

Chapter 1:

The Case for Change –
Why the ADF Should
Care about Women’s
Representation and
Progression

In summary

An increase in the representation of women in the ADF, both from a recruitment and retention perspective will:

- broaden the talent pool from which the ADF can draw its members or seriously risk falling short of its workforce and capability needs
- provide a return on the considerable investment it makes in its people:
 - » the cost of recruiting has tripled from \$7,000 per enlistment to almost \$22,000 per enlistment
 - » the total cost of turnover for the ADF in 2011 is estimated at \$1.5 billion
- build and strengthen capability, and a workforce that is responsive to the realities of modern warfare
- meet Australia's international commitments under UN Security Council Resolution 1325 Women Peace and Security.

To be a first class employer, the ADF must ensure that all its people have opportunities to thrive. This requires strong action to:

- create a workplace that reflects contemporary expectations and needs
- eradicate from the workplace sexual misconduct, sexual harassment, bullying, and sexual abuse; take swift action to hold perpetrators to account; and support complainants when this behaviour occurs.

As one of Australia's largest employers, and as an important source of people development, the ADF should position itself as national leader in workforce and workplace issues.

The equality of women in any workplace is a priority in its own right, but an improvement to the representation of women in the ADF also has the potential to address many of the other significant challenges currently facing the ADF. It will enable the ADF to harness the talents of a broader cross section of the population and strengthen its ability to attract Australia's best, enabling it to better achieve recruiting targets. Better leveraging and extending the duration of women's career in the ADF will reduce the cost of turnover and recruiting – for both men and women. A more diverse mix of backgrounds and skills, meanwhile, will lift performance and capability in a world where fast paced problem-solving is a significant requirement. Greater inclusion of women in the ADF's core business will cement its place as a workforce leader – not only of Australian organisations, but of equivalent services worldwide. In this way, the ADF can ensure a future not only as a first class employer but also as a high-performing Defence Force in service of a proud nation.

Accordingly, the Review identifies five critical reasons that a change in the treatment of women must be a priority for a strong and sustainable ADF:

- 1. Attract the Best Talent**
- 2. Reduce Cost**
- 3. Increase Capability**
- 4. Be a First Class and High Performing Employer**
- 5. Take a Leadership Position**

The case for change is understood at the ADF's senior levels, as well as in many of its policies. Genuine change also requires commitment from the broader organisation, yet many ADF personnel have little exposure to the argument for each of these imperatives.

This means that an important step for the ADF is to develop a wider conviction for the case for change throughout the organisation. Without this, the gap between the ADF, other organisations and broader society will grow. Equally importantly, the future capability and sustainability of the ADF will be undermined.

This Chapter discusses the case for change and examines why it is important that the ADF:

- Increase the representation of women in each of the services
- Increase the proportion of women in leadership positions in each of the services
- Improve its response to bullying and exclusion, sexual harassment, sexual misconduct and sexual abuse.

1.1 Attract the Best Talent – maximising opportunities in a changing workforce

Across Australia, and around the world, organisations are facing a range of challenges in attracting the employees that they require. Simultaneously, they are also realising that there are benefits to their operation or business when they are able to access the largest talent pool available.¹

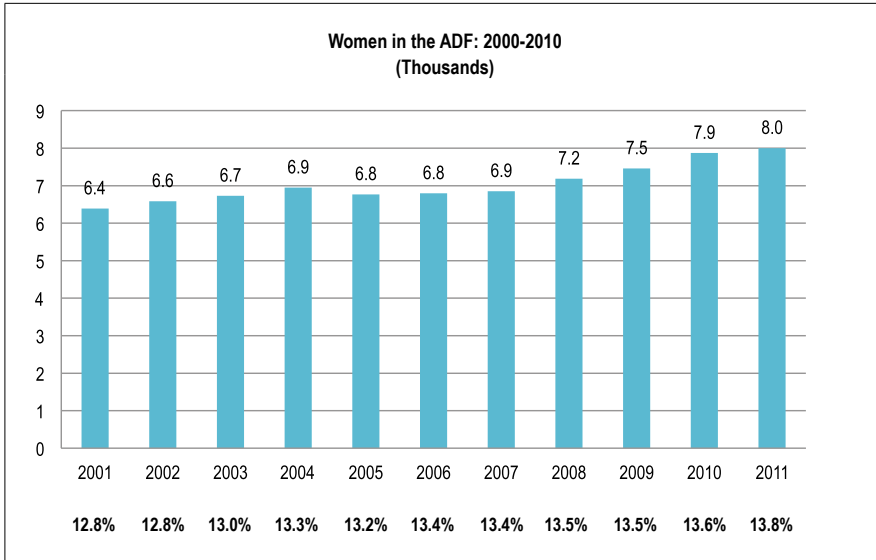
In particular, organisations are actively investing in attracting, developing and retaining women.² Motivations for this vary, though all centre not only on the need to recruit from a wider talent pool, but also on recognition that gender-balanced teams perform better.³ For the corporate sector, there is also a focus on the importance of women as customers, given that they wield an increasing share of purchasing power.⁴

Regulatory guidelines have played a part in encouraging this focus. For example, in the private sector, the ASX Corporate Governance Council guidelines mandating disclosure of female representation have provided a level of transparency and scrutiny never previously available.⁵

Encouragingly, there is evidence of progress in Australia. For example, the share of women being appointed to new ASX200 board positions increased from 5% in 2008 and 2009 to 28% in 2011 and 23% in 2012 so far.⁶ There have also been gains in the public sector. Steady progress towards the goal of 40% women on Australian Government boards has been made. As of 30 June 2011, the percentage of women on Australian Government boards was 35% – an all time high.⁷

In contrast to these trends, the ADF's progress has stalled. Figure 1.1 is the representation of women in the ADF over time, which is around 14% today, up less than 1% in the last 10 years, and 2% in the last 20 years.⁸ When all reserves and Defence Australian Public Service positions (where some permanent ADF roles shifted due to 'civilianisation'⁹) are included, the share of women in this group has increased just 2.1% in 10 years.¹⁰

Figure 1.1: Women in the ADF over time¹¹



(a) Australian Demographic Trends

Like other organisations, the ADF is also facing demographic shifts. Figures 1.2 and 1.3 illustrate two of these key changes – namely, women’s participation in the work force, and increasing linguistic and cultural diversity.

Figure 1.2: Workforce participation in Australia¹²

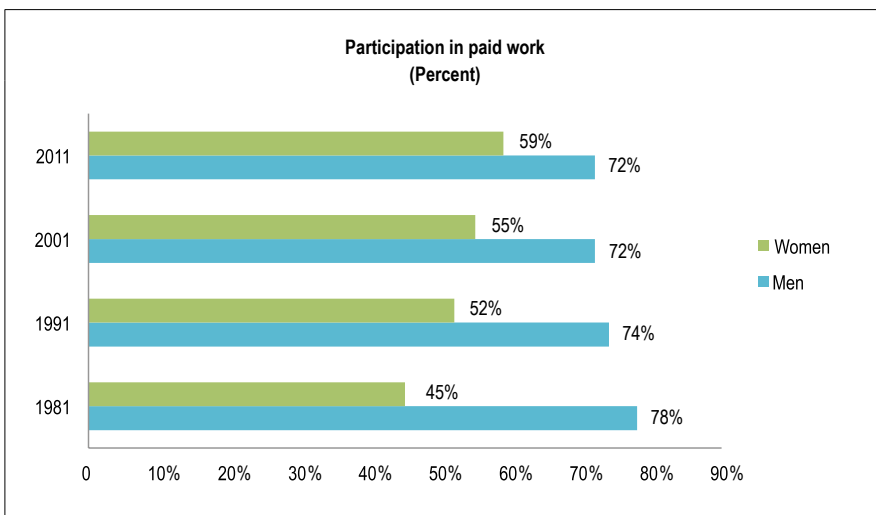
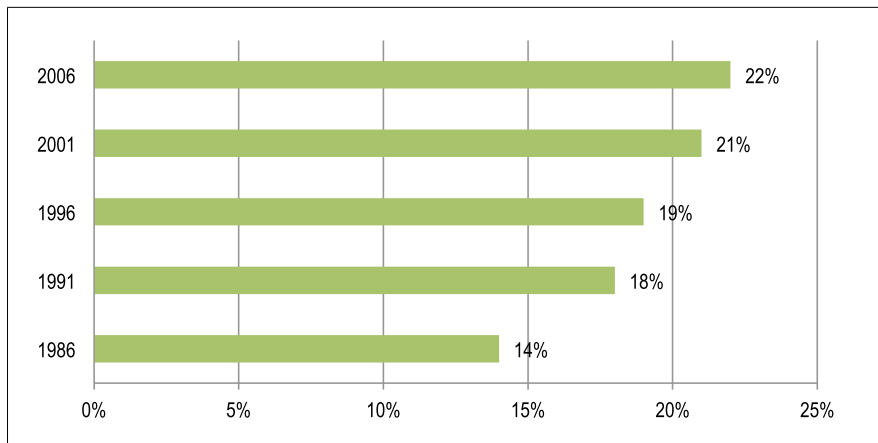


Figure 1.3: Language other than English spoken at home¹³



Men and women's workforce patterns have converged, particularly at ages of typical ADF entry. The proportion of women in Australia's workforce has increased as more women defer child-bearing, and return to work afterwards. In fact, more than 67% of women aged 15-24 years participate in paid work today, compared to 69% of men. Twenty years ago, the equivalent gap was more than 6%.¹⁴

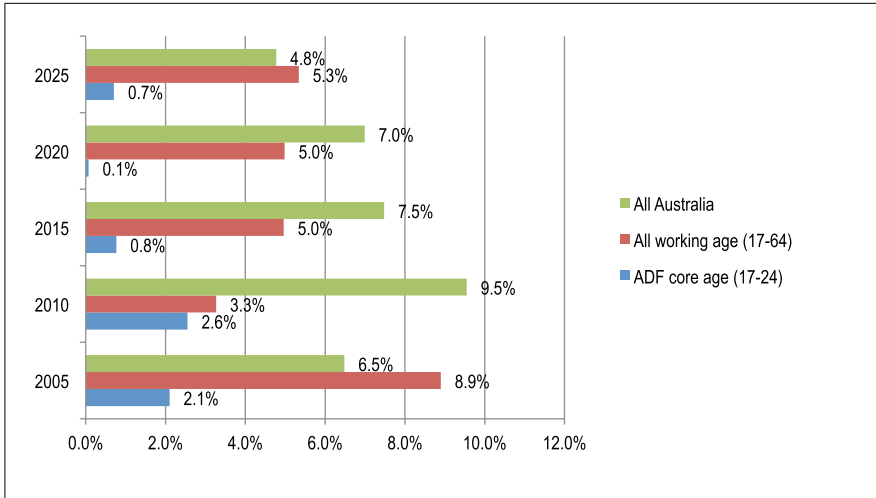
Australian society is increasingly multi-cultural, with more than 22% of Australians speaking a language other than English. In 2011, the Census revealed that over a quarter (26%) of Australia's population was born overseas and a further one fifth (20%) had at least one overseas-born parent.¹⁵

Meanwhile, leaders and demographers also warn of a changing workforce reality. As CEO of Deloitte, Giam Swiegers, has observed:

the problem in Australia over the coming years won't be a lack of jobs – it will be a lack of workers.¹⁶

In fact, Australia is about to enter a period with the highest ratio of job market retirements to new entrants in its history. Over the next five years, Australia is projected to see fewer than 125 people exiting education for every 100 people retiring.¹⁷ As Figure 1.4 shows, this shift is particularly significant in the ADF's core target market of 17-24 years which will experience very little growth over the next 15 years.¹⁸ This means that the pool from which the ADF traditionally recruits is diminishing, placing further pressure on Services to engage and retain talented employees.

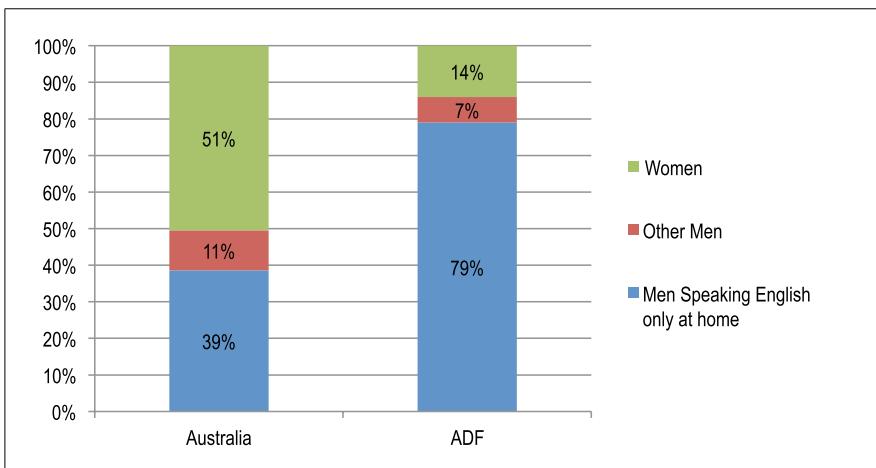
Figure 1.4: Australian population growth¹⁹



Additionally, the ADF today is made up of almost 80% of men who speak English at home,²⁰ a group that represents less than 40% of Australia’s general population.²¹ This means that the ADF has not capitalised on these demographic shifts and remains “frozen” at its 1990 demographic, with Figure 1.5 comparing the ADF and wider Australian demographics. As the March 2012 Defence Workforce Outlook describes:

The wider demographic trends (such as the decline of the primary ADF recruitment pool as a proportion of the total population) will gradually increase the vulnerability of the ADF recruiting... A reasonable expectation is that the recruiting environment will become more difficult for all methods of ADF entry by no later than the end of this decade.²²

Figure 1.5: Comparison of ADF and Australia’s demographic profile²³



Despite the imperative to attract more young people, the Review's focus groups revealed significant ADF concern about younger members. According to one member:

I'm seeing people who know their rights, better than their job. I know people [who] put more effort into finding out how they can get time off, as opposed to just doing their job.²⁴

Certainly, career patterns and expectations of younger generations differ markedly from previous generations. In 1959, average tenure across all ages and industries was 15 years. Today, it is just over 4 years, with one survey finding that only one in four of those from Generation Y would consider staying at a single employer for five years.²⁵ ²⁶ Many young men and women are looking for flexibility in ways that previous generations did not, with these attitudes forcing companies to think more creatively.

Meanwhile, a decreasing proportion of young people are connected to a family member or friend in the ADF or with prior ADF service. This is particularly true of women and Australians from culturally linguistic and diverse backgrounds. Given that this is one of the strongest influences on a candidate's decision to seek enlistment,²⁷ the ADF acknowledges that it "cannot rely on employing only those who have had a family member join or serve to attract our share of the labour market."²⁸

Concern exists that the skills and cognitive abilities of young people applying to the ADF do not appear to be improving, despite record participation in tertiary education. The ADF Recruiting Strategic Plan 2011-2021 states:

the general cognitive ability of candidates enquiring into ADF careers...has not shown any practical or consistent improvement. This may partly be attributable to the lower propensity of those with high aptitude and skills towards a career in the military.²⁹

To meet this challenge, the ADF adopted a number of innovative new approaches, including a Gap Year program that allowed candidates to explore the ADF without a longer return of service commitment. The early results of this program were promising, with women comprising 28% of participants, twice the general rate of enlistments.³⁰ Although this program was discontinued, its underlying principles were promising and signal one way in which the ADF can avoid falling short of its workforce and capability needs.

(b) Increased competition for talent

Further complicating the demographic challenges, the overall demand for workers is growing rapidly in Australia. This is particularly true in industries that directly compete with the ADF. As the Defence Posture Review notes:

Rapidly growing demand from the resources sector...place similar pressures on the availability and cost of skilled labour...Our clear impression is that in this competitive environment, the resources sector has deeper pockets and much quicker decision-making processes than Defence.³¹

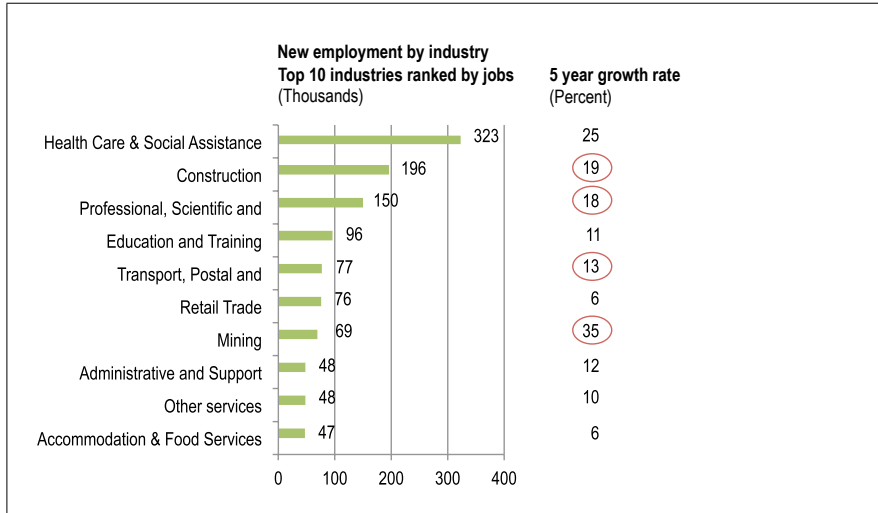
The pull factor of a career change to civilian life has always had a strong influence on the decision of members to leave the ADF. In the most recent ADF Exit Survey results, 'To make a career change while still young enough' was the third most influential reason for leaving (after 'the desire to stay in one place and for less separation from family'). 'Better career prospects in civilian life' also ranked as the ninth most influential reason for leaving in 2010. Both these factors have ranked in the top ten since survey data has been collected.³²

The increased competition for talent is raised in numerous discussion papers and initiatives, with ADF members well aware of the value placed by companies on their military experience. The Review heard during its consultations, for example:

...we have a technical workforce who are highly attractive outside. And as a 25 year old sailor where you can go to sea and be away from your family routinely for two weeks at a time let's say... The comparison is you can go to the mines, do exactly the same thing but be paid three times as much.³³

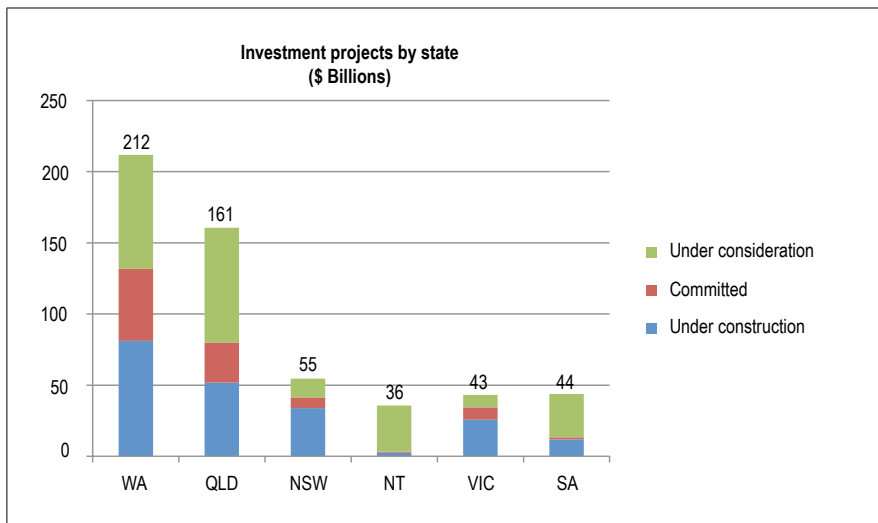
Corporate and government estimates (see Figure 1.6) support this anecdotal information, suggesting that by 2015-16, there will be 10% more jobs in Australia than there were in 2010-11 with the fastest growing industries including Construction, Professional Services, Transport and Mining.³⁴

Figure 1.6: Australia’s expected employment growth³⁵



Meanwhile, Figure 1.7 shows the significant investment (and therefore job creation) predicted in geographic areas of importance to the ADF, both as a historical source of talent, and for future Defence capability.³⁶ Competition for skilled workers is already fierce and will only intensify, particularly in regions like Western Australia and Queensland, where investment is expected to be particularly high.³⁷

Figure 1.7: Investment levels by state³⁸



1.2 Costs – recruiting and retaining valued personnel

Against this backdrop, the ADF has struggled in the last decade to meet recruiting targets, particularly those in critical categories. Perhaps even more concerning, is that ADF personnel are leaving far earlier in their service than previous generations, depriving new entrants of precious experience and mentorship.

The importance of retention as a critical workforce planning consideration, and risks surrounding departures, are covered in great detail in Defence Strategic Workforce Plan 2010-20.³⁹ The Defence Strategic Workforce Plan 2007-2017 summarised the key concerns as follows:

Retaining ADF personnel for longer periods of service is currently the most urgent workforce challenge for Defence, with too few trained personnel reaching and electing to serve beyond their Initial Period of Service (IPS). Length of Service outcomes for the single Services have been gradually changing over the last decade, with notable decreases in the proportion of ADF members serving through to the previous twenty year career milestone. The capability implications of this are serious, reflecting a decline in the seniority and experience bases of the ADF. This also causes shortages of appropriately skilled and experienced personnel for promotion to higher ranks, and a growing lack of adequate supervisors and skilled trainers to be able to safely mentor and develop junior ADF personnel.⁴⁰

Figures 1.8 and 1.9 show recruiting target achievement from 1995-2010. The ADF's ability to reach its target was in decline in 2007-2009, until the events of the Global Financial Crisis and the launch in December 2006 of a recruiting and retention program known as 'R2'. With \$3.1 billion in funding allocated over a ten year period, R2 identified a need to increase overall enlistments from 4,700 per year to around 6,500 and to stem the tide of experienced personnel departures. Financial incentives (cash bonuses) were a significant element of the program.⁴¹

Figure 1.8: ADF recruiting target achievement⁴²

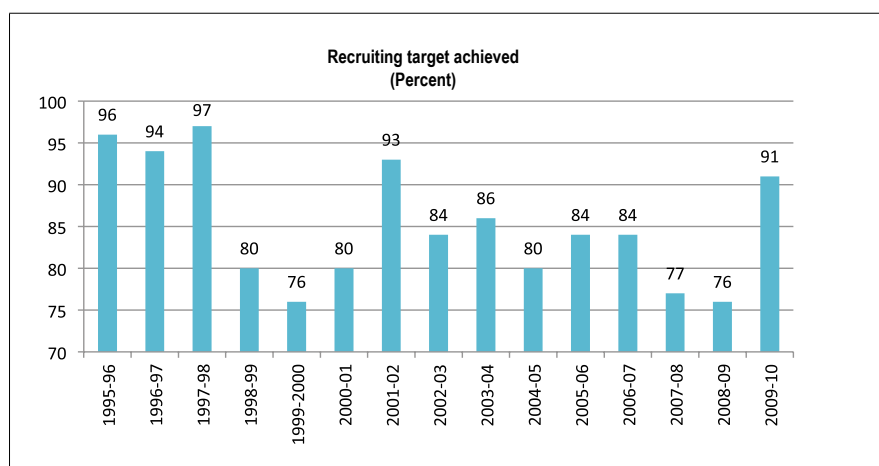
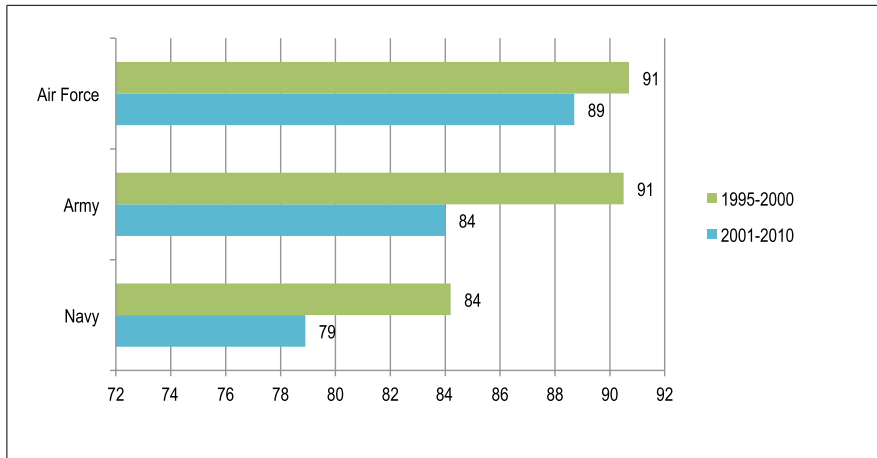


Figure 1.9: Recruiting target achievement by service⁴³



Concerns endure, though, that short-term incentives, such as cash bonuses, have temporarily masked “natural” retention rates. Research shows that when such measures (particularly cash bonuses) are removed, separation rates are likely to accelerate. As the report of the R2 program observed:

Bonuses address the symptom of high separations in a given workforce segment, not the cause, and cannot be relied upon as a standalone retention measure.⁴⁴

Certainly, there is growing evidence to support these predictions. In March 2012, the ADF announced that the separation rate had crept back up to about 9.3 per cent and was expected “to continue to rise.”⁴⁵

In addition, the 2011-2021 Recruiting Strategic Plan states that the results of the last few years may not be sustainable. As the plan observes:

These circumstances will not last. The recruiting pipeline in December 2010 held half the candidates it did in June 2009. ADF separation rates are rising. The most likely watershed year will be 2012-13 when the gap between actual AFS (Average Funded Strength) and guidance is expected to close and rising separations will directly impact on recruiting targets. Financial pressures by 2012-13 are unlikely to permit the advertising expenditures that precipitated the surge in enquiries from 2007-2010. With a gradually tightening labour market, fewer recruiting prospects will be available in any case.⁴⁶

Clearly, the ADF must increase its efforts to recruit and retain its most talented employees.

In just one example, competition for talent has required the ADF to accelerate its recruitment spending, particularly on TV advertising, to generate enquiries. Figure 1.10 shows an increase in spend from \$61 million in 2001-2002, to more than \$140 million in 2011. Figure 1.11 illustrates that the cost of recruiting each new member has more than tripled from approximately \$7,000 to over \$21,000 per enlistment.⁴⁷

Figure 1.10: DFR Expenditure 2001-2010⁴⁸

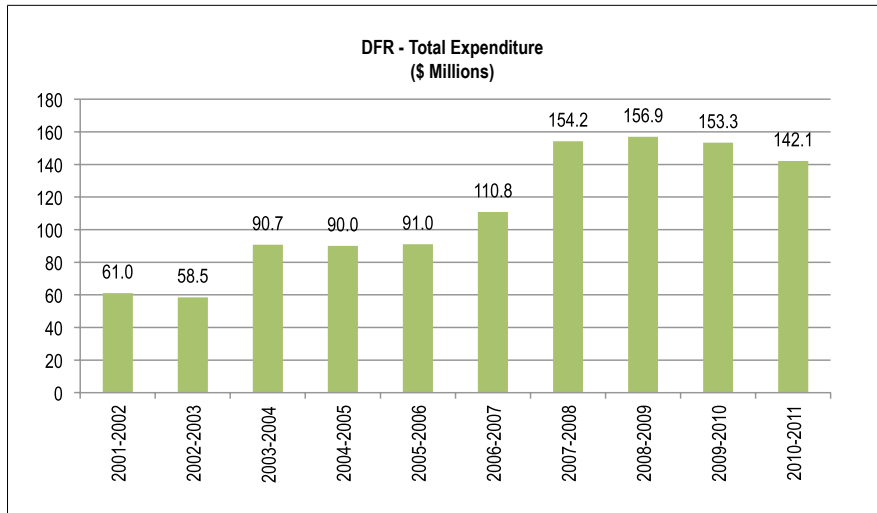
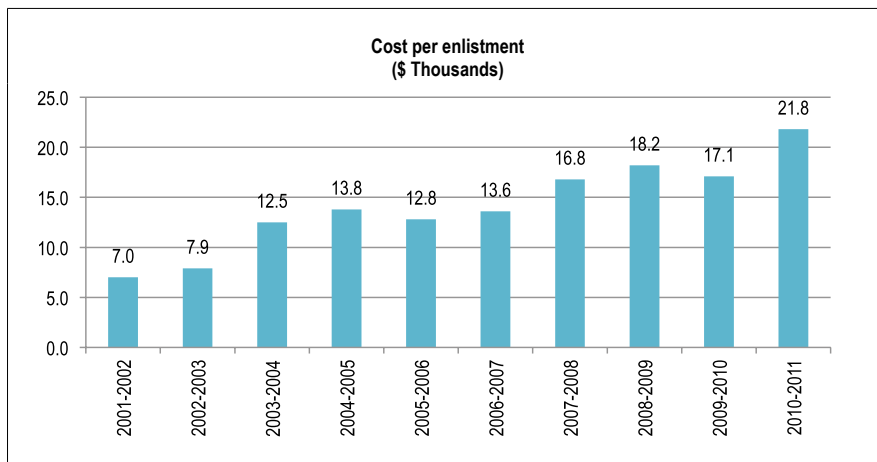
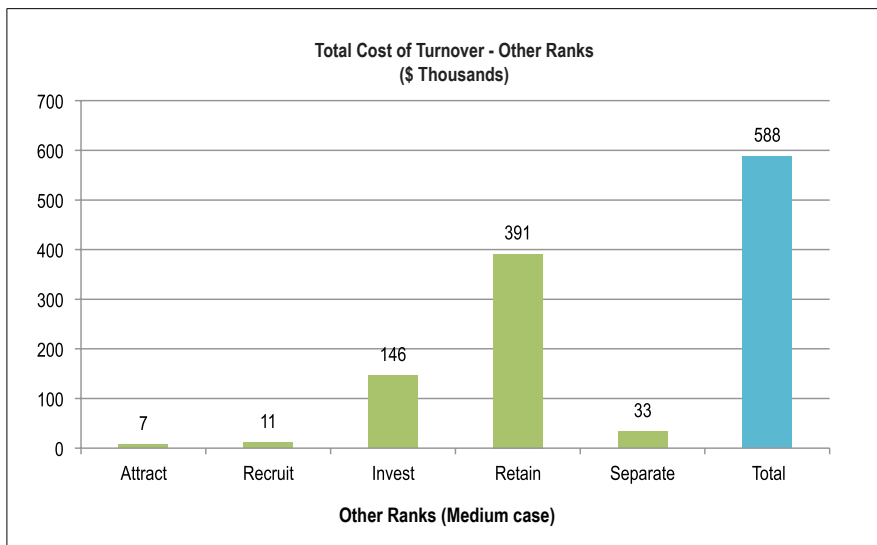
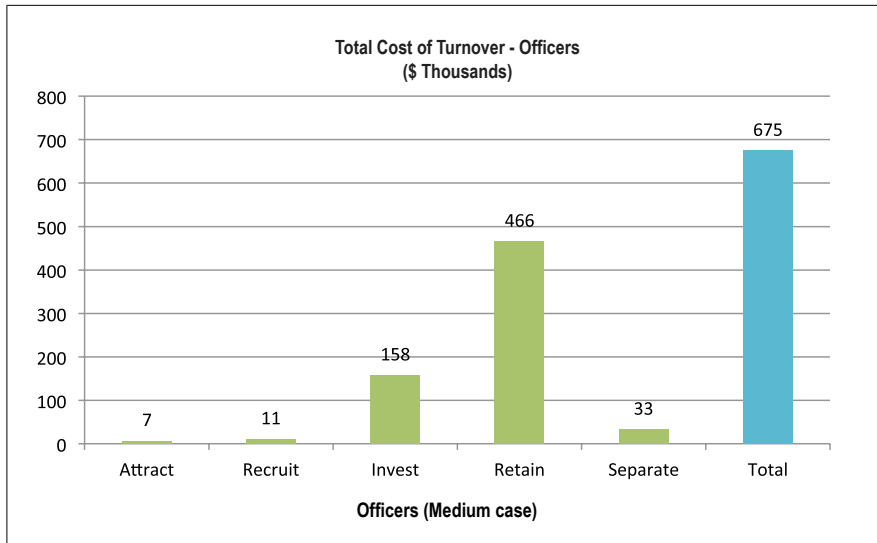


Figure 1.11: DFR spend per enlistment 2001-2010⁴⁹



Meanwhile, Figure 1.12 contains an estimate of the investment that the ADF makes in its personnel, estimated as an average of \$580-\$680,000 per member, with the return on this investment becoming apparent as members become increasingly productive and develop others. Departures, particularly those with specialised trades or those with significant experience, are extremely difficult to replace, with the development investment in the “High Value Officer Category” sometimes reaching \$2 million.⁵⁰

Figure 1.12: Development investment and the cost of turnover⁵¹



In fact, for 2011, the total cost of turnover for the ADF was estimated as \$1.5 billion (up from an indicative figure of \$1.1 billion in 2010) despite this being a year of record low turnover.⁵² As will be explored in later Chapters, it follows that initiatives with potential to reduce separation rates are critical to the ADF's cost effectiveness.

1.3 Capability

(a) Building a contemporary and adaptable Defence Force

As well as maximising access to a wider pool of talent and minimising costs associated with the loss of existing personnel, the ADF must also use its personnel to build a workforce whose skills fit with the realities of modern war-fare.

With an increasing focus on technology and problem-solving, modern military workplaces are complex. They require new and additional skills and adaptability, rather than simply manual or physical strength.

These changes are impacting the ADF's workforce requirements. As described in the ADF's Recruiting Strategic Plan:

Automation has reduced the proportion of low skill, manual jobs and increased the demand for systems managers. The use of small teams, either operating independently or in close cooperation with coalition partners has increased the requirement for ADF members to work autonomously – solving problems, learning and adapting, and identifying and servicing stakeholders.⁵³

Other sources describe this changing battlefield, noting that intelligence collecting and outreach to local populations, work where women are often essential, will grow in importance, while remote work through technology becomes increasingly possible.⁵⁴ Problem-solving, communication and adaptive skills are becoming increasingly important in sourcing the right talent from a workforce that is already under pressure.

This changing mission and workplace are likely to create demand for new skills, strengths and perspectives, a reality which the ADF shares with other workforces. Studies demonstrate that diverse and gender balanced teams perform better, particularly where innovation and problem-solving is important – anticipating risk more accurately, and delivering better outcomes.⁵⁵ Despite this, only a few pockets within the ADF can claim to have achieved diversity, with men and women mostly “clustered” in different occupations.⁵⁶ The ADF must get better at harnessing all talent at its disposal, drawing on its collective capability and nurturing its skills.

(b) Commitment to implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 'Women Peace and Security'

Strengthening the role of women in times of conflict and post conflict is critical to meeting Australia's international obligations and, in particular, to its commitment to the Australian National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security 2012-2018 for implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), adopted by the Security Council in October 2000.

Discussed in detail at Appendix D, UNSCR 1325 calls on member states to integrate a gender perspective into all peacekeeping operations, peace processes and return, resettlement, and reintegration programs in post-conflict settings. UNSCR 1325 calls for the role of women to be increased in the planning, preparation, decision-making and execution of peace missions, and for more attention to be given to the effects on women of conflicts and peace operations. UNSCR 1325 provides a general framework for the integration of gender into policy surrounding international peace and security. In the context of this Review, this involves the greater participation of women in the Australian military in critical roles in fragile, conflict and post-conflict situations.

The National Action Plan contains a number of high level strategies that the Australian Government will undertake against the thematic areas of UNSCR 1325:

1. Integrate a gender perspective into Australia's policies on peace and security.
2. Embed the Women, Peace and Security agenda in the Australian Government's approach to human resource management of Defence, Australian Federal Police and deployed personnel.

3. Support civil society organisations to promote equality and increase women's participation in conflict prevention, peace-building, conflict resolution, and relief and recovery.
4. Promote Women, Peace and Security implementation internationally.
5. Take a co-ordinated and holistic approach domestically and internationally to Women, Peace and Security.

The ADF is involved in activities supporting UNSCR 1325 aims. For example, the ADF deploys female personnel to work in Female Engagement Teams. These Teams meet with local women in conflict zones to discuss their security needs, including meeting with female community leaders to discuss gender issues.

The National Action Plan identifies that women are still largely excluded from formal processes and institutions that can prevent, manage and resolve conflict. For example, they are under-represented in high level advisory, negotiation and decision making positions. The ADF plays a critical role in redressing this situation. Fundamental to this is giving practical recognition to the vital contribution that women make to Australia's military capability.

1.4 A First Class and High Performing Employer

The ADF will enjoy a strong and sustainable future by securing a position as a first class and high performing employer – one which enables all employees to seize opportunities to thrive, to feel valued for their contributions, and acknowledged as individuals.

Many members reported to the Review that their experience in the ADF has been rewarding and positive. One senior female ADF member reported:

I have had a wonderful career...in the ADF...and I believe that my gender has not, in any way, limited my progress in this organisation thus far. I have been sponsored to study full-time at civil universities, permitted to work part time and flexibly since having my children... [I have] worked remotely overseas while accompanying my husband on an overseas posting; [and] my predominantly male supervisors have always been absolutely honourable in their behaviour and provided strong mentorship to develop my career.⁵⁷

These sentiments were echoed frequently in many of the Review's focus groups, in the written submissions and through comments from the *Treatment of Women in the ADF Survey*.

However, the Review also heard that the ADF can be an ambivalent, unsupportive, and sometimes hostile workplace. In particular, it heard that some members, peers and even supervisors can make it an unsafe workplace, individual accounts of which feature in detail in Chapter 7. This must change if the ADF is to realise its potential as a first class employer.

(a) Rigid Structures and Entrenched Attitudes

In particular, the rigidity of the ADF's organisational structures and the entrenched attitudes regarding the nature of defence force work often requires members to make difficult career and life choices, with job requirements often detrimental to personal and family lives. Frequent posting cycles, back to back deployments and limited opportunities to access flexible and part time working arrangements without compromising career progression are issues that impact significantly on ADF members' ability to balance work with their personal life, including work and family.

A prevailing view across the ADF was reflected in one submission which observed:

when we join up we make a choice, we knew what life this was and yes it is hard to sustain a normal family life. But we all make a choice male or female to choose family or career.⁵⁸

Over and over, the Review heard from members, particularly women, who intended to discharge from the ADF when they have children and from those who were discharging because the impact of the posting cycles had become too great for them to balance with their personal life.

This means that, unless the ADF can create a workplace that reflects contemporary expectations and needs, its attraction and retention capacity will be undermined.

There are a range of strategies that the ADF can put in place to enable members to balance a strong career with their personal life, including family obligations. Such strategies will be identified throughout the Report and include more targeted career plans, as well as the development of joint career plans for couples who are both ADF members; greater support for members and their families who are posted away from their home city or town; and greater access to flexible work arrangements. The advantages of increasing the acceptance of flexible work arrangements were identified in a recent report and include: enabling organisations to be sustainable and adaptable to change; creating pathways to gender equality; attracting and retaining talent; and increasing productivity.⁵⁹

In the ADF context, all of these advantages are about building capacity and capability in the ADF, not diminishing it, with the ADF only likely to attract and retain a wider talent pool if its work practices reflect the needs of a cross-generational and diverse workforce.

(b) Sexual Misconduct, Sexual Harassment, Bullying, Victimisation and Sexual Assault

Though the ADF is, by nature, a workplace involving inherent risks, the possibility of being subjected to sexual misconduct, sexual harassment, bullying, victimisation and sexual abuse, should never be one of them.

Nevertheless, the Review heard from women who had experienced such behaviour. It also heard that the complaints system was not always responsive and, in some instances, was even hostile to their complaints.

In addition, the Review heard of certain work environments that are highly sexualised and demeaning to women, where sexual innuendo and sexist language and behaviour occurs and impacts on the functioning of both individuals and the team. Though swearing and 'colourful' language can occur in any workplace, particularly those that are male dominated, the personal trauma that a number of ADF women related and the unsatisfactory processes and outcomes arising from their experiences, highlights serious and unacceptable deficiencies in key aspects of the ADF's treatment of women. Many women with whom the Review spoke, stated that they did not report the behaviours against them, including sexual abuse, to their chain of command for fear of victimisation and reprisals. Others did not believe there would be a successful outcome. Some also felt that complaining would have a negative impact on their career opportunities.

Though these experiences are not representative of all women's experiences, they demonstrate that, in certain environments within the ADF, women can be de-valued and degraded. Poor leadership is often a major contributing factor in this. While some positive strategies have been developed by each Service to address this behaviour and enhance complaints processes, a number have been poorly implemented and are not responsible to the needs of the complainant. They have also not sought to examine whether there is a culture, in certain areas, that might enable this sort of behaviour to continue unreported.

One female member told the Review:

Until the stereotyping and sexual objectification of women is eradicated from the Services the complementary policies promoting advancement and retention will not be successful as women continue to deal with attitudes and practices which limit their opportunities.⁶⁰

If the ADF is seriously committed to increasing the representation of women, retaining talented women and enhancing their status, it needs to eradicate these unacceptable behaviours as a matter of urgency.

1.5 Leadership

Competitive governments and organisations – even those in resource rich countries like Australia – must focus on their people as their greatest asset if they are to maintain their place as national and international leaders. This is particularly so when international evidence shows that the more women participate in the workforce, the more per capita income rises.⁶¹

Meanwhile, Australian research confirms that closing the gap between male and female employment rates, and successfully attracting women into the most economically productive sectors,⁶² would have a “profound” impact on Australia’s economy – worth more than 11% of GDP.⁶³ Closing this employment gap would also help address pension sustainability through increased employment among those of working age, lifting household saving rates and lifting taxation receipts for government.

As one of Australia’s largest employers, and as an important source of employee development, the ADF is in a position to act as a national leader in this area. In this way, increasing gender balance in the ADF has the potential to enhance our nation’s productivity and economic growth, as well as to materially advance the economic independence of women.

As Chapter 9 will outline, Defence forces around the world are addressing the challenges of attracting, developing and retaining women. They are also responding to sexual harassment, sex discrimination and sexual assault. Like these international services, the ADF has an opportunity to lead – maximising the best possible talent from a competitive workforce, minimising the costs of recruiting and lost personnel, securing its capability in the field, valuing its members and creating environments where both men and women thrive. This means that change offers the ADF the chance to set an example not only throughout Australia, but for other Defence Forces around the world.

1.6 Conclusion

Equality and fairness are imperatives in any workforce. However, as in any contemporary organisation, additional forces drive the need for greater participation of women, and for greater numbers of women in positions of leadership. These include the competing demand on the organisation’s traditional talent pool, the costs of recruiting and loss of personnel, the requirements of a changing military environment, the expectations that employees have of a first class, 21st century employer, and finally, the opportunity to set an example as both national and international leader.

These imperatives have been understood by ADF leadership for some time, and are reflected to varying extents in a range of strategies that the organisation has put in place. Although well intentioned, these efforts have had marginal impact – in part because they have failed to communicate the wider case for change and have encountered a degree of cultural resistance. Chapter 2 will examine the ADF’s most recent attempt to improve women’s representation. Following this, the Report will then look at the ADF culture for women, and undertake a detailed examination of the ADF workforce.

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