I just didn't enjoy the actual wearing of uniform... it was still just a green sack of uniform essentially that I didn't enjoy wearing on a day-to-day basis at all. I didn't think it looked professional.

In this case, the concept of fatalism (Lefcourt, 1982) is relevant, in that she has no control over the uniform she wears. As the uniform is not flattering on her figure, she does not

look as good as others, reducing her ability to feel socially integrated or to experience self-acceptance (Ryff, 1989).

While I don't specifically remember feeling like the uniform looked bad on me, it is definitely my opinion that men generally look a lot better in the uniform than women do. Hearing this story from this woman reminded me about how I felt when I had to wear the Australian uniform during my exchange at the Royal Military College. The Aussie Army has a women's uniform for camouflage clothing and it is tailored. Upon reflection, I do recall feeling a lot smarter in my uniform that year, as it gave me a lot more shape compared with the kiwi uniform.

Further, partway through my time at the Engineer unit, we became the first regiment at Linton to tuck in our shirts, displaying our corps belts. I remember really enjoying this. While I was proud to wear my corps belt on show, this wasn't my main reason. I found that tucking my shirt in highlighted my waist and bust ever so slightly more than when my shirt was untucked. I liked this and I felt a lot smarter in my uniform because of it.

The next section goes further and discusses the importance of not just *appearing* fit, but *being* fit. It examines the intersection between social well-being and the physical *performance* aspect of embodied leadership.

7.2 – “Look, the easiest way, by far, to have credibility in the Army is just to be able to run far and carry lots of stuff”

This section explores the social well-being of women officers with regards to embodied leadership; specifically, physical performance. Physical performance in this instance refers to athletic and fitness performance; strength, robustness, endurance, and speed. Physical performance is an important part of being an officer in the NZ Army and an overview of the physical requirements is presented for context. Personnel must pass a required fitness level (RFL) test every 6 – 12 months. This consists of a 2.4km run, press-ups and sit-ups. The required standards for women is lower than for men and the standards also get lower as people get older. There is also an annual battle efficiency test (BET) comprising of a 12km pack march, and additional tasks such as: fireman’s carry, body drag, six foot wall climb and ditch jump. The BET has the same standards for men and women. During an average week, each unit generally attends three to four physical training (PT) sessions. The PT sessions are run by a PT instructor (PTI) and are usually one hour in duration. The sessions vary and can include activities such as: circuit training (multitude of different exercises with and without equipment), running (long distance, cross country and interval training), log carry (literally carrying large logs and other heavy equipment, in teams, around the camp), obstacle course, pack marching, pool circuits, sports and swimming. Men and women participate in the same PT activities. Physical activity for the rest of the week varies according to the unit. Some units will spend large amounts of time doing battle drills (a physically demanding activity

to practice manoeuvres in combat situations), or setting up and working with heavy equipment, while other units require less physical activity outside of PT sessions. Units typically deploy in the field several times per year, ranging in duration from one to four weeks. Field exercises can be very physically demanding for some units; carrying heavy packs, conducting battle drills, walking long distances, living outdoors, being exposed to the elements and experiencing degrees of sleep and food deprivation. Field exercises for other units may be less physically demanding, but are still generally considered to be more physically arduous than 'in camp' routine. Many NZ Army personnel deploy on operations during their army career, which are generally four to eight months. The physical requirements for deployments may be similar to those in a field exercise.

When officers are posted to roles outside of the standard units at different times in their careers, physical requirements can be considerably less. For example, during my final posting at Defence Recruiting, the only physical component to my role was PT sessions and the annual RFL. As we were a small unit, the PT sessions were voluntary, so I usually only had ten other people participating with me; it would have been acceptable for me to not attend. I worked in an office environment in Wellington, with no soldiers in my team; the team were senior Airforce and Navy personnel as well as civilian staff and we did not deploy in the field. This is the case for many headquarters type postings, which have a higher ratio of officers compared with the standard operational units. After a few years with a troop or platoon as a junior officer, a significant number of officers will spend portions of their career in these types of postings. At some stages in an officer's career, physical activity can be very intense, while other stages may be less so. Either way, physical performance is a requirement in the NZ Army in a manner that is far more

significant than for most other professions. The next section examines physical performance with regards to gender.

7.2.1 – “I couldn’t be the slow female”

The average man is stronger than 99% of women with regards to upper body strength (Lassek & Gaulin, 2009) and men in their 20s (women in my study spent the majority of their NZ Army career in their 20s) have around 50% more upper-body and 30% more lower body muscle mass, compared with women (Epstein et al., 2013). While women tend to have greater flexibility and better balance, men typically have greater levels of strength, higher aerobic and anaerobic characteristics and lower body fat (Allison et al., 2015). “In general, men have larger muscles, greater absolute and relative strength, and greater absolute and relative anaerobic power compared with women” (Nindl et al., 2016, p. 51). Therefore, the fastest man in the unit will be faster than the fastest woman in the unit. The strongest man in the unit will be stronger than the strongest woman in the unit. The fastest and strongest man has the opportunity to be at the front of the unit, whereas the fastest and strongest woman is likely to only be in the middle of the unit. Further, a less fast and less strong man is more likely to be able to ‘blend’ into the middle or back group in a unit, whereas, a less fast and less strong woman has more of an opportunity to stand out as being the last member within the unit. The average woman constantly has to exert more energy and put in more effort than the average man, in order to achieve the same physical task. It can therefore be argued that the impact of physical requirements is more significant for women than for men. One

interviewee provided a neat summary of this when speaking about a male officer who is

six foot five or four, so he doesn't have to jump a six foot wall. He just goes up to it and puts a leg over, you know. Whereas I pretty much have to get a ladder to get up. So I also felt a little bit disadvantaged because of that. It was the same standard regardless of physical attributes.

Another woman noted that when you get into a leadership role, "you're like, 'right, I've got to be at the front and I've got to go faster', but you physically can't [as a woman] and so it takes a toll on you a little bit in that sense."

Given these differences in physiology and therefore, differences in physical performance, some of the women commented on how the level of fitness seemed even more important for women than for men. This is in line with the comments from Chapter Five, regarding women leaders feeling they constantly need to prove themselves.

The thing is that, I think as a woman, sometimes, your level of fitness, like, I honestly believe that that is a huge thing with female officers. That, if you're fit and can keep up in PT, that automatically gives you a big tick and they're [men] more likely to take you seriously.

Another woman mentioned that "there is so much emphasis for women in the Army being physically fit and physically strong and those aspects." Several other women talked about the importance for women leaders to not be a burden on their team and to not be the ones lagging behind. In line with findings within the corporate sector, in the NZ Army, women's bodies are considered as the 'other', in contrast to the male body, which is the norm (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Butler, 1993; Fitzgerald, 2018; Johansson

et al., 2017; Kenny & Bell, 2011; Liu, 2015; Merilainen et al., 2015; O'Neill, 2018; Puwar, 2004; Trethewey, 1999; Wolkowitz, 2012). The women leader's body in a corporate setting stands out compared to the men. The women leader's body stands out even more in the NZ Army, where women make up only 12.8% of the population (Parsons, 2018). In a PT session, this visibility is exponentially greater. Every aspect about her body is so much more visible compared to a corporate woman in an office meeting. The NZ Army woman's cardiovascular fitness, running speed and strength are all on show. In addition, a large number of PT sessions are conducted in a tee-shirt and shorts, and swimming PT sessions are done in swimsuits, revealing even more of the feminine figure and further highlighting its difference to the men. The PT setting exacerbates the visibility of the feminine 'other' more than almost any other setting in the workplace. This also heightens the women's experiences of social acceptance and social integration.

In order to minimise the impact of standing out as 'other' to the male body, many of the women trained extremely hard to ensure they could keep up with the men at PT and achieve the same standards as the men for the RFL. These women were determined to reduce their body's level of 'other-ness'.

I took it upon myself that I had to be so super fit. Like, I couldn't be the slow female. I had to really push myself. I would train after hours, particularly if we had an RFL coming up. I would get out in my own time after work and do interval training.

Many of the women wanted to achieve the same standard as the men for their RFL; the women did not want to stand out as women.

I also found this to be the case. In the field exercises, I would always make sure that I carried more than my fair share of the section stores in my pack. I felt that I needed to carry more than others to prove that I was physically capable.

These comments are aligned with Section 5.4, which discussed the requirement for women leaders to constantly and repeatedly prove themselves. In the physically demanding NZ Army, proving physical ability was paramount. If the women were able to achieve high physical performance results, their credibility as an officer was positively impacted. This is examined next.

7.2.2 – “She’s all good, she can pack march”

High levels of physical performance generated respect and credibility; from subordinates, peers and superiors. This sentiment was specifically mentioned by fifteen of the twenty women. This respect and credibility transferred across to the officer’s perceived ability in areas not just related to physical performance. One respondent summed this up nicely when she talked about a conversation she had with a male officer cadet when she was at OCS.

We were just chatting one night and he just said to me, ‘look, the easiest way, by far, to have credibility in the Army is just to be able to run far and carry lots of stuff’. But that’s not the only way. And I think that that was a very telling comment and I think that it’s true... My perception is that if you have a good social game at the bar and you run quick, you’re much more likely to end up at a good staff college and going to the good jobs, getting to the next level.

This comment highlighted the weight that is placed on physical performance in the NZ Army; if you can run fast, you will earn credibility and you will go far in your career.

Another respondent also illustrated this and she saw PT as

a really big opportunity to shine as an actual leader. I know the soldiers appreciated it [her high fitness levels], I even know my command chain appreciated it. It's probably the only thing they did appreciate... I think it gave me credibility... I remember, this is very tiny, but it's still really defining, being able to climb the six foot wall. Everyone looked at me and it was like, 'nah, she's not going to do it' and I did it first pop, in front of everyone and there were other females and even males that couldn't do it. So it was a real, 'yes', sort of moment. So that was just a small victory.

Demonstrating this physical achievement, and constantly performing well at PT, meant that she earned credibility. Credibility can also be related to respect (Wrightsmann, 1991) and social acceptance.

When I was in Antarctica, I saw a poster advertising the annual marathon. I mentioned to my team that I was considering participating in the event and I distinctly remember one of my soldiers asking me a series of questions about it. This soldier had previously been a member of the SAS (Special Air Service) and I had huge respect for him; if I'm honest, I found him slightly intimidating. He said, 'Ma'am, have you ever run a marathon before?' I answered, 'no'. 'Have you been training for a marathon?' My answer was again, 'no'. 'Have you ever run long distance before?' I told him that I had completed a half marathon five years previously. He then suggested that perhaps running a marathon in Antarctica was not a good idea and implied it was unlikely I would be able to complete it.

Well, that was the confirming moment for me – I was definitely going to do the marathon! I ran, jogged, shuffled and completed the 42km. I came dead last in the event, but I completed it without stopping and without walking. I was pleased as punch to learn later that he had told the other soldiers that he was impressed by my dogged determination.

Several of the women spoke about how performing well physically not only earned them credibility in the PT setting; this credibility transferred over to how they were viewed as an officer in general. Physical achievements led people to think they were a good officer all round. One participant spoke about how being good at pack marching earned her respect in her unit.

I'm like, a strong pack marcher. So for the unit BET, I was, on two occasions, I was the only female that passed the test and then a huge amount of the men didn't pass as well. So I was kind of in the front third I suppose, of the corps. So then you just get credibility and then that is like, you do one pack march and everything's fine. It's kind of a weird culture... I think suddenly I just went from being an officer in the unit to, well, 'she's all good, she can pack march'.

In a Finnish study (Johansson et al., 2017) which examined the concept of managerial athleticism, some of the participants also found that physical performance was linked with perceptions of their overall leadership ability. This is similar to this participant's account, where her pack marching achievement led people to rate her highly as an officer overall and in settings beyond PT.

Officers are assessed on capabilities other than physical performance, such as: administration, tactics and strategy, leadership, dress and bearing, planning, and the NZ Army values (courage, commitment, comradeship and integrity). Yet, similarly to the results in the study by Johansson et al. (2017), physical performance tends to be weighted more strongly than other attributes. This meant that physical performance was a good way for the women officers to achieve social acceptance and social integration. Due to the weight of importance placed on physical performance, it gave the women leaders a chance to be accepted as officers in general.

Poor physical performance however, works in reverse. If the women officers were not seen as high performers in the PT setting, they would be viewed less positively as officers overall. One woman spoke about the significant weight that is put on physical performance when it comes to appraisals. She received a performance appraisal which spoke negatively about her physical performance. This burned even more because the male superior writing her report

had never done PT with me, not once. He made a comment about the level of my fitness on my report [even though she had met all the physical standards]... not to bring myself up, but I'd done a really, really good job and then my report gets pulled down because of this.

If the women officers are good at other activities, this gets undermined by lower levels of physical performance (perceived or actual).

The next section examines the, potentially surprising, finding, that being the fastest or strongest is not the only way to earn credibility to be socially integrated and socially accepted with regards to physical performance and embodied leadership.

7.2.3 – “You simply don’t have the same strength as a male”

These findings suggest that women can gain credibility, about their overall performance as an officer, by demonstrating physical ability. Conversely, they can experience reduced credibility, about their overall performance as an officer, if their physical performance, perceived or actual, is lacking. Given the difference in physiology between the average woman and the average man, it is extremely unlikely that women officers would ever experience being the fastest or strongest member of their unit. In many cases however, it appeared that it was not an issue if the women officers were not at the front. The women felt that the men in the NZ Army understand that women are physiologically different and therefore do not chastise women and their womanly bodies for not being the fastest and strongest members in the unit. The women were judged on their physical performance in line with their physical abilities. “As a female, you simply don’t have the same strength as a male. I think most people will know that” and this is okay.

What seemed more important than being at the front, was actually attending PT and other physical sessions, and putting in effort. The caveat to this is that the woman cannot be at the back, she must carry her own weight (her own stores, pack and equipment), she must not slow the group down and she must pass her RFL and BET tests to a high standard. As long as she can do this, she attends PT and she tries her hardest,

this woman officer will be respected. More than half of the women in this study talked about the credibility earned by attending PT and putting in effort. Three of the women's comments are noted below as they illustrate this sentiment.

I think as long as you were, well, for me, I was one of those officers that I would go to PT. I was never at the front. I wasn't at the back either, but I think a lot of the soldiers think, as long as you're one of the ones that aren't sitting in your office just doing nothing and you're actually out there giving it a go, and you're able to demonstrate that minimum standard then I don't think it [not being at the front] affects your leadership abilities too much... As long as you're out there, you're doing it.

Another woman noted that respect is only earned when the officer puts in one hundred percent effort. If they do put in effort, yet are not "anywhere near the front, I don't think the guys mind. But if you are not putting in the effort and you lag behind, then there is a lack of respect that comes with that, or a loss of respect".

A further woman also talked about the importance of putting in effort.

I was never the fittest in the unit, but always gave it a hundred percent. So I think that goes a long way and is quite highly regarded. And you know, if you're making that, that goes a long way to impact, kind of, your reputation and your leadership as well... Just for things like when you're in the field, and the same with PT, always giving everything a hundred percent. Like, always consistently turning up to the PT sessions, always giving everything a hundred and ten percent. Even if you're not the fittest out there, people can tell. I think that does affect people's view on you and the respect that people have for you. And that in turn, I think, impacts their view on you as a leader.

These findings would suggest that men in the NZ Army do have a 'tolerance' for the feminine 'other' body. There appears to be a degree of acceptance for the physiological make up of a woman's body and therefore, her inability to ever be the fastest or strongest member within the unit. The feminine body, while it stands out as 'other', cannot be changed and is therefore accepted, provided the woman can meet the caveat; not be last, carry her own weight, not slow the group down, pass RFLs and BETs to a high standard, always turn up to PT and always put in effort. Therefore, the women officers' feelings of social acceptance and also social integration and social contribution were not negatively impacted if they achieved the caveat.

These comments also reflect my own experiences. I remember training extremely hard to improve my physical performance and this included running to work on a regular basis (approximately 12 km) and doing additional training sessions in my own time. I also ensured that I always attended PT sessions and I would always try my hardest. While I was never at the front, I did meet the caveat mentioned above and genuinely feel like I was accepted and respected for my physical performance.

The NZ Army may not always value a woman officer demonstrating feminine leadership approaches, but they do not seem to have issues with a woman officer demonstrating feminine physical approaches (not running as fast as men for example). Therefore, if the women officers met the caveat, their experiences of embodied leadership generally led to positive social well-being.

If the women did not meet the caveat however, due to factors such as injuries, pregnancy or childbirth, the women reported experiencing judgement and reduced social well-being. The impact of injuries on social well-being is discussed next.

7.2.4 – “I got an injury... so I couldn’t deploy and that made me feel like a second class citizen”

One woman suffered significant injuries due to activities within the NZ Army and this meant that she “couldn’t do PT with the unit. And once you can’t physically lead, then you are just undermined.” She spoke about feeling pressure from her managers to pass an RFL, even though she was medically downgraded, and even when she was posted to a role that did not require intensive physical performance.

Even though those physical requirements are no longer actually a requirement for my job. Like, I’m a keyboard warrior, there is no part of my job that I can’t do and I am paid for my brain, not for how fast I can run an RFL track... and 2.4km does not mean I can do my job better... My body is broken because of what I’ve done and because of the service I have given the NZDF and there is no part of my job I can’t do. I am really loyal, but this [pressure to do an RFL with an injury] made me feel like you [career manager] don’t value me or respect me and you don’t care about me as an individual. I am very unhappy about it, it was pretty gutting... But they just don’t care. They just want you to pass a fitness test because that is what a warrior does.

This woman left the NZ Army on her own terms, but she could see that there was potential for increasing pressure to pass an RFL to force her exit at some stage in the

future. Literature examining the relative weight of physical performance is extremely limited. However, an article by van Amsterdam et al. (2017) suggested that some leaders (coaches) in sporting contexts were expected to resign if their physical performance was no longer adequate. Another woman also spoke about an injury, and that her subsequent inability to pass an RFL

was reported on all the time, which is frustrating because there's other parts to me rather than my injury or me doing an RFL. I actually want you to report on everything else that I'm doing in my job, so yeah, frustrating... Everything else is exemplary apart from fitness, so there was not an issue anywhere else.

Regardless, her injury and medical downgrade appeared to be the focus of her performance reports. Eventually she was not able to continue in the NZ Army due to not being RFL qualified and her involuntary termination occurred when she was four months pregnant, which, she said, should have provided her an exemption from doing an RFL during the pregnancy. Several women experienced their lack of performance in the physical arena to overshadow their high performance in other areas. It did not matter that they were good in other aspects of their role, their lack of physical performance meant their value as an officer overall was depleted. This theme did not appear in the literature. Three women also talked about experiencing injuries while serving in the NZ Army and how this made the physical side of the role more challenging, especially as they approached their thirties. Not being able to perform as well physically is part of the reason these three women left the NZ Army. Achieving social acceptance and social integration can be hard for women at times, but this is exacerbated if they cannot perform physically. Further, their contribution and successful performance in other

areas is devalued significantly if they do not achieve physical performance. Therefore, their social contribution is depleted.

I remember always being acutely aware of the importance of PT and remaining injury free. Given that challenging physical tasks required in the Army can actually be the cause of injuries, this can be difficult. When I was still a cadet, I needed to have a surgical procedure which required internal stitches and caused severe discomfort. Several days later, I deployed on a field exercise, where each section of approx eight people had to carry a heavy trunk throughout. On the second to last day, after carrying this damned trunk around, I felt my stitches rip. It was excruciating, but I didn't tell the supervising staff member, because I didn't want to be pulled out of the field and be seen to be injured. One of my close friends could see I was in considerable pain and asked me what was wrong. I reluctantly told him and made him promise not to say anything... He did the right thing and discretely organised for the staff member to have me removed and receive medical attention. Given I only missed the last day of the exercise, and I have never missed any other time in the field, ever, and given that I had a pretty good reputation for being fit and for being tough, I actually don't think this caused any real judgement from others. However, it was the extreme fear of judgement that meant I acted carelessly towards my health; I could have done real and lasting damage to my body. Looking back, I was stupid to have been so reckless with my body.

In addition to receiving negative comments in their performance appraisals, some of the women experienced harassment as a result. One interviewee spoke about a woman who became injured during her OCS training and was not able to participate in PT sessions.

I mean, she was ostracised to the point, she got a physical injury right. And you know what it's like at OCS, if you get a physical injury, you know, that's it pretty much... Yeah, she was just teased and made fun of and pretty much made to feel like she was a worthless officer candidate because she couldn't complete physically.

Another woman experienced similar poor treatment after sustaining an injury and not being able to perform physically. She had been a high physical performer prior to the injury and was quite shocked at the difference in attitudes towards her pre and post injury.

I got an injury... so I couldn't deploy and that made me feel like a second class citizen... I was always deployable and ready to go, and then I wasn't. And it was quite a change in peoples' attitudes towards me I found... So like, the people that had really favoured me in terms of going places and putting me forward to things, they just kind of turned quickly.

These women experienced significantly less social integration and social acceptance as a result of being less fit; even if this was due to an injury. This treatment is similar to the findings from the FDF study. The Finnish women soldiers and officers who were overweight and who had lower fitness levels experienced greater levels of bullying and discrimination with regards to their physical fitness (Vaara et al., 2016).

7.2.5 – “I never felt like I was worthy because I couldn’t pass a goddam 2.4km run”

In addition to injuries, pregnancy and childbirth is another consideration that made the physical part of the NZ Army difficult for some women. As has been identified, poor physical performance does not just mean a ‘low grade’ in that particular ‘part’ of the NZ Army; it reflects poorly on an officer’s overall ability. One participant spoke about struggling with the physical requirements after having children.

I didn’t lose the weight and my body is a bit poked after trying to carry those bloody 40kg packs up and down those bloody huge mountains in Waiouru, and I don’t move well. And so I really struggled to pass my fitness tests and things like that... I think there must be, and this is anecdotally, there are women definitely who recover very easily post-birth and they crack on and do everything. But I think there is a group of us, like myself. I’ve got a neighbour who is in the same boat, who, the actual pregnancy and giving birth thing. It’s not an easy thing to just jump back into a job that demands you to meet all those physical criteria.

She found that her worth, and social contribution, in the NZ Army was significantly reduced when she was not as fit.

And it’s very interesting because I was a good professional and good at my job but I never felt like I was worthy because I couldn’t pass a goddam 2.4km run... I think it probably weighed on me more towards the end. It probably grew with a sense of inadequacy. Like, I’m not as good because I can’t run as fast... The physical component wasn’t even anything to do with the job [in her more senior positions]. It was actually more about smarts and managing staff and dealing

with people. So when I think about real leadership, you know, where we are pulling the best out of people and making the teams come together and that sort of stuff, there is no physical aspect to it.

Regardless of her skills and capabilities in other areas, and regardless of her role not requiring physical performance, her lower physical performance meant she was judged negatively overall. From a social well-being point of view, her sense of social contribution and social acceptance were disproportionately impacted. Another respondent found that PT in the NZ Army was especially difficult after childbirth, where she had a C-section.

When your abdominals are cut through entirely and you've got all the scar tissue in there, it just makes everything so much harder. So yeah, and blokes just don't have to worry about that. Even things like doing a press-up because of your abdominals, is actually really, really hard.

A further woman also spoke about the physical challenges regarding pregnancy and childbirth. The stories from these women suggest that there are significant social well-being challenges, in addition to physical well-being challenges, associated with pregnancy and childbirth with regards to embodied leadership.

I remember when one of the soldiers at my unit was pregnant. The OC was complaining about her in front of me and a group of male soldiers. This in itself is an issue; I think it is highly unprofessional to speak badly about a subordinate in front of members of their peer group... Anyway, he was complaining about her lack of performance at PT and that he didn't approve of her only conducting some of the PT activities. I distinctly remember him saying, 'the only thing physically wrong with her is that she is pregnant. She is not injured, so should be doing all

of the PT activities.’ And then everyone groaned about her in agreement with the OC. The part of this memory that annoys me the most is the shame I feel right now for not saying anything. The OC was completely out of line and I feel terrible guilt for not doing anything.

Women did not experience high levels of social well-being when their pregnancy and childbirth negatively impacted their physical performance.

7.3 - Chapter summary

Women officers are judged on their physical appearance. This includes their dress and grooming and their physique. Unlike the women in the corporate studies, women in this study were not able to choose the clothing they wore on a daily basis. As the issued uniform is men’s clothing, it is not designed to fit a woman’s body and this caused the physique of some women to appear less fit than they were. This judgement regarding their physical appearance impacted the women’s feelings of social acceptance and social integration.

In addition to physical appearance, physical performance plays an even bigger part in the embodied leadership impact on social well-being within the NZ Army. An officer’s physical performance leads to judgement about their overall ability. While women are generally physiologically less fast and less strong than men (Allison et al., 2015; Epstein et al., 2013; Lassek & Gaulin, 2009; Nindl et al., 2016), the women did not experience any criticism for this, provided they met the physical performance caveat (she must not be last, must carry her own weight, must not slow the group down, must pass RFLs and

BETs to a high standard, always turn up to PT and always put in effort). Women who met this caveat may have felt socially well in that they felt socially accepted, socially integrated and felt their contribution was valued.

It is important to note however, that this social wellness with regards to embodied leadership may still only be considered as precarious at best. The women officers are just one injury or one pregnancy away from potentially having this social wellness reversed. The NZ Army appears to be very unforgiving of people with low levels of physical performance. Even if their role does not require physical performance, even if they are excellent at other aspects of their role, even if they are injured or returning from maternity leave, the NZ Army does not seem to care. Low levels of physical performance, regardless of the circumstances, leads to reduced credibility and overall poor judgement about that officer; negatively impacting their social well-being.

The findings in this chapter reinforce the utility of the social well-being model (Keyes, 1998) to frame this research. It would have been quite reasonable for the discourse on the body to not be in relation to social contexts. For example, it would have been possible for the women to speak positively about the physical side of the NZ Army in relation to how it improves their fitness and physical well-being. In reverse, it would have been possible for them to speak negatively about the physical role in relation to how it is tough on their body. However, the discourse in this area rarely involved physical well-being. The conversations regarding the physical requirements in the NZ Army centred on interactions with other people; how their physical performance impacted

the way others viewed and treated them. This highlights the usefulness of the social well-being model to interpret these findings.

This chapter has addressed the final subsidiary research question: how did the experiences of embodied leadership contribute towards the social well-being of women officers? The next chapter provides a conclusion for this research and recommendations for the NZ Army.

8.0 – Conclusion

Chapter One identified that the NZ Army is struggling to increase its proportion of women. In 2018, women represented just 12.8% of the NZ Army (Parsons, 2018) and this figure has remained stagnant at around 13% for the preceding two decades (NZDF, 2008, 2013; Weekes, 2002). The NZ Army lifted all gender restrictions in 2000, but this has had no impact on increasing the overall recruitment and retention of women in terms of numbers. NZ Army publications and studies focusing on the NZ Army have acknowledged the specific benefit to including more women in the organisation (Army, 2017a; Derbyshire, 2017; Dill-Russell, 2018; Gold, 2014; MOD, 2014; Parsons, 2018; Stevens & Greener, 2017) and has publicly stated its objective to increase the proportion of women (Army, 2015). The NZ Army has taken recent steps to attempt to address the deficit in numbers of women, such as implementing the WDSG (NZDF, 2013), the Operation Respect Action Plan (NZDF, 2016b), and directing a review of diversity and inclusion processes to occur in 2019, a process which the findings from my research will feed into. However, as yet, the NZ Army has failed to come anywhere near delivering on its objective to increase the number of women within its service.

I began this research curious to understand why so many women officers were leaving the NZ Army and thus my research has explored the experiences of women officers who have left the NZ Army. The model for social well-being (Keyes, 1998) was used to frame this research and I argue that by focusing on the social well-being of women officers will help the NZ Army to understand why they are failing to recruit and retain more women.

This knowledge can assist the NZ Army with the development of more effective policies and procedures to address this shortfall in women personnel.

Five areas of literature were identified as key to understanding the social well-being of women officers who have left the NZ Army. This included the theoretical concepts of social well-being (Keyes, 1998), authentic leadership (Avolio et al., 2004; Gardner et al., 2011; Walumbwa et al., 2008) and embodied leadership (Hassard et al., 2000; Ladkin & Taylor, 2010; Ropo et al., 2013; Sinclair, 1994, 2005), as well as literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders, and women and women leaders in the masculine hegemonic environment of the military. All of these fields impact or intersect with the theoretical concept of social well-being, and Figure 1 in Chapter One provides a diagrammatical representation of the synthesising of these five fields.

Grounded in nominalism, taking an interpretivist approach and using qualitative methods, the methodological case study framework (Stake, 2005; Yin, 2003) was used to answer these research questions. My case study drew from three sources of data: insider research (Adler & Adler, 1987; Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Greene, 2013; Teusner, 2016), being a member of the study group; NZ Army recruiting videos, which were analysed using similar methods (Clavio & Eagleman, 2011; Fink & Kensicki, 2002; Guerin-Eagleman & Burch, 2016) to researchers examining the different portrayals of men and women athletes in the media (Billings et al., 2010; Bishop, 2003; Eagleman et al., 2014; Greer et al., 2009) and interviews with twenty women officers who had left the NZ Army, which were analysed using inductive coding (Boyatzis, 1998; Creswell, 1998), with the assistance of NVIVO, and thematic analysis (V. Clarke & Braun, 2017; Meier et al., 2006).

The concept of trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), comprising credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability, was followed to ensure academic rigour throughout this research journey.

8.1 – Summary of findings

The primary purpose of this research was to address the over-arching research question of: how socially well were women officers while serving in the NZ Army? Based on the findings, the simple answer to this question is: ‘not very’. The four themes of ‘no visibility’, ‘no voice’, ‘the clash’ and ‘the wrong body’ provided a significant understanding of the lack of social well-being for women officers, while serving in the NZ Army.

8.1.1 – Impact of ‘no visibility’

The NZ Army recruiting videos used during the 1990s and 2000s did portray messages of social well-being. These included social integration and social acceptance, in that many of the advertisements depicted teamwork and people appearing to enjoy each other’s company, including specific lines such as “arm me with good friends” (Army, 1995a). Many of the interviewed women spoke fondly of the enduring friendships gained during their service in the NZ Army. Some of the videos included messages of self-actualisation (Maslow, 1968; Ryff, 1989; Waterman, 1993), demonstrating that personnel can grow and develop within the NZ Army, gaining confidence and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977; Gecas, 1989). Again, many of the women commented on their

appreciation of the NZ Army, for the excellent training and education, as well as opportunities to exercise leadership, they received during their service. Social contribution was also portrayed in some of the advertisements, demonstrating that personnel in the NZ Army can make a positive difference to the lives of others. This sentiment was echoed during the interviews. In all of these cases, my thoughts are in line with the women's comments.

However, the overwhelming social well-being message to women, which undermines the positive messaging noted above, is that women are not socially integrated or socially accepted in the NZ Army. Women overall, were significantly under-represented in the advertisements, as the vast majority of personnel shown, were men. Further, the depiction of women demonstrating embodied leadership was almost non-existent. The activities where women featured were predominantly administrative, or child interaction tasks. Women were not observed wearing camouflage cream or firing a rifle, and were barely seen conducting physical or combat related tasks. This bears some resemblance to studies focusing on the media portrayal of men and women athletes, as images of women focused on feminine attributes and images of men focused on masculine attributes (Billings et al., 2014; Bissell & Duke, 2007; Clavio & Eagleman, 2011). This research used two methods of analysis and found that there were more military men 'stars', more men featured overall, and more men demonstrating embodied leadership and physical tasks. This absence, or 'No visibility', of women sends a message of reduced social integration and social acceptance. This negatively impacts the social well-being of women officers who do join, and find themselves in an organisation where no meaningful attempt was made to recruit them.

The implications of this are that firstly, the NZ Army does not reach, or even remotely appeal to numerous potential women candidates. Many women would see these advertisements and view the NZ Army as an organisation solely for men, so completely discount it as a possible career option from the outset, and quite likely, from a very young age. Secondly, the women who do join are surrounded by men who also primarily observed men in the advertisements, so may also believe the NZ Army is an organisation for men, further disadvantaging women from the start. To feel socially accepted, socially integrated, and to feel they are making a social contribution, the women need to believe they are wanted by the NZ Army. The lack of women in the recruiting video advertisements says the complete opposite of: 'women, we want you'.

8.1.2 – Impact of 'no voice'

The concept of 'No voice' encapsulates several themes relating to marginalisation and discrimination that led to reduced social well-being for women officers. In line with the literature focusing on the experiences of women and women leaders in the military, many women officers in the NZ Army either experienced, or observed, sexual harassment and sexual assault (Estrada & Berggren, 2009; Harris, 2009; McGregor & Smith, 2015; Mengeling et al., 2014; Sims et al., 2005). Gender related harassment and discrimination was reported in the literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders (Brinia, 2011; Dhar, 2008; Diehl, 2014; Haber, 2011; Johnson & Tunheim, 2016; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Lord & Preston, 2009; Maleta, 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Patterson

et al., 2012; Tariq & Syed, 2017; Titus, 2011; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016; Weidenfeller, 2012), as well as the literature specifically focusing on women and women leaders in the military (Estrada & Berggren, 2009; Harris, 2009; Mengeling et al., 2014; Sims et al., 2005). Women officers also experienced this in the NZ Army: some men held the view that women should not be in the military, or did not add as much value; some women experienced gender-based career disadvantages and; women experienced double standards when it came to mistakes and sexual choices. Women officers did not like additional gender-based focus and attention, similar to women military leaders in another study (Kronsell, 2005). Similar to the literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders (Dhar, 2008; McNae & Vali, 2015; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016; Weidenfeller, 2012), women officers in the NZ Army felt they needed to constantly and repeatedly prove themselves. The women struggled to balance the demands of the NZ Army with the demands from their personal lives, which was also reflected in other studies (D. Anderson et al., 2010; Ayre et al., 2013; Bridger et al., 2013; Brinia, 2011; Brosnan, 2015; Dhar, 2008; Diehl, 2014; Escobar, 2013; Harris, 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2015; MOD, 2014; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Sexton et al., 2014; Tariq & Syed, 2017; Titus, 2011).

All these experiences of marginalisation and discrimination had a significant impact on the social well-being of women officers; across all five components of the social well-being model (Keyes, 1998). The manner in which women were treated at times was illogical; they were sometimes made to feel their contribution was of little value, the women did not always feel socially accepted or socially integrated, all of which makes it difficult for the women to experience social and self-actualisation.

This means that women officers in the NZ Army experience gender related challenges on a regular and ongoing basis. The concept of 'death by a thousand cuts' seems appropriate here. While the women are not acutely aware of these challenges on a daily basis, it appears that these challenges do eventually wear the women down and contribute towards their decision to leave the NZ Army.

8.1.3 - Impact of 'the clash'

'The clash' between the masculine approach to leadership taught and reinforced within the NZ Army, and the feminine approach to leadership (Boulton, 2017; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Patterson et al., 2012; Sandler, 2014; Stevens & Greener, 2017) that came naturally to the majority of the women, came through very strongly in the interviews. The women felt that the NZ Army specifically trains, and forces, its leaders to adopt a masculine approach (Ashcraft & Muhr, 2018) to leadership. As was identified in other studies focusing on the experiences of women leaders (Brown & Light, 2012; Mazerolle et al., 2015), many of the interviewed women discussed the importance of demonstrating care for their soldiers, a typically feminine approach to leadership (Boulton, 2017; Brown & Light, 2012; Chodorow, 1994; Sandler, 2014; Sjoberg, 2014). They also felt it was important to build relationships with their soldiers. This was partially due to believing this approach would benefit the NZ Army, in line with the concept of relational leadership (J. K. Fletcher, 2010), and also because they believed it was the best way to gain trust and to lead. Again, focusing on relationships (Brosnan, 2015; Brown & Light, 2012; Haber, 2011) and collaborating with staff (Brown & Light, 2012; Osterlind &

Haake, 2010), was common for women leaders in the literature, and is considered a feminine approach to leadership (Brown & Light, 2012; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Sandler, 2014; Stevens & Greener, 2017; Whitworth, 2004). When exercising all of these feminine approaches to leadership, the women experienced increased feelings of social integration, social acceptance and social contribution within their teams.

However, many of the women experienced criticism from their managers for adopting feminine approaches to leadership, such as displaying emotions, being bubbly and demonstrating care. The experiences of criticism appeared to be in contrast to some of the literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders, where some women were viewed in a more positive light for adopting leadership approaches in line with their gender (Gentry et al., 2015; Ladkin & Taylor, 2010; Liu et al., 2015). This criticism led to reduced social integration, social acceptance and social contribution for these women officers. Further, as the women did not understand why their feminine approach was not valued, they experienced reduced social coherence. As a result of this decreased social well-being, many of the interviewed women felt pressured to adopt a more masculine approach to leadership, which was also found to be the case in some of the literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders and women in the military (Brosnan, 2015; Haber, 2011; Mestry & Schmidt, 2012; Osterlind & Haake, 2010; Werder, 2018). This meant that many women officers did not feel they could consistently lead in a manner that was truly authentic to them. The women found this tiring and several of them specifically left the NZ Army because of this. Two women who naturally had a more masculine approach to leadership did not experience 'the clash'. Further, three of the women felt they were able to lead authentically; however, this only

occurred after more than a decade of serving, in line with a study focusing on senior women officers in the NZ Army (Brosnan, 2015).

A large majority of women officers either modified their approach and led in a less authentic manner, or experienced criticism from their managers. The latter is in line with my own experiences. The women gave examples of their feminine approach to leadership effecting positive outcomes. Their soldiers performed to high standards and the soldiers were highly engaged. Research also suggests that this more relational approach to leadership is valued by the NZ Army (Army, 2017b; Stevens & Greener, 2017; Wineera, 2017).

8.1.4 – Impact of ‘the wrong body’

The relationship between the experiences of embodied leadership and social well-being was explored. The women found that their physical appearance, with regards to dress and grooming, was judged more harshly than the men, and this was in line with embodied leadership literature (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Fitzgerald, 2018; Haynes, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016b). Further, the women felt they were judged according to the size and shape of their body. It was expected that NZ Army officers should have a physique that looks fit and this sentiment was also found in the literature (Johansson et al., 2017; E. B. King et al., 2016; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a; Merilainen et al., 2015; Trethewey, 1999; Webb et al., 2008). In addition, the women’s physique was scrutinised more fiercely than men, similar to existing studies (Brewis & Sinclair, 2000; E. B. King et al., 2016; Levay, 2013; Puhl & Heuer, 2009; van Amsterdam et al., 2017) and in

accordance with the concept of women's bodies being 'other' (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Butler, 1993; Fitzgerald, 2018; Johansson et al., 2017; Kenny & Bell, 2011; Liu, 2015; Merilainen et al., 2015; O'Neill, 2018; Puwar, 2004; Trethewey, 1999; Wolkowitz, 2012). This issue was exacerbated for women officers compared with corporate women leaders, as NZ Army women have to wear an issued uniform, which is designed for a man. These judgements negatively impacted the women's feelings of social well-being.

The concept of embodied leadership was particularly pertinent to NZ Army officers, when considering physical performance. The women felt a lot of pressure to prove themselves physically and many of the women trained exceptionally hard to maintain and improve their physical performance abilities. Officers in the NZ Army are assessed on their physical performance and this criteria appears to carry significantly more weight than other criteria they are assessed on, similar to the study by Johansson et al. (2017). Therefore, a fit officer could earn credibility towards their overall ability as an officer, which worked in reverse for a less fit officer, and this was also found to be the case in a Finnish study focusing on managerial athleticism (Johansson et al., 2017). This then impacted the women's feelings of social contribution. Women generally do not have the same physical abilities as men (Allison et al., 2015; Epstein et al., 2013; Lassek & Gaulin, 2009; Nindl et al., 2016). It may seem surprising then, that the women did not feel their social well-being was negatively impacted as a result of not being as fast or as strong as the fastest and strongest men. As long as the women met the physical performance caveat, they felt their contribution was valued, and felt socially integrated and socially accepted. However, the women who experienced injuries or pregnancy and childbirth

related impacts to their fitness suffered considerable reductions in their social well-being.

Therefore, women in the NZ Army experience reduced social well-being due to the issued uniform not being appropriate for their body. Women officers are expected to adopt their leadership approach in order to *fit in* with the masculine norm. The findings regarding embodied leadership go a step further by suggesting that women officers are quite literally expected to *fit in*, by having to wear men's clothing. Further, women experience reduced social well-being when their physical performance is impacted by injuries or pregnancy.

8.2 – Contributions to knowledge

This research makes a methodological contribution to insider research. Further, it synthesises five different bodies of literature: social well-being, authentic leadership, embodied leadership, the experiences of women leaders, and the experiences of women and women leaders in the military, as highlighted in Figure 1, Chapter 1. I argue that my research makes a theoretical contribution to each of these bodies, as well as contributing by integrating several of these fields.

8.2.1 - Methodological contribution

This research has demonstrated the significant methodological benefits of conducting research as an insider. The military, in particular, is such a unique organisation and it would be difficult to understand it without spending time serving in it. For this reason,

being an insider was very valuable as I could immediately relate to the women I interviewed and therefore obtained rich data. Further, my status as an insider was highly likely to have played a part in the very successful response rate of participants.

8.2.2 - Social well-being: Theoretical contribution

This research provides an in-depth case study focusing on the social well-being of women officers while serving in the NZ Army. To the best of my knowledge, research examining the social well-being of military leaders, specifically, women officers in the NZ Army, has not occurred. Further, my research integrates the social well-being model with the theoretical concepts of authentic leadership and embodied leadership.

My research also contributes to this field due to my adaptation of two of the social well-being model components: social acceptance and social actualisation. I argue that feelings of acceptability *to* others, a sub-component of the social acceptance component (Keyes, 1998), more accurately reflects a person's social well-being, rather than primarily focusing on their acceptability *of* or *towards* others. The latter would ultimately be influenced by the former, as was explained using the story of Shrek (Adamson & Jenson, 2001) in Section 2.1.4. A person is more likely to feel accepting *towards* other if they feel they are acceptable *to* and *by* others.

Keyes (1998) suggests that self-actualisation is a parallel concept to social actualisation. However, based on the findings, I argue that self-actualisation should be considered a component of social actualisation, instead of being considered in parallel. When

understanding a person's social well-being within a society, and specifically understanding their perceived trajectory *for* that society, I think it is important to understand whether they believe they can move towards self-actualisation *within* that society.

8.2.3 - Authentic leadership: Theoretical contribution

The existing empirical research regarding the experiences of women leaders included numerous examples where women had to, or felt they had to, adjust their leadership approach to be effective, or to fit in; thus, impacting their ability to lead authentically. Most of the extant authentic leadership research focuses on the four constructs of self-awareness, relational transparency, balanced processing of information, and internalised moral perspective. This is from a quantitative perspective, within organisations. The specific contribution to this field is twofold. Firstly, it focuses on the women leader's thoughts or feelings about leading (or not leading) in an authentic manner. Secondly, it contributes by seeking to understand the impact on the women leaders of being able to (or not being able to) lead in an authentic manner. The existing authentic leadership literature tends to focus on the development of authentic leaders as well as the antecedents and consequences of authentic leadership (Borgersen et al., 2014; Cerne et al., 2014; Datta, 2015; Fallatah et al., 2017; Jacques et al., 2015; Leroy et al., 2015; Olaniyan & Hystad, 2015). This study examines authentic leadership from the perspective of the women leaders, as opposed to the organisations.

8.2.4 - Embodied leadership: Theoretical contribution

The majority of embodied leadership studies focus on appearance factors such as dress and body shape (Fitzgerald, 2018; J. Ford et al., 2017; Haynes, 2012; Judge & Cable, 2004; Kelan, 2012; Ladkin, 2012; Mavin & Grandy, 2016a, 2016b; Nana, Jackson, & Burch, 2010; Philips & Drummond, 2001; Trethewey, 1999; von Rueden et al., 2018; Webb et al., 2008). While women in this study were also judged on their dress and grooming and physique, they work in an environment where they are required to wear men's clothing, exacerbating this judgement.

The more significant contribution to this field is to the physical performance side of embodied leadership. There are limited recent studies focusing on physical performance and leadership and they tend to be situated in the corporate sector (Costas et al., 2016; Johansson et al., 2017; Merilainen et al., 2015), where physical performance is not actually required for the role. For the women in my study, the ability to run fast and carry heavy weight *is* a critical and required part of the role.

8.2.5 - Experiences of women leaders: Theoretical contribution

The contribution to this field is unique for two reasons. Firstly, the research focuses on a group of women leaders who started their careers as leaders at a very young age; around 19 - 22 years. The vast majority of literature examining the experiences of women leaders focuses on women at least a decade (and usually more like two or three decades) older (Brinia, 2011; Brown & Light, 2012; Dhar, 2008; Diehl, 2014; Johnson & Tunheim, 2016; Kaufman & Grace, 2011; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Osterlind & Haake,

2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Sexton et al., 2014; Tariq & Syed, 2017; Tunheim & DuChene, 2016; Weidenfeller, 2012) than this group of women leaders.

Secondly, the women in this study are leaders in an environment, which not only has a very high proportion of men at all levels of the organisation; but the women leaders are also in an environment where their biology and physiology is important. Physical ability is integral, because the role is physical. The NZ Army is unique in that both the leadership and non-leadership positions are dominated by men. This means that women officers predominantly lead male subordinates. As well as the NZ Army being dominated by men at all levels of the organisation, the job itself is hyper masculine. The role of the infantry for example, is to seek out and close with the enemy. The use of physical, even lethal, force is generally considered to be on the masculine end of the spectrum. This means that physical prowess, strength and speed are relevant factors in the military. The majority of the literature focusing on the experiences of women leaders does not consider women leaders who are (a) in hyper-masculine industries or (b) required to be physically strong. An exception could be the women leaders in sports (Brown & Light, 2012; Leberman & Palmer, 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Megheirkouni, 2014; Titus, 2011), and emergency services (Maleta, 2009; Osterlind & Haake, 2010). My research contributes to the field of the experiences of women leaders as it examines the experiences of women leaders who are in a hyper masculine environment where physical ability is important and their role as leaders begins at a young age.

8.3 - Practical contribution

Along with these academic contributions to the various fields of literature, this research provides practical contributions. Firstly, it may be useful for young women who are considering a career as an officer in the NZ Army. Understanding the experiences of women officers may help young women to decide whether this is a career they want to pursue. This may help them with their preparations; physically, mentally and emotionally, potentially making them more successful in the NZ Army, or potentially serving for a longer period in the NZ Army.

Secondly, this contribution may be useful for the women who have experienced being an officer in the NZ Army. Understanding what other women experienced may help them to better understand their own experience and help them with their future careers. This has been the case for me: I have, throughout this research journey, learned more about myself and my Army experiences, than I had ever expected to.

Thirdly, this contribution is useful to the NZ Army. If the NZ Army better understand how their women officers experience social well-being in the military, they may be able to develop targeted methods for retaining these women.

8.3.1 - Recommendations to the NZ Army

Short-term

The findings from this research lead to several recommendations that are quite obvious and may lead to some quick wins. Firstly, more women should be featured in recruiting video advertisements and secondly, women need to be depicted as performing the same tasks as the men. This might be considered a passive measure towards specifically recruiting women, but it would at least provide visibility of women as a starting point. Another relatively simple and easy to implement recommendation is around the uniforms: design and issue a flattering and well-fitted camouflage uniform for women's bodies.

Medium-term

There are also several medium-term recommendations around policy, some of which would benefit men also. More thought should go into better family policies; the NZ Army needs to more strategically consider the manner in which it impacts on personal lives. This includes the manner in which personnel are posted, deployed and sent on promotion courses. The Army would benefit from providing personnel more flexibility and autonomy around decisions that impact their personal lives. Another significant learning from this research is the treatment of personnel following an injury or childbirth. Better treatment of injured personnel would likely benefit everyone in the NZ Army. I would recommend that the NZ Army adopt improved policies for women returning from parental leave. They should not be expected to meet the same fitness

criteria on day one, and therefore, the NZ Army needs to consider better ways to re-integrate and physically rehabilitate these women, without causing them to feel socially unaccepted and de-valued.

Long-term

These findings also lead to ideas around some longer-term changes to the culture in the NZ Army. If the NZ Army wants to retain its women leaders, it needs to seriously consider how some of these issues can be addressed and how the culture of disrespect towards women can be eradicated. One suggestion could be to implement safer channels and processes for personnel to complain if they feel they have been unfairly treated or discriminated against. A strong 'zero tolerance' policy towards sexual harassment and assault needs to be adopted, as the women did not feel safe to report incidents. The practice of 'sweeping it under the carpet' if the offender is a 'good bloke' cannot continue.

My recommendation to the NZ Army around the intersection between authentic leadership and social well-being would be to seek to understand why a feminine approach to leadership is not acceptable. If women officers are going to be criticised for it, and feel pressure to change, they should at least understand what the issue is. If the NZ Army is not able to articulate the problem with a feminine approach to leadership, then I would suggest an investigation into, and potential overhaul of, leadership training practices at OCS and subsequent leadership courses. This would include evaluating why the OCS curriculum that sends such a strong message of, 'Army leaders are masculine

leaders' to all cadets and how this curriculum, and that of subsequent leadership courses, could be modified to demonstrate that other leadership approaches are also valued.

The final points for the NZ Army to consider are around some of the 'holy grails'. Firstly, many of the stories discussed by the women, across the various themes, involved alcohol. Perhaps it is time for the NZ Army to remove alcohol from the workplace and remove alcohol from work functions. Secondly, Section 2.3.2 discussed gender hegemony in the military and depicted the 'ideal' soldier as inherently masculine (R. Hinojosa, 2010). Given that much of what the NZ Army actually does is related to humanitarian and disaster relief tasks, which arguably benefit from feminine approaches, perhaps it is time for the NZ Army to consider regendering the military.

8.4 – Limitations and further research

This research will help the NZ Army to better understand its retention issues women. However, my study has solely focused on women officers and has not sought to understand the experiences of women soldiers. Therefore, my research is limited in that it does not represent the experiences of all women who have served in the NZ Army. This limitation may lend itself to a further piece of research; to compare and contrast these findings with a similar study focused on women soldiers who have left the NZ Army. Further, my study has only focused on the women officers who have left. While retention of women is an issue for the NZ Army, some women do stay and therefore, my study has not represented their experiences. Likewise, a further study with women

currently serving in the NZ Army could provide a more holistic perspective on the social well-being of women in the NZ Army.

The final section of this chapter provides my concluding reflection upon this research, an important component of insider research (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007).

8.5 – Final word from Insider Ellen

This research journey has been a roller coaster of emotions with regards to the NZ Army. When I first started my PhD, I focused on the field of staff turnover and was eager to help the NZ Army with its retention issues. In 2015, I approached the NZ Army about my upcoming research. They did not want to be involved at that time and did not see any value in supporting me with this. I then spent the bulk of my PhD journey with a 'stuff you Army' attitude. The truth is, I was hurt that they did not seem to care. The Army did not care that I had left, nor did they care that many other women officers had left. So I buried my hurt and stopped focusing on helping the NZ Army with their retention issues. I was solely undertaking a PhD for the purpose of achieving the qualification for a personal challenge. I was at peace with the possibility that my PhD, when finished, would sit on a shelf and never be read. I even remember investigating the option of using a heuristic enquiry approach, but felt that I did not have the level of 'eat, sleep and breathe' passion about the topic that was needed for such an approach.

However, after collecting and analysing my interview data, my passion for this research increased significantly. Firstly, the data from the women caused me to reflect more and more on my own experiences in the NZ Army. I did love it. I really did. Yet, I also experienced some tough challenges and some low moments that really impacted my social well-being. I find myself in an unusual circle of thoughts. I start to feel anger at the NZ Army for questioning my professionalism because I was too friendly. I really prided myself on my professionalism and having this criticised was deeply hurtful. I feel anger and resentment towards the specific senior male officers who made me question myself and my leadership ability. This anger then subsides when I remember all the things that I loved about the Army; all the amazing experiences, the people and the training.

Secondly, I also feel very mixed thoughts about the findings from my research. Despite the evidence from three sources of information, I am struggling to accept the conclusion that women officers were socially unwell while serving in the NZ Army. It is putting at risk all of my wonderful memories in the Army and worse, it is putting at risk my perception of myself in the NZ Army. I don't want to think of myself as someone that was unwell. I certainly don't want to think of myself as someone who was socially unwell; I am a social butterfly! I had a successful career and am proud of this. I didn't feel a lack of acceptance or a lack of integration; I did feel part of a community. I didn't feel like my contribution was of little value and I did feel as though I was able to progress along the actualisation path. I will admit that social coherence may not have always been clear, but the other four components did not plague my mind on a regular basis.

I would also contend that the women I interviewed did not feel as though they were socially unwell either. It appears that it is possible to experience low social well-being, but not consciously feel it. There is a small part of me that is losing sleep about writing a thesis on how women officers are socially unwell. I don't like the idea of that at all!! I was a strong and successful Army officer, as were the women that I interviewed. I feel I might be doing a massive disservice to myself and to all the women I interviewed by telling this terrible story that we were not accepted, didn't fit in, and weren't valued. I feel like I am betraying these women who so kindly gave me their time with the interviews. This is something I find extremely uncomfortable. What if someone I know reads my thesis? I don't want them to think that Ellen suffered during her ten year career, and to think that I couldn't 'make it' in a man's world. I DID make it!

To continue the roller coaster journey of emotions, I re-approached the NZ Army about my research in mid-2018. By that stage, I was very confident that my data could help the NZ Army to better understand its retention issue. Despite my up and down feelings towards the organisation, I care deeply for it and I always will. I feel I will always be 'inside' the organisation and will never truly leave, regardless of whether or not I am actually employed by the NZ Army. I am so thankful for the opportunities the NZ Army gave me and it was a huge part of my life. More than half of my working life was served in the NZ Army and I will always be interested in the well-being of the NZ Army. Since this re-approach, I have received only positive feedback from the NZ Army. They want my findings and they want to understand how to better retain women. They really care about us.

This significant change in mindset by the Army in just three years fills me with hope for future serving women, which would suggest improved social actualisation. The NZ Army genuinely wants to make things better for women and they want me to play a part in helping them with this. I have now come full-circle and am serving in the NZ Army again. This is a temporary contract and is for the sole purpose of writing a report for them, based on my research findings. I will work remotely and continue my day job, so this is a very unique employment situation with the NZ Army. My engagement will also require me to brief the Deputy Chief of the NZ Army and the Chief Personnel Officer for all of the NZDF. This is a huge boost to my social contribution and social acceptance; the NZ Army sees value in my work. My manager for this process is hugely supportive and acknowledges that the NZ Army does not provide the best environment for women and actively wants to improve this. This acknowledgement is also beneficial for my feelings of social coherence.

So I conclude this thesis with passion, excitement, optimism and pride. I now have the ability to help the NZ Army and wider NZDF and hopefully help current and future serving women.

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Appendix 1: Social well-being studies

Table 6: Summary of findings from key studies focusing on the social well-being model (Keyes, 1998)

Method	Environment	Findings	Reference
Survey using short-form version (5-item version) of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being, plus the 4-component (Ryff, 1989) scale for eudaimonic well-being (self-acceptance and purpose in life were excluded), plus three questions regarding hedonic well-being.	1234 US children, aged 12-18. (Data is from another study; the PSID).	Youth aged 12-14 were predominantly flourishing, with youth aged 15-18 being more likely to have a 'moderate' mental health diagnosis.	(Keyes, 2006)
Survey using 4-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being (excluding acceptance) & the 6-component (Ryff, 1989) scale for psychological well-being.	3032 participants from the large, 1994 National Survey of Midlife Development in the US (MIDUS).	Married people do not have a significant social well-being advantage over non-married (single) people, but they do over non-married cohabitators.	(Shapiro & Keyes, 2007)
Survey using short-form version (5-item version) of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being & the 36-item Sense of Community Scale for adolescents, plus questions regarding civic membership and involvement in group activities.	566 Italian high school students (328 women), mean age of 16.	Social well-being can be predicted by sense of community. Sense of community and civic involvement is increased by involvement in formal groups.	(Albanesi et al., 2007)
Survey using 15-item version of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being	203 (63 women) South African motor manufacturing employees.	The social well-being model did not hold for all five components, indicating that social well-being in South Africa may be operationalised differently to Western measures.	(de Jager, Coetzee, & Visser, 2008)
Survey using the 34-item version of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being, plus 3 hedonic well-being measures, plus the 42-item version of the 6-component (Ryff, 1989) scale for eudaimonic well-being.	Sample 1: 591 US under-grads, mean age of 19 (352 women). Sample 2: 4032 participants (2222 women) from the large, 1994 National Survey of Midlife Development in the US (MIDUS2), mean age of 56.	Support was found for the social well-being model; more so when the 34-item version is used, as opposed to the 15-item (3 items per component) version. Further, the 14-components of well-being across hedonic, eudaimonic and social, can be integrated into a hierarchical structure of well-being.	(Gallagher et al., 2009)
Survey using the 33-item version of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being, plus the 8-item Residential Attachment Scale.	443 Italian undergraduate students (276 women), mean age of 21.	Place attachment (both neighbourhood and city) affects social well-being. Attachment to city was significant for all 5 social well-being dimensions and neighbourhood, for social integration, actualisation and coherence.	(Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010)

Method	Environment	Findings	Reference
Survey using a shortened version of the Big Five Inventory, plus a shortened version of the 4-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being (social integration was not used).	236 Iranian university students (148 women), mean age of 22.	Neuroticism was negatively related with social acceptance, contribution and coherence. Conscientiousness was positively related to social contribution. Openness was positively related to social contribution and coherence. Agreeableness was positively related to social acceptance and contribution. No correlation was found for extroversion. Also, male students scored significantly higher than female students for social well-being.	(Joshanloo et al., 2012)
Survey using 15-item version of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being, plus the Satisfaction with Life (SWLS) survey (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & FGriffin, 1985).	618 Chinese adults (306 women), mean age of 27.	The five factor model for social well-being was replicated and found to be appropriate and useful for assessing social well-being in China, across both gender groups.	(Li et al., 2014)
Survey using the component of social cohesion (Keyes, 1998), plus 1-item question for instrumental support, plus 3-item questions for emotional support, to represent social well-being.	893 Japanese soccer fans (350 women), mean age of 39, following the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake.	A positive relationship was found between the spectators' identification with a hometown soccer team, and post-disaster community cohesion, representing social well-being.	(Inoue et al., 2015)
Survey using 15-item version of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being, plus the NEO Personality Inventory (five-factor model of personality), plus voxel-based morphometry (VBM) to identify brain regions, using MRI scans.	294 Beijing university students (157 women), mean age of 22.	Personality factors of extraversion and conscientiousness are positively related to social well-being, whereas neuroticism is negatively related. Specifically, extroversion acted as a mediational mechanism, suggesting its importance in achieving social well-being.	(Kong et al., 2015)
Survey using the 14-item scale for the Mental Health Continuum – Short Form (MHC-SF) (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being & 6-items for psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989), plus 30-items from the Racial Microaggressions Scale (RMAS), 2-items to measure anger, 4-items for group efficacy and 11-items for collective action.	214 (109 women) North Eastern Indians living in Delhi, mean age of 24.	The relationship between microaggression experiences and social well-being was negative. Social well-being was increased however, when anger from those microaggression experiences led to collective action.	(Sohi & Singh, 2015)
Survey using a Spanish adaptation of the 17-item version of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being; adapted by (Blanco & Diaz, 2005).	431 (half women) Peruvian and Colombian immigrants who had moved to Northern Chile.	Peruvian immigrants have a greater perception of social coherence and Colombians have higher perceptions of social contribution; overall scores for social well-being are similar for both population groups.	(Morales et al., 2017)

Method	Environment	Findings	Reference
Survey using 15-item version of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being.	308 (275 women) Iranian medical staff, predominantly nurses, mean age of 36.	Current levels of social well-being for care providers are not satisfactory.	(Taheri et al., 2018)
Survey using 33-item version of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being.	489 medical science students in Iran.	The chosen academic degree and major, as well as interest and satisfaction in the field, significantly impacted social well-being.	(Javadi-Pashaki & Darvishpour, 2018)
Qualitative: In-depth interviews drawing on the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being. A feminist cultural studies perspective was considered in conjunction with each of the five components.	16 UK head women coaches (highly qualified) with a mixture of scores for psychological health & well-being and physical health. Aged 25-55, four had children.	Women coaches do not display high levels of social well-being. It is suggested this is exacerbated due to women coaches facing additional burdens to men coaches (having to prove oneself, bullying, unequal evaluations of competency).	(Norman & Rankin-Wright, 2018)
Qualitative: 2 nominal group sessions (with 10 and 12 members each), conducting structured brainstorming. Thematic analysis of the ideas that emerged from the sessions. Evaluated the mental health of students using the mental health continuum (Keyes, 2002, 2006); comprises emotional well-being, psychological well-being (using the 6-component model (Ryff, 1989)) and the 5-component social well-being model (Keyes, 1998).	22 US first year University students (majority women, majority black).	Various dimensions of emotional, psychological and social well-being impacted the experiences of flourishing or languishing. Social acceptance and integration was difficult at the start, and social actualisation and contribution were possible after a sense of social coherence was established.	(Knoesen & Naude, 2018)
Qualitative: Content analysis of semi-structured interviews drawing on the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being.	9 retired men of the Iranian armed forces.	The five dimensions of the social well-being model were confirmed. A further dimension, financial well-being was justified as an additional component to the model.	(Afshar, Pirooz, & Ajri-Khameslou, 2018)
Survey using 15-item version of the 5-component (Keyes, 1998) model for social well-being.	390 medical science students (242 women) in Iran.	Students who were women or married or employed or older, had better social well-being.	(Mazloomymahmoodabad et al., 2019)

Appendix 2: Experiences of women leaders studies

Table 7: Summary of findings from studies focusing on the experiences of women leaders

All of these studies were conducted qualitatively using interviews

Environment	Findings	Reference
Six notable women leaders in the UK.	Upbringing played a significant role in the women's paths to leadership, as did the environment, focus and networks and alliances.	Elliott and Stead (2008)
Ten women directors in India, in management schools of academic institutes. Average age: 48.	The women outlined: why they chose teaching as a profession, what caused them to shift to the leadership roles (most had a dream to one day take charge), handling internal and external challenges, dealing with challenges from being in a male dominated society (constantly had to prove their ability, dealing with male egoists) and balancing work and family life.	Dhar (2008)
One woman in the higher education sector in Australia.	The experience included a senior male dismissing the efforts of the woman leader, men treating the woman as invisible at times and being made to second guess her decisions. The study then connected this experience with the literature, identifying that this experience is shared with other women leaders.	Lord and Preston (2009)
Nine women (mothers) in leadership positions (one in administration) in NZ sports organisations.	Women experienced feelings of guilt, exhaustion, stress, social disapproval and organisational resistance to the presence of children in sport settings. A passion for sport and leadership, strong support networks, and strategies for creating balance assisted with negotiating these factors.	Leberman and Palmer (2009)
10 women in regional Fire Brigades in Australia.	Women experiences marginalisation and exclusion and sometimes struggled with the physical requirements and leadership requirements in a masculine environment. They had to balance their femininity, but felt that social transformation is starting.	Maleta (2009)
Four Maori women leaders; involved in decision making or policy development roles within NZ sport organisations; aged 30-45.	Mentors and role models were identified as useful to conducting their leadership roles. Barriers faced included sexism, racism, balancing family demands and limited resources. Further, often being younger than other board members enhanced the challenges. The women utilised collaborative decision making techniques and regular communication.	Palmer and Masters (2010)
Five Swedish Police leaders in middle management roles; ages 32 – 54.	Women felt that good leaders use a transformational approach in general, but use transactional in a crisis situation. Extensive police experience is necessary as a leader and that leaders require support. Women police leaders experience tokenism; they have to adapt to the male culture, get treated differently and have to work harder to be accepted.	Osterlind and Haake (2010)
Four South African women sports administrators in leadership positions.	Half the participants experienced resistance and exclusion due to their gender, while half did not. They noted there was a lack of women in leadership positions and that some tokenism did exist (although the participants did believe they were token themselves).	Titus (2011)

Environment	Findings	Reference
20 women primary school principals in Greece (aged 41-49; all married with children).	Healthy relationships with the students, parents, teachers and local community were important for success. As well as issues specific to running a primary school, balancing work and family life was identified as a barrier. Women noted that they have a less aggressive leadership approach compared to men and they felt that men are promoted earlier.	Brinia (2011)
Twelve women who had participated in a leadership program in the US; average age 52, mostly Caucasian.	Persisting stereotypes and bias were a barrier to the women, as well as separation and isolation (the women felt excluded). The women wanted change and believed that they could add value to their organisations.	Kaufman and Grace (2011)
Four US women college student leaders.	The women discussed: their approaches to leadership (relationship-oriented, task-oriented, or a combination), what has influenced their leadership styles (behaviours of past leaders, organisational context and messages from the past) and the impact of gender (the possible requirement to adopt different leadership styles when leading men – the role of gender was less salient than research focusing on older women).	Haber (2011)
23 Australian women leaders; recipients of the Victorian state government's Women in Sport Leadership grant scheme. Most aged 30-39.	Women leaders identified the most important features of their leadership styles as: taking a collaborative approach to decision-making, focusing on the team, having an open communication style, placing value on relationships within the organisation and leading by example. Their leadership styles were shaped mostly by their childhood experiences. For women leaders at the elite level, having a male mentor also shaped their leadership style.	Brown and Light (2012)
Five women entrepreneurs in England (in IT, law, construction, beauty and childcare).	Women struggled with the title of entrepreneur, being a woman did lead to differential treatment and attitudes from others (although the women tried hard to deny this difference in the interviews) and women found they could embrace this difference and leverage off it for the benefit of their businesses.	Patterson et al. (2012)
Six South African women secondary school principals.	Women had to deal with stereotype views about women's leadership. The women felt they had to speak with authority and to adopt a more autocratic or masculine leadership style, to receive respect. They constantly had to prove themselves and constantly face negative perceptions because of their gender.	Mestry and Schmidt (2012)
Twelve US women enterprise leaders: 37-53 years.	These women wanted desire to control their own destiny, make a positive difference and influence others in a collaborative manner. Challenges included balancing long term strategic planning while maintaining short term results and needing resilience to manage gender discrimination. Recommendations were: seek out highly visible roles, exceed performance expectations, become self-aware and develop an authentic leadership style, build relationships with a large network, and develop resilience and adaptability.	Weidenfeller (2012)
26 US women in senior roles in higher education institutions: 39-79 years.	21 different types of encountered adversity were identified, including discrimination, work-family conflict, harassment, salary inequalities and exclusion from informal networks. The women in the study found that opportunity came from surviving adversity.	Diehl (2014)

Environment	Findings	Reference
20 US hospital CEOs. Average age: 55 years.	Inflection points regarding their careers related to: education, experience, career management, family, networking and mentoring or sponsorship.	Sexton et al. (2014)
Ten leaders in sport organisation in Syria.	Challenges to career development included limited education, patriarchal system and political and religious conflicts.	Megheirkouni (2014)
Eight US women who held the roles of head athletic trainer. Average age: 45 years.	The women discussed: the opportunities that led them to their current positions, their leadership ability, their uniqueness (which may have been identified and supported by a mentor), the observation of other women being hesitant to attain head roles, the barriers (perceived or actual) due to family commitments and organisational barriers to women such as "the 'good ol' boys' club" (Mazerolle et al., 2015, p. 76).	Mazerolle et al. (2015)
13 senior leaders in a higher education institution in Papua New Guinea (PNG).	Women faced numerous barriers to formal leadership opportunities. Networks were found to be important in developing opportunities.	McNae and Vali (2015)
Seven US women Lutheran Bishops (five presiding, two retired).	All of the women noted how their spouses' support was important and they all had mentors; mostly men. They experienced sexism and felt they had to be twice as competent as men. Being able to think on your feet was identified as a necessary leadership competency and they enjoyed the relational aspects of the role.	Tunheim and DuChene (2016)
25 Swedish professional women leaders from a variety of industries. Average age: 46.	Women felt Sweden has the best conditions with regards to parental leave and this is usually shared 50:50 with both parents. It is uncommon in Sweden for women to remain stay-at-home mothers past 18 months. Some of the women did however complain that there are still salary imbalances between men and women.	Johnson and Tunheim (2016)
20 South Asian heritage, Muslim, female leaders, managers, and supervisors in the UK. Most aged 30-59.	Sexism was experienced repeatedly. For most participants, this was coupled with prejudice regarding religion and culture. Family support was mixed for some of the participants.	Tariq and Syed (2017)

Appendix 3: Authentic leadership studies

Table 8: Summary of findings from studies focusing on authentic leadership

All of these studies were conducted using quantitative surveys involving the ALQ or ALI

Environment	Findings	Reference
24 team supervisors and 171 employees in a Slovenian manufacturing and processing company (66% were male).	Higher job satisfaction correlated with employees who perceived their leaders as authentic, as well as leaders who perceive themselves as authentic.	Cerne et al. (2014)
463 seafarers sailing on merchant vessels in the international shipping industry. Filipino males, average age: 40 years.	Authentic leadership was a significant predictor of perceived safety climate.	Borgersen et al. (2014)
324 executives, predominantly from Eastern India.	Authentic leadership led to improved organisational performance, satisfaction of followers, improved quality of work life, decrease in negative attitudes of followers, reduced absenteeism, hostility and dissatisfaction of followers, "enhancement in positive group attitudes and behaviour... respect for the leader, commitment to the leader's requests, enhancement of problem solving skills and group ability to deal with change and crises" (Datta, 2015, p. 70).	Datta (2015)
252 followers and 30 team leaders from 25 Belgian organisations within service industries. 60% of the leaders and 30% of the followers were men.	A positive relationship between authentic leadership and follower basic need satisfaction was found.	Leroy et al. (2015)
266 Korean employees working in American restaurant food service chains in Seoul. The mean age was 23 years and 58% were female.	Extra effort was exerted by followers of authentic leaders, as well as increased job satisfaction.	Jacques et al. (2015)
402 seafarers working in the offshore oil and gas shipping re-supply industry. Gender was not recorded due to the low number of females in the industry. The sample included predominantly Norwegians (34%), Filipinos (36%) and Europeans (24%).	Job satisfaction was higher for followers who viewed their leaders as authentic, and intentions to quit were lower.	Olaniyan and Hystad (2015)
998 graduate nurses in Canada. The nurses (91% female) had less than three years of nursing experience and were currently working in acute care and community settings.	Authentic leaders directly influenced the nurses' identification with their leader and the organisation, as well as increasing the nurses' intentions to stay in their current roles.	Fallatah et al. (2017)

Appendix 4: Physical appearance and leadership studies

Table 9: Summary of findings from studies focusing on physical appearance and leadership

Method	Environment	Findings	Reference
Interviews.	19 members of a US chamber of commerce women's association.	Women summarised that a professional body is a fit body. Women felt they must balance between not looking too feminine, and not looking too masculine.	Trethewey (1999)
Interviews.	6 Australian male fitness leaders.	The men discussed the importance of having a lean and fit body. "In this industry you have to look the part. I mean, there's no point in having someone who's overweight as a fitness leader. It's not the right image. You've got to look fit" (Philips & Drummond, 2001, p. 99).	Philips and Drummond (2001)
Quantitative: secondary data	US workplace.	Height was positively related to income after controlling for sex, age and weight.	Judge and Cable (2004)
Interviews, questionnaires, observation & document analysis.	17 Australian (7 women) and 294 Swedish headmasters & PE teachers.	The physical education teachers felt an expectation to be fit and healthy role models. A tendency for the notion of fit = slender body prevailed. Healthism privileges the fit, slim body.	Webb et al. (2008)
Exploratory mixed methods: Survey and focus groups.	116 (38 women) Australian and New Zealand MBA students.	Students were shown head shot photographs of European, men, who were all CEOs in the US and were asked to rate the people in the photograph with regards to perceived leadership effectiveness. They found that "not only do people make judgments from facial information but they also attribute leadership effectiveness from this information" (Nana et al., 2010, pp. 733-734).	Nana et al. (2010)
Observations during a consulting job.	US organisation.	The male leader was judged by the way he looked. Staff did not feel the leader's hair or dress was as tidy as it should be and this impacted on their opinions of his leadership.	Ladkin (2012)
Interviews and photo elicitation.	20 MBA students in the UK (10 women) from a range of ethnic and national backgrounds.	Students were shown photographs of businessmen and businesswomen. Participants noted that clothing of a businesswoman must be a balance between not being too feminine (floral, floaty), while not being too masculine (male suit). The students indicated that there is the need to look smart and attractive, but not too feminine or sexually appealing. (Discussion only occurred about the photographs of the women).	Kelan (2012)
Interviews.	15 US and 15 UK women from professional services firms.	The women talked about the importance of professional attire and how the rules for women attire are less clear than for men.	Haynes (2012)
Interviews.	2 Finnish male executive recruiting consultants.	The executive head hunters discussed the importance of potential executives having a physical presence in the role, having good physical capability and having a steady voice. Hiring a fit, white male in his 40s is the norm. Appearing to be physically fit and having a CV that details sporting (or even better, military) background is advantageous.	Merilainen et al. (2015)

Method	Environment	Findings	Reference
Interviews.	81 elite women leaders from UK organisations, aged 33 - 67 years.	Women need to 'look the part' to be respected as leaders. The 'part' is not crystal clear, but it seemed to include dressing in a tidy and fashionable manner, having well-groomed hair and nails and having a slim, fit looking figure.	Mavin and Grandy (2016a); (Mavin & Grandy, 2016b)
Survey.	757 senior US executives (17% women and majority Caucasian); variety of sectors.	Peers, superiors and subordinates of the participants provided feedback on their leadership. Even after accounting for BMI and physical activity, the size of the executive's waistlines was negatively associated with the evaluations by peers, superiors and subordinates; overweight executives are judged less favourably.	E. B. King et al. (2016)
Interviews, including photo elicitation.	20 UK managers; mix of gender, ethnicities, professions, experiences and positions.	Leaders were found to judge other leaders' leadership qualities based on how they looked and they discussed the importance of their own presentation; to reflect their leadership abilities. "I think appearance is really important... it's important that you take care and attention over your clothes" (J. Ford et al., 2017, p. 1561).	J. Ford et al. (2017)
Interviews and 'shadow' observation.	25 Finnish executives (9 women).	The concept of managerial athleticism found that these leaders perfect their body, negatively judge non-fit bodies and act as role models. "Even though it is important the leader demonstrates her competence at work, it is equally important that she retains a fit stature. People not only seek the inner quality of a person but the appearance, too. A healthy and fit appearance makes others admire you" (Johansson et al., 2017, p. 1142).	Johansson et al. (2017)
Interviews.	5 senior women leaders in Australian Universities.	As senior leaders, the women had to balance between not looking too feminine or too masculine.	Fitzgerald (2018)
Interviews, photo elicitation and observation of meetings.	6 women & 6 men from a small society of forager-farmers in Bolivia.	The average man in the community was rated higher than 89% of the women with regards to political leadership. The model suggests that the men scored higher due to greater weight and physical strength, as well as more years of schooling and more associates. Physical formidability (through weight and strength) was valued in leaders.	von Rueden et al. (2018)
Eye-tracking technology and survey.	191 US undergraduate students (96 women)	Revealing clothing in a woman leadership candidate led to participants gazing more closely at the woman's sexualised body parts and perceiving them as less trustworthy and less competent as a leader.	J.K. Smith et al. (2018)
Survey and photo elicitation	Photos of 50 Chinese government officials, evaluated by 5 university students	Leaders with a higher rating for perceived physical attractiveness had a higher probability of promotion. Appearance however, had no impact on the ability of those municipal leaders to advance the local economy for which they presided over.	Ling et al. (2019)

Appendix 5: Physical performance and leadership studies

Table 10: Summary of findings from studies focusing on physical performance and leadership

Method	Environment	Findings	Reference
Case Study.	Observation of musician, Bobby McFerrin, concert.	Ladkin observed that the musician enacted leadership, and communicated through gestures, vocal inflections, and the way he used his body. "His body language was inclusive, there was an openness and a lack of guardedness in the way he loped around the stage" (Ladkin, 2008, p. 33).	Ladkin (2008)
Re-analysis of previous interviews from a larger case study.	Australian Army soldiers who had trained South Vietnam Armed Forces during the Vietnam conflict.	The soldiers discussed their experiences in Vietnam, which included insights to the significance of the body with regards to their leadership in often life threatening situations.	Fisher and Robbins (2014)
Interviews.	2 Finnish male executive recruiting consultants.	The executive head hunters discussed the importance of potential executives having a physical presence in the role, having good physical capability and having a steady voice. Appearing to be physically fit and having a CV that details sporting (or even better, military) background is advantageous.	Merilainen et al. (2015)
Quantitative Questionnaire.	362 Finnish Defence Force women; 30% officers.	96% of the women responded that physical fitness is important in the military. Women who were less fit or overweight experienced bullying and discrimination in relation to their physical fitness. Around half of the women felt that if the fitness standards for women were changed (the standard is currently the same for men and women), that they would experience lack of respect and inferior treatment from male colleagues.	Vaara et al. (2016)
Ethnography.	Delivered papers and facilitated BeWeDō sessions in Slovenia, England, the USA and New Zealand.	BeWeDō is a practice where one person offers a hand and the partner grabs the wrist. It is suggested that the offering of the hand represents an embodied commitment by someone to lead. Workshop participants found that moving together while discussing an idea and movement practices allowed people to acknowledge each other and consider each other's perspectives.	Bradford (2017)
Interviews and 'shadow' observation.	25 Finnish executives (16 men, 9 women).	The concept of managerial athleticism found that these leaders perfect their body, negatively judge non-fit bodies and act as role models. The executives who compete in extreme sports and physical abilities in areas such as running and skiing are valued as leaders.	Johansson et al. (2017)

Appendix 6: Example of journal notes following an interview

(Some passages in this journal entry have been deleted, in order to protect the identity of this woman)

These notes are difficult to type up, as there is one thing on my mind. She told me that she was raped by a senior male officer while she was in the Army and this was the reason she left. She did not report the officer, as she feared there could be repercussions for doing so. I, apparently very naively, had not expected something this severe to come up in these interviews. While the fact that she was raped is absolutely horrific and I feel absolutely terrible for her, what I find even more horrific is that she felt she couldn't report it. She felt that because he was a senior, and popular, male officer (who was married with children), she may not be believed. She made the decision to not report it because she didn't want to risk going through a nasty reporting (and people possibly blaming her, or not believing her) process. Even further, I am not surprised by her feeling that way. This is disheartening that I know the Army is the type of environment where reporting such an event would be risky and that the victim may suffer backlash.

I thanked her for sharing this traumatic story, and that I did not take such a sharing of information lightly. She said that the reason she agreed to be interviewed is because she hopes that somehow, my research, (and reporting this rape in my PhD) will help to enlighten some of these darker sides of the Army and its culture, and that this could potentially help to make changes going forward (She wasn't putting any pressure on me to achieve such an outcome, but it is why she agreed to be interviewed and agreed to share such personal heart ache).

So, that incident, and the culture which made her feel that reporting it would not be safe, is one pretty big event. It is hard to not solely focus on the horrific rape just at this moment.

She also talked about the fact that male officers (and not so much male soldiers) could be quite disgusting in the way they talked about women – especially when she could hear them talking in the courtyard outside her barrack room when they came home from the bar. To the point that she did not understand how some of them could have mothers. She said she never heard such a level of grossness from the soldiers. I then shared that I agreed with her. I felt that the

'gentleman' that the officer is supposed to be is not always the case and that I found male officers to be far less gentlemanly than male soldiers.

This interview is going to stay in my mind for some time and I found myself (briefly) in tears when we were talking about the rape and the way it made her feel. It was extremely brave of her to share this story with me – even more so, because she hadn't told too many people in the past. I hope that my research may have some tiny impact on the culture in the Army (as I will give my PhD) to the Army afterwards.

Appendix 7: Information sheet for research participants



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

THE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN OFFICERS WHO HAVE LEFT THE NZ ARMY

INFORMATION SHEET FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Researcher's Personal Introduction

My name is Ellen Nelson and I am undertaking a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) with the Massey University Business School; I am the sole researcher for this project. I am currently employed as a Customer Manager at New Zealand Trade and Enterprise. I served in the NZ Army during the period 2003 – 2013. I completed my officer training at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA), followed by the Royal Military College (RMC), Duntroon. I graduated as a Lieutenant into the Royal New Zealand Engineers (RNZE). My initial posting was as the Construction Troop Commander at 25 Engineer Support Squadron, followed by the Reconnaissance and Liaison Officer at 2 Field Squadron, followed by the Lateral Recruiting Cell Commander at Defence Recruiting Organisation (DRO). I deployed to several locations, including Antarctica, Niue, the UK, the Cook Islands, Afghanistan and Tuvalu. I left the NZ Army as a Captain in 2013.

The Purpose of the Project

The purpose of this research project is to better understand the experiences of women officers who have left the NZ Army. The research comprises interviews (face-to-face and telephone) with ex-serving women officers from the NZ Army.

Participant Identification and Recruitment

You have been identified as a suitable interview candidate due to your experience as a women officer who has left the NZ Army. This identification was based on personal contact or referral.

Research Procedures, Time Commitment and Your Rights

I will conduct the interview via phone or in person, at a time that suits you. The interview will last for a maximum of 120 minutes. All participation is voluntary and you are free to decline to take part at any point in the process, to withdraw from the research at any time and to ask questions about the research at any time.

If you consent, the interview will be recorded and transcribed. Once all the interviews are completed they will be analysed and findings summarised. Your name (and the corps you served in) will not be used. A thesis report will be compiled at the end of the project and, if you request, I will send you a summary of this report.

Researcher's Contact Details

If you have any questions, please contact Ellen Nelson; researcher and interviewer.

Phone [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]

"This project has been evaluated by my supervisor and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact my co-supervisor Jo Bensemman at Massey, j.bensemman@massey.ac.nz or Professor John O'Neill, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz."

Appendix 8: Consent form



THE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN OFFICERS WHO HAVE LEFT THE NZ ARMY

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set in the Information Sheet.

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name and the corps I served in will not be used.

I agree / do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

Signed:

Name:

Date:

Appendix 9: Interview question guide

- 1/ Tell me about your life now since leaving the Army.
- 2/ Why did you join the Army?
- 3/ What were your experiences of OCS (Officer Cadet School)?
- 4/ What is your conceptualisation of leadership, or, how would you describe leadership?
- 5/ Tell me, with examples, your experiences of exercising leadership.
- 6/ How did the physical requirements of the role impact your leadership experience?
- 7/ Tell me about some of your defining or memorable experiences in the Army.
- 8/ Talk to me about being a woman leader in the Army.
- 9/ Circling back around, can you tell me about how the Army influenced where you are now?
- 10/ Was there anything else that you thought I would ask today and haven't?
- 11/ Is there anything else you would like to share?