Battling with Words

A study of language, diversity and social inclusion
in the Australian Department of Defence

Dr Elizabeth A. Thomson

2013 Secretary of Defence Fellow
February 2014

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Disclaimer

This research report represents the views of the author only, and not necessarily those of the Department of Defence.

Ethical clearance for this project was provided by the Australian Defence Human Research Ethics Committee.

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List of abbreviations

ADF	Australian Defence Force
ADFA	Australian Defence Force Academy
APS	Australian Public Service
ATSI	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
CALD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
CCA	Casual conversation analysis
DDAIS	Defence Diversity and Inclusion Strategy
DEFGRAM	Defence internal 'telegram'
DFR	Defence Force Recruiting
DNPS	Directorate of Navy Platform Systems
IET	Initial Employment Training
JOC	Joint Operations Command
LASER	Longitudinal ADF Study Evaluating Retention
LCT	Legitimation Code Theory
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex
RMC	Royal Military College of Australia, Duntroon
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics

PREFACE

This report is the outcome of the study I conducted as the 2013 Secretary of Defence Fellow. I came to Defence five and a half years ago after spending 15 years as an academic, teaching and researching in languages, culture and linguistics. Upon arrival, I found myself working in an organisation that was very different from what I knew. On the one hand, I was deeply impressed by the professionalism of the people, feeling for the first time in my life a sense of national pride. On the other hand, I was taken aback by the unnerving directness and cliquishness of these same people.

Coming from the university sector that is typically multicultural, multilingual and multinational, I was surprised to find that the organisation was also homogeneous. Defence felt like a bastion of white men. It struck me very early on that I was different and that it was going to be up to me to find my place in this organisation, to understand how it worked and how 'others' could fit in. The need for greater diversity and cultural change has been recognised by Defence leadership, who have commissioned numerous reports on cultural change, including this one, which stands apart as a distinctive study on language use in Defence.

And so, I want to thank the Secretary of Defence, Mr Dennis Richardson for the opportunity the Fellowship has provided me to contribute to the project of cultural change in Defence and for his support throughout the process. I have applied my knowledge and skills of sociolinguistics to investigate, learn and understand the role language plays in determining the nature of Defence culture. This has been a privilege and an honour. I have spent 12 months reading, thinking, interviewing, analysing, interpreting and writing. I have travelled to numerous Defence establishments, met many Defence people and observed various parts of Defence culture. It has been a life-changing journey.

I would like to thank Captain Alison Norris for her kind invitation and the ship's company for their cooperation that allowed me to observe life at sea on HMAS *Success*. I would like to thank the Education Assistance Scheme team of Mrs Jill Jackson and Ms Jesse Donoghue for their enthusiastic support and assistance during the period of the Fellowship. To my readers, Air Commodore Robert Rodgers, Commander John Wearne, Mr Ian Errington, Ms Justine Greig, Dr Christopher Cleirigh, Ms Helen de Silva Joyce and Dr Edward McDonald, who assisted me with both content and expression, I extend heartfelt thanks. To my supervisor, Dr Peter Balint, I express appreciation and gratitude for his insight and guidance while up against my tight deadlines.

And finally, I wish to thank my partner, Wing Commander Anthony Wennerbom not only for his support and assistance throughout the year, but also for his love of, and belief in, me.
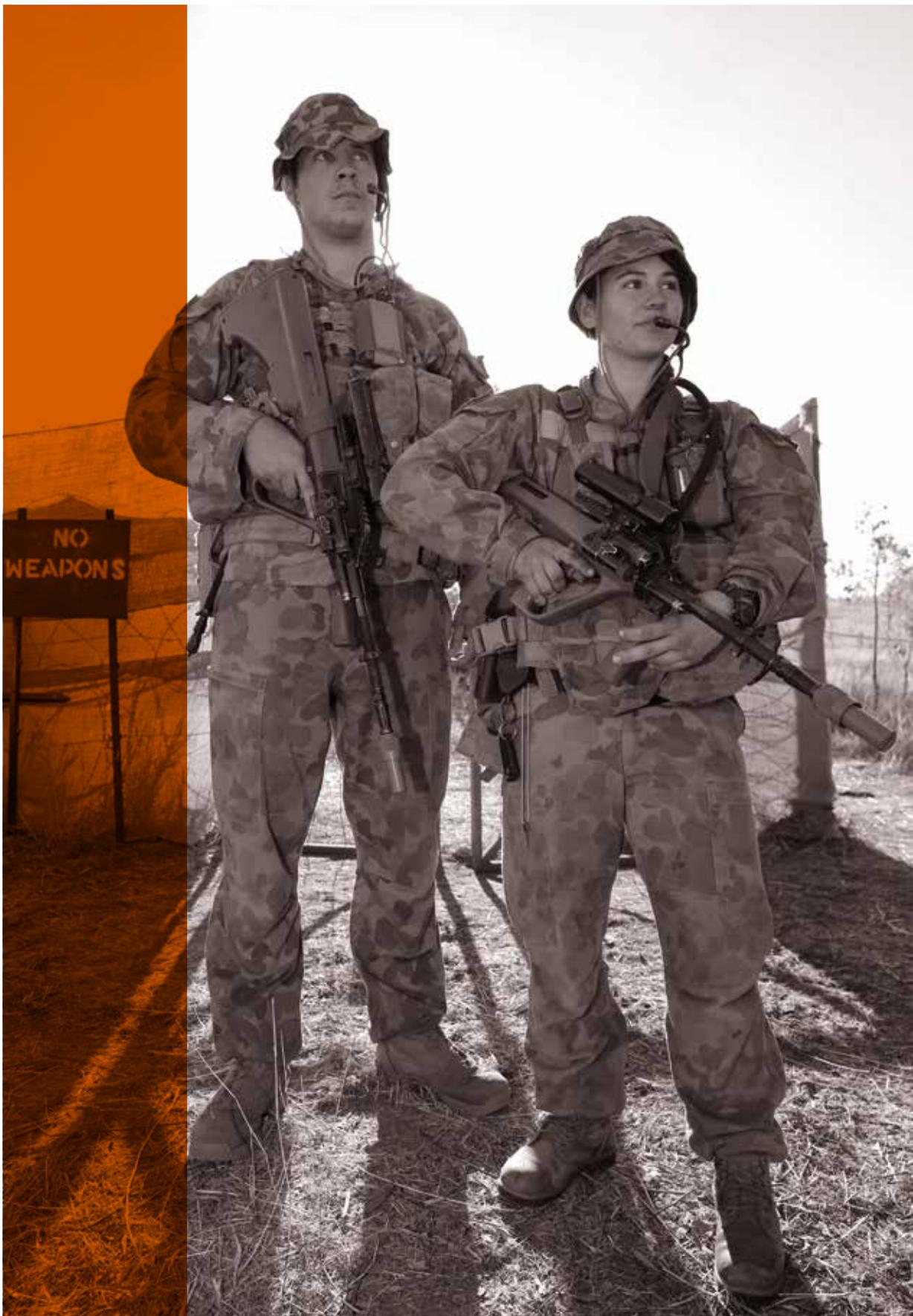
SUMMARY

Battling with Words - a battle of communicating new messages of acceptance and empathy in an organisation that desires cultural change.

Background

This report, Battling with Words, takes a distinctive sociolinguistic approach to current efforts by Defence leadership to bring about cultural change in the Department of Defence and establish a more heterogeneous workforce. The report describes the role language plays in maintaining and perpetuating cultural norms, and provides linguistic evidence for the current, homogeneous demographic of Defence. It offers recommendations for language change in support of the other social inclusion policy interventions now being rolled out across the organisation. It is the first study of language use in Defence using social and linguistic theoretical frameworks to understand culture and cultural change, and provides a strategy for the use of inclusive language that promotes and supports heterogeneity. The report arises out of the 2013 Secretary of Defence Fellowship, titled Representing the Community We Serve - Diversity in the Defence Workforce: How do we make an impact now?

The challenge of creating a diverse workforce

The challenge facing Defence is to build a more diverse workforce that is more representative of the Australian population. This would not only ensure the trust and confidence of the Australian people, but also position Defence to improve capability for mission success. A more heterogeneous workforce would assist operational efficiency in the global context, help Defence to compete in a competitive labour market and ensure a higher return on investment in training.

Shifting away from a relatively homogeneous Defence workforce towards greater social inclusion and heterogeneity has been the intent of recent organisational change reviews and reports. However, none of these studies has systematically analysed the nature of Defence culture and the role language plays in perpetuating and maintaining cultural norms, particularly those of the dominant Anglo-Australian male group within the three military Services and the Australian Public Service. Implicit within the language practices of Defence are mechanisms that thwart diversity and greater social inclusion.

Research methodology and questions

In order to clearly link culture and language, the analyses for the study are situated in the social theory of Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) (Maton 2013) and the linguistic theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday and Mathhiessen 2004). This is because LCT views language as a kind of social practice, as part of the process of *playing the game* of culture, and SFL views language as a kind of social behaviour that impacts on culture and is impacted on by culture.

This report argues that unless the language practices of the institution change in concert with other policy changes, sustainable cultural change is unlikely to result. Evidence of the role that language plays in maintaining and perpetuating existing social norms is identified through the application of LCT in order to characterise the four cultures of Navy, Army, Air Force and the Australian Public Service (APS) in Defence. These social norms are perpetuated and maintained by particular language choices in both the formal, officially-endorsed language of leadership and the informal, everyday talk of the workplace. The officially-endorsed language of leadership is probed in order to identify how Defence constructs exclusive, ideal attributes and heroic identities around which personnel are expected to rally and bond. In addition, the informal everyday talk of the workplace is investigated through the analysis of casual conversation and of interviews with Defence personnel who volunteered to tell their stories of social marginalisation and adaptation.

Results

The results of the study are outlined as follows:

Defence cultures: four Services, two codes

Within the framework of LCT, the difference between the four cultures of Defence–Navy, Army, Air Force and APS–is a difference in legitimation code, the legitimate underlying principle of authority and status. Defence APS is primarily a *knowledge code* culture while the ADF is primarily made up of three versions of a *knower code* culture. Knowledge code cultures are motivated more by qualifications, skills and expertise which enact social practices along the lines of 'Do as I say because I know'. In contrast, knower code cultures are more motivated by the attributes, dispositions and functions of people which enact social practices along the lines of 'Do as I say because I am who I am'. While each of the uniformed Services manifests knower code orientations, Air Force and, to a lesser extent, Navy are influenced more by knowledge code principles than Army due to the nature and environment of their respective work.

> APS is a knowledge code:
> 'Do as I say because I know' – *legitimated*
> *by specialisation and knowledge*
>
> ADF is a knower code:
> 'Do as I say because I am who I am' –
> *legitimated by rank and function*

Diversity and social inclusion

The knower code/knowledge code divide has implications for diversity and social inclusion. The knowledge code of the APS is more responsive to diversity because, as long as an Australian citizen has the appropriate qualifications, skills and experience, they can be admitted to the APS. Sexual orientation, gender, heritage background, religious belief, physical disability and so on are not considered barriers to inclusion in the APS. In contrast, the knower codes of the uniformed Services are less responsive to diversity.[1] The different Services have different kinds of teams distinguished by differences in people's relations to each other and relations to work and knowledge.

The kind of team-based work conducted in high-risk, dangerous environments limits and excludes as an inherent consequence of the mission(s). Particular attributes of individuals, operating in tightly-bonded teams are preferred over others and typically reflect the standards and attributes of the dominant group. The higher the risk to safety, the more tightly bonded the team needs to be, and the tighter the bond, the more likely exclusion will occur.

> Defence work is conducted in teams.
> Members of teams bond and affiliate through socialisation.
>
> Due to the degree of risk, Army teams are more tightly bonded than Navy;
>
> Navy teams are more tightly bonded than Air Force;
>
> and Air Force teams are more tightly bonded than APS teams.
>
> The tighter the social bond the more exclusive the team.
> Army is the most exclusive, followed by Navy, Air Force and APS.

However, the basis for exclusion can be inappropriate if it is based on attributes which are not essential for team success but which simply favour the dominant group, such as social categories like gender or race.

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1   The operation of the knower code typically sets up unconscious bias, such as the gender inequality in leadership in Defence, as identified in the 'think leader, think male' model of leadership bias (Wood 2013).

Team membership should be based on

fit for purpose and right for team

NOT on

the unconscious bias of affinity[2], *you're like me so you're on the team*

This kind of inappropriate exclusion is a product of both formal and informal systematic socialisation.

Formal, officially-endorsed language

First, in the formal realm, the social norms of the knowledge and knower codes of Defence are perpetuated through the language of leadership as expressed through the Values Statements of Defence. The normative language practices of each Service prize some values more than others, and the organisation as a whole iconises or heralds certain kinds of people more than others. While all Services share ethical behaviour as a common ideal, they also differ depending on their specific missions. Navy is more about honesty due to the intensity of life on board ship and Army is more about courage as the soldier is the instrument of war in combat. Air Force is more about capability due to the high-tech nature of the aircraft and the APS is more about honesty and capability given its role as an enabler of the overall Defence mission. However, not all these values are modelled by all kinds of Defence personnel. It is primarily the Anglo-Australian male soldier, renowned for acts of courage in battle, who is iconised as the ideal identity in the organisation. This normative language practice excludes other values and other kinds of people.

Ideal attributes

APS	*ethical, honest* and *capable*
Navy	*ethical* and *honest*
Army	*ethical* and *courageous*
Air Force	*ethical* and *capable*
PLICIT	*ethical* and *capable*

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2   Affinity bias is a term used by Deborah May (May 2013).

The ideal identity promulgated by Defence and Defence media:

The **Anglo-Australian male** *soldier* for acts of **courage** in battle

Who and what is excluded?

1. other kinds of people:

    women, first Australians, new Australians and so on.

2. the other Services:

    Navy, Air Force and APS

3. other values

    Agility, Accountability, Commitment to service, Dedication, Ethical behaviour, Excellence, Honesty, Honour, Impartiality, Initiative, Innovation, Integrity, Loyalty, Professionalism, Respect, Teamwork

Grammatical expression of the Values Statements can also exclude.
Use inclusive rather than exclusive formulations.

To better incorporate diversity, Defence leadership needs to endorse and promote a greater range of heroes and heroines from diverse backgrounds, in order to broaden the ideal identity to more than just the *Anglo-Australian male soldier, renowned for acts of courage*. This will involve modelling values other than just courage by heroes and heroines, from other heritage backgrounds than just Anglo-Australians, via various modes such as Defence media stories, revised doctrine, revised training materials and Defence instructions.

Informal, everyday talk

Second, in the informal realm, there are normative language practices of exclusion in the everyday casual conversation of the workplace. Analysis shows that casual conversation in Defence is dominated by the kind of talk characteristic of the *Aussie bloke*.

> Casual conversation in Defence is dominated by the kind of talk
> characteristic of the Anglo-Australian male. This is talk about
> workplace performance and team membership.

It consists of chat around workplace performance and team membership transacted through humour, banter, practical jokes and nicknaming. These language practices function to align and bond people in teams but they can equally marginalise and exclude people who do not meet the standards set by the dominant group.

> Everyday talk involves humour, banter, jokes and nicknaming
> which is used to gain acceptance and build social relationships.

The interview data of the volunteers from the different diversity groups demonstrates how they have adapted to this kind of socialisation, offering strategies to secure acceptance and inclusion by the team. The most common reason for feeling excluded relates to being *different*. It is a risk to team acceptance.

> Being different risks team membership and acceptance.
> Humour and banter are used to minimise difference.

Difference has to be managed in everyday talk and, in order to do this, control of humour and banter is important as they are the mechanisms for minimising difference. The analysis demonstrates that provided targets of banter agree to play along and engage with the propositions, banter can be used to include. Targets can agree by accepting the posited propositions or disagree by shifting the target of banter back onto the instigator. Both moves result in acceptance.

Nonetheless, banter can also exclude. This occurs when the target does not participate, either because they do not agree with the proposition, or simply do not understand what banter is and how it operates. Whether by intention or by accident, this set of circumstances can lead to exclusion.

Who's excluded?

Potentially people who do not

1.   understand banter

2.   have a good control of banter

3.   want to banter

However, an important feature of banter is that the outcome of the banter can be controlled by the interactants. It is a jointly-constructed exchange that can take varying directions depending on how the interactants choose to respond. Provided they know how, this allows targets the opportunity to take control to avoid exclusion. Given the fact that Defence work is conducted in teams, it is critical for mission success that teams function effectively. Being an accepted and respected member of a team is essential. Acceptance depends on meeting the *standards* of the team by minimising any *perceived* difference through everyday talk. However, the normative practices of banter, practical jokes and nicknaming can be exclusionary and resist diversity in the formation of teams.

Banter is jointly constructed.

the **instigator** can achieve inclusion by:

•   **being aware of and sensitive to the target's response;**

•   **by recasting the interaction to avoid marginalisation**

the **target** can achieve inclusion by:

•   **knowing how to banter**

•   **knowing how to mitigate difference**

•   **knowing how to close the interaction successfully**

Shifting away from a homogenous workforce to a more heterogeneous one requires a shift in language use. In order to enable language change, awareness of the role language plays to exclude needs to be raised across Defence, across uniformed ranks, across APS levels, in individual training and collective training, and in leadership training. In short, Defence needs to introduce policies on language use, particularly spoken language, and introduce interculturality into the education and training continua in order to raise awareness of the impact that the different legitimation codes of the Services have on human relations at all levels and of the normative language practices of Defence which operate to exclude.   Intercultural education will raise awareness of the dos and don'ts of banter, offering all personnel an opportunity to learn ways of being socially inclusive.

Defence people need to be made aware of the conversational characteristics of male socialisation, in particular how banter operates. In order to counter potential social marginalisation in the day-to-day work teams of Defence, this may mean teaching people *how* to banter and, most importantly, how to identify banter when it is being exploited to exclude. By doing so, leaders are then better able to monitor and manage marginalisation at the lowest possible level before exclusion and social isolation occur. Such intercultural training will build a better understanding between the four Services, particularly between the APS and the ADF, but will also assist in more effective international deployments.

> Leaders need to identify when banter is being exploited to exclude.

Leaders of teams need to know how to:

- Model and champion inclusive conversational practices

- Identify banter which leads to teasing and marginalisation

- Monitor workplace conversations which exclude

- Counsel instigators and support targets

- Manage unacceptable banter that isolates and marginalises

Efforts to normalise diversity and difference can be made possible through adopting the following specific recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The language socialisation practices of Defence are not fixed. They can be changed. The change can occur slowly over time through demographic change or more quickly through intervention which is led by leadership, instituted by policy, and backed up by education and training. The following recommendations will contribute to such an intervention. They are divided into four types: recommendations for decision makers; recommendations for policy; recommendations for education and training; and recommendations for further research. These recommendations align with the *Pathway to Change* levers of Leadership and accountability, Values and behaviours, Right from the start, Practical measures and Structure and support (Defence Committee 2012, p. 7).

1. Recommendations for decision makers

That Defence senior leadership:

1.1	Endorses the ideal attributes, while at the same time endorses and supports the broadening of the ideal identity of Defence to be more inclusive of the diversity of Defence people.
1.2	Directs the further development of the five Values Statements of Defence to ensure that they are expressed as inclusively as possible using appropriate grammar.
1.3	Directs that performance agreements include narratives on 'living the values' rather than just 'tick the box' options in order to foreground and provide opportunities for the individual and their supervisor to reflect on and strive to emulate the ideal attributes expected of Defence people.
1.4	Directs Defence media to report in a more balanced manner on Defence personnel who model Defence values. The desired values and behaviours of Defence personnel should be modelled by personnel from across the diversity of Defence demography in order to construct diverse identities which speak to a broader range of Defence people and the broader community at large. Defence media includes *Defence Magazine, Navy, Army and Air Force News*, websites and promotional materials. Media stories which endorse ideal values and behaviours as exemplars should be a regular feature in Services' News.[3]
1.5	Calls for and sponsors an organisation-wide discovery of 'unsung heroes' in order to broaden the ideal identity and provide diverse heroes for a diverse organisation.
1.6	Partners with the Australian War Memorial in order to include heroic figures from diverse backgrounds as part of its permanent displays but also to be part of the World War I commemorations.
1.7	Endorses the need to codify in policy Defence's position on language use, both written and *spoken*, that marginalises and excludes.
1.8	Endorses intercultural education and training in order to raise awareness of i) the impact of the knowledge and knower codes on interpersonal relations across the organisation, ii) the unconscious bias of the dominant Anglo-Australian socialisation practices of everyday talk that exist in Defence that can be used to exclude on the basis of difference.
1.9	Directs appropriate future research on language use in Defence.

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3   The kind of news story being recommended is not a recount of a good person's deeds. It is the kind of story that takes an important, extra step. It relates the good person's deeds to the ideal values and behaviours which Defence desires of its people.

2. Recommendations for policy

That policy writers:

2.1	Produce a Defence Language Policy which outlines Defence's position on inclusive language use both in written and spoken modes and which links language use to performance and leadership expectations. As part of the policy, include a *Leader's Language Code* which sets out the responsibilities of leaders to model and champion inclusive language practices; to identify language practices which lead to marginalisation, exclusion, bullying and harassment; to monitor everyday talk in the workplace; and to manage unacceptable language that isolates and marginalises.
2.2	In order to support a Defence language policy, revise the *Defence Writing Manual* to provide models and examples of best practice in both written *and* spoken modes.
2.3	Review and where necessary revise key documents across the Services that incorporate the Values Statements and iconic figures to inculcate Defence personnel in order to broaden Defence identities by including different kinds of heroes, modelling all the values. Key documents include doctrine, such as *Character* (Australian Army 2005), *Leadership* (Department of Defence 2007a), the *Workplace Relations Manual* (Department of Defence 2010c) and the *Core Capability Framework* (Department of Defence 2011c), as well as training and induction materials produced by joint, single-Service and civilian units.
2.4	Review and where necessary revise Equity and Inclusion policy to raise awareness of the normalising propensity of knower codes to exclude. The revision needs to include clear statements on what are acceptable criteria to exclude and what are not. This could be built around the slogan, *Fit for Purpose, Right for Team*. Acceptable attributes, dispositions and specialisations which can be appropriately used to exclude could be foregrounded, and awareness of unacceptable attributes, such as social categories like gender, race, religion, and sexual orientation, could be raised and warned against.

3. Recommendations for education and training

That educators and trainers:

3.1	Introduce intercultural education and training for joint, single-Service and civilian programs which are tailored to each specific classification and rank to build understanding between the ADF and APS and explain how *difference* can be managed and even be recast as a positive trait rather than as a reason to exclude. For the organisation as a whole, Equity and Inclusion induction training should include scenarios of inclusive and exclusive casual conversation and banter to raise awareness of how it operates unconsciously in the day-to-day workplace. Tailored courses could be developed as blended learning units offered through Defence Learning Branch or as a combination of face-to-face and online learning, depending on the target group.
3.2	The interculturality curricula should be centrally designed and developed to ensure uniformity of message regardless of the mode of delivery.
3.3	The interculturality curricula should raise awareness of the kinds of casual conversation that operate in the Defence workplace in order to identify when talk is used to marginalise and exclude.
3.4	In leadership promotion courses, NCO/SNCOs and junior officers should be trained in the identification, monitoring and management of marginalising talk, and encouraged to be mentors of inclusive talk, including banter.

4. Recommendations for further research

4.1	The LCT descriptions of the four Services in this study are general descriptions that consider each Service as a whole. A complementary perspective would be to describe each Service from the point of view of their respective parts based on role, function and context. This would provide a more fine-grained understanding of each Service by recognising the effect of function and context on different parts of each Service.
4.2	The casual conversations which were analysed in this study relied on *recounted* rather than *recorded* data. To confirm our understanding of the operation of banter in Defence, authentic conversations taken from the day-to-day workplace of Defence should be gathered and researched.
4.3	In addition, researching how authentic casual conversation positions people as either members of a group or as 'outliers' is very important in understanding the role unconscious bias plays in perpetuating and maintaining cultural norms. Having this kind of understanding may assist in the Defence recruiting interview process. This is because there is an apparent internal barrier to benefiting from a more diverse recruitment effort within Defence Force Recruiting. This barrier relates to *talk* in Defence interviews which positions prospective recruits who are not from the demographic of the dominant group as outliers, thereby setting up an unconscious selection bias. By researching the language used in interviews by Defence personnel, it will be possible to identify how language is used to perpetuate and maintain unconscious bias in recruiting.
4.4	During the conduct of the interviews of the study, it was concluded that women who are enjoying their careers and who have achieved success through promotion, whether they are in the APS or the ADF, are good at bantering. They are comfortably socialised into the male forms of casual conversation. A study on the everyday talk of senior women in Defence could confirm if this is indeed a feature of success. This knowledge may contribute to facilitating the successful integration of more women in the organisation.
4.5	While the scope of this study was not about the spoken language of leadership, the different legitimation codes exert different influences on leadership. For this reason, the language of leadership as it operates in the legitimation codes of Defence needs investigation to understand how good leadership is realised linguistically in both codes.
4.6	And finally, with the work of Defence relying heavily on teams, and knowing from the results of this study that everyday talk is instrumental in effective teams, there are benefits to be had by better understanding the language of teamwork. Defence is well versed in the practices of teamwork but is much less aware of the language of teams. A study looking at how language supports and/or undermines effective teamwork would provide Defence with valuable information to assist in the continuous improvement of capability.

With an understanding of how language is used to exclude and thereby perpetuate the current state of homogeneity, language strategies that counter exclusion need to be developed. The expectation is that if Defence adopts inclusive language strategies, it will begin to appeal to the wider, more diverse Australian community. Attracting and retaining a more diverse workforce will enable Defence to be more inclusive and thus become a stronger and more adaptive organisation with enhanced capability, given that deployments are immersed in other cultures and other places.

The results of this study can be used to underpin future policy and training in relation to intercultural awareness and communication. Diversity as a force multiplier can thus begin to bring benefits to Defence. It is worth the organisational effort to fight the good fight of 'battling with words'. If nothing else, it will add substance to the cultural intent in the *Pathway to Change* strategy that Defence is 'trusted to defend, proven to deliver, and respectful always'.
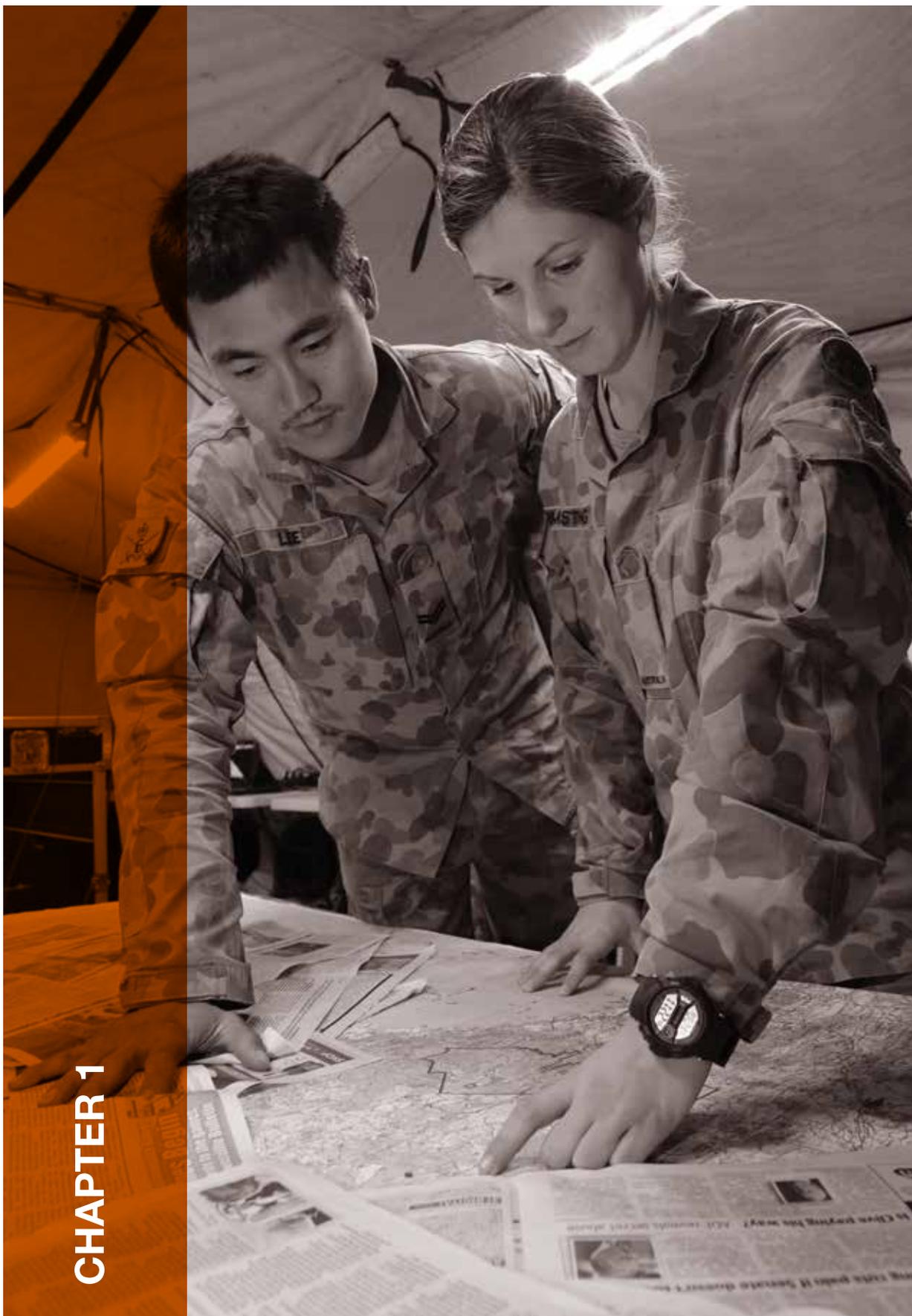
CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER 1

Diversity and social inclusion

We need to be absolutely unambiguous: inclusivity and diversity are crucial to Defence's ability to operate at peak performance and demonstrate maximum capability.

(Department of Defence 2013b, p. 1)

Background

Australia is a diverse nation. The people of Australia speak many different languages, profess different beliefs, follow different social practices, possess different abilities, skills and knowledge, and live in different kinds of families. The Australian Department of Defence[4] is responsible for the security and defence of this nation, a diverse nation of multicultural and multilingual people. Yet the demographic makeup of Defence does not reflect the demography of the Australian community it serves.

Compared to the wider community, Defence is an Anglo-Australian, male-dominated organisation. Such a demographic profile is no longer desirable or sustainable. Importantly, Defence realises the need to reflect adequately the composition of society particularly if the population is to have confidence in the armed forces (Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2006). Further, a more diverse Defence Force is now considered a capability issue; that is, a force multiplier[5] for mission success (Defence Committee 2012). Therefore, a major challenge facing Defence is how to create a workplace culture that shifts the institution away from an exclusive, homogeneous culture to an inclusive, heterogeneous one (Silk *et al* 2000).

This report presents a distinctive approach to understanding what is required to shift the culture of Defence towards heterogeneity. It provides a description of Defence culture within a sociological framework that allows us to understand the underlying principles that drive behaviour in the Defence context. This approach does not assume that Defence is a monocultural organisation, but rather anticipates that the three Services of Navy, Army and Air Force, as well as the Defence APS, will have distinctive cultures with their own social and linguistic features. The description of the four Services is a depiction of the role of language in perpetuating and naturalising the social norms of the culture. The description demonstrates how it is typically in the normalised everyday use of language that patterns of social inclusion and, equally, exclusion can be identified. Taking this perspective, cultural change can be characterised as a *battle with words*.

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4   The Australian Department of Defence is hereafter referred to as Defence throughout the report.

5   'A capability that, when added to and employed by a combat force, significantly increases the combat potential of that force and thus enhances the probability of successful mission accomplishment' (Department of Defence 2005).

With an understanding of how language is being used to exclude and thereby perpetuate the current state of homogeneity in Defence, language strategies can be developed to counter the current exclusionary practices. The expectation is that once Defence adopts more inclusive communication strategies, it will begin to attract and appeal to a wider and more diverse cross-section of the Australian community.

By examining language in Defence, this Report helps to show why the goal to increase diversity is not being met, and shows ways in which resistance to change can be overcome. I divide language usage into two types. First, there is the formal language, which includes the officially-endorsed written documents that communicate the authoritative voice of the organisation, a voice that constructs the institutional identities around which the institution rallies its members to achieve its purpose–its mission. Examples of formal language include Values Statements, Codes of Conduct, and core behaviours. Second, there is the informal language, which includes the kind of everyday talk between colleagues that is used in a workplace like Defence. This kind of talk has been shown to be critical in establishing and embedding social norms and cultural practices (Eggins and Slade 1997).

In terms of formal language use, the results of the study demonstrate that the organisation foregrounds particular values such as *courage* and *resilience* and iconises people with particular characteristics, namely *Anglo-Australian* and *male* for *acts of bravery in battle*. In terms of informal language, I will show how everyday talk is used to negotiate either people's acceptance or marginalisation, and how this is determined by the socialisation standards of the dominant group. Both formal and informal language usage works in tandem to sustain the status quo of the organisation. This study argues for language change as part of an institutional-wide strategy of cultural intervention. The results can be used to underpin future policy and training in relation to intercultural awareness and communication.

The current demography of Defence

The fact that Defence does not represent the community it services is best revealed by comparing it to the current demography of the country itself. According to the 2011 Australian Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012), third-generation-plus Australians make up 53% of the population; first- and second-generation Australians make up 47%.[6] Forty per cent of first-generation Australians were born in Europe and 33% were born in Asia, while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (ATSI) make up 2.5% of Australia's population. Further, for every 100 females, there are 98 males in the population.

However, the makeup of Defence is markedly different from the general Australian population. Within Defence, third-generation-plus Australians make up 86% of the permanent workforce; first-generation Australians make up 14% and, of these, 1.1% were born in Europe and 1.9% were born in Asia. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people make up 1.4% (Department of Defence 2011a). Most recently, the *Diversity and Inclusion Strategy* (Department of Defence 2013b) includes statistics on personnel who speak a language other than English, revealing figures as low as 5.41% for the ADF and 14.11% for the APS section of Defence.

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6   First-generation Australians are people living in Australia who were born overseas. Second-generation Australians are Australian-born people living in Australia with at least one overseas-born parent. Third-generation plus Australians are Australian-born people whose parents were both born in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012).

Males account for 86% of the uniformed ADF population. Breaking gender down across the four Services, women make up 18% of Navy, 9.8% of Army and 16.3% of Air Force (Department of Defence 2013a, p. 3). In addition, women make up 40.56% of the APS section of Defence (Department of Defence 2013b, p. 6). The *Review of Employment Pathways for APS Women* in Defence found that APS women are under-represented in Defence compared to the APS overall, with women making up 57.7% of the wider APS, some 17% more than in Defence (as quoted in McGregor 2011, pp. 6 and 16).

These statistics clearly demonstrate that the Defence workforce is not representative of the diversity that exists in contemporary Australia. The challenge posed by this under-representation is well understood by Defence, with the *Diversity and Inclusion Strategy* targeting the following groups for priority attention–women, indigenous Australians, people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (CALD), people with disabilities, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LBGTI) people, the mature-age and youth.

It is worth noting the very broad understanding of diversity that Defence is working with. As described jointly by the current Secretary and the Chief of the Defence Force:

> Diversity is broader than the labels of gender, age, language, ethnicity, cultural background, disability, sexual orientation and religious beliefs; it is a way of thinking and an approach to delivering the best results (Department of Defence 2013b).

Diversity as a capability issue

The identification of diversity as a capability issue in Defence is neither new nor contemporary. Defence has been grappling with this issue for some time, and there has been a renewed focus within the organisation since 2000, when policy turned from employment equity policies and legislation to a focus on building and harnessing cultural diversity in the workplace (Silk *et al* 2000, p. 10). Defence has acknowledged that from what might be described as a social justice or equity standpoint, 'difference makes no difference' and that 'everyone needs to be treated fairly' but, in addition to this, there is also an acknowledgment that 'difference brings benefits' (ibid, p. 8). Diversity is seen as a force multiplier in the sense that it brings about enhanced operational capability. The nature of this enhancement can be understood by looking at the issue from three perspectives: those of the organisation, recruitment and retention.

The organisational perspective

From an organisational perspective, it makes good business sense to harness the benefits of cultural diversity. Apart from the obvious legislative obligations to implement equity policies as a department of government, Defence will be better able to meet the impact of globalisation, and understand the global environment in which it now does its business, through harnessing cultural and linguistic diversity. A culturally-diverse workforce enables Defence to better adapt to change and to innovate. Being seen to include the multicultural dimension of Australian society positions Defence as a good corporate citizen, enjoying the trust and confidence of the Australian public. It also has a commercial dimension in that diversity allows the organisation to mirror the community that it does business with, domestically and internationally (Silk *et al* 2000, pp. i-ii).

These benefits have been evidenced through numerous studies, both in Australia and internationally. Dunn et al, for example, writes:

> A number of studies in Australia and overseas have demonstrated that effective management of diversity can have a positive effect on work productivity, problem solving, creativity and innovation and ultimately competitive advantage …. Diversity can also be a catalyst for dynamic workplace cultures and provide linguistic resources to access overseas markets (Dunn *et al* 2011, p. 365).

Within Defence, the importance of diversity is acknowledged at the highest levels. Again, the foreword to the DDAIS flags the organisational benefits of diversity:

> Through diversity we gain the varied perspectives needed to tackle complex problems and come up with innovative solutions. Recognising this, Defence is committed to creating an inclusive environment which values, respects and draws on the diverse backgrounds, experience, knowledge and skills of our people (Department of Defence 2013b, p. 3).

The recruitment perspective

One of Defence's most significant challenges is attracting and retaining the future workforce in an increasingly competitive job market (Silk *et al* 2000, pp. i-ii). Recruitment across the three uniformed Services in the financial year 2012-13 reached only 78.4% of the target.[7] By recruiting from a broader, more diverse base, Defence benefits in three ways. First, Defence secures a greater diversification of skill sets. By becoming 'an open, inclusive organisation that is able to harness the attributes brought by more diversified skill sets, particularly in knowledge-based capabilities' (Silk et al 2000, p. ii), Defence positions itself as an employer of choice. Second, Defence is better able to compete against civilian employers for recruits in a tight labour market. Third, Defence is better able to secure personnel in highly-competitive job areas. These jobs include skilled trades, technicians, engineers, accounting and finance, logistics, administration, management, transport, labourers and public relations (Webbe 2013, p. 10).

In the Defence APS, recruitment of diverse groups is less of a problem than for the uniformed services. Here there are more women (40.56%), more CALD people (14.11%) and more people with disabilities (2.33%) than in the ADF. Yet this is still less than the national picture where women make up 51% of the population and where CALD groups are 19%.[8]

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7   As highlighted on Defence's internal website: see http://intranet.defence.gov.au/People/sites/dfr/comweb.
     asp?page=50969&Title=Recruiting Achievement

8   There are no official statistics available on LGBTI numbers in Defence.

The retention perspective

The benefits of diversity can also be considered from the perspective of retention. Getting recruits in the door and through training to the point where they are proficient on the job, only to have them leave soon after, is a costly and undesirable state of affairs for any organisation. Understanding the reasons for attrition, and noting how these reasons relate to feelings of social inclusion and belonging, inform effective strategies for retention, as noted in the Defence People Group's *Longitudinal ADF Study Evaluating Retention (LASER) Annual Survey 2011 Report*:

> The retention of ADF personnel, particularly those undergoing initial training and during their initial period of service, has been identified as one of the key workforce risks facing the ADF (Defence People Group 2011, p. 1).

While the main drivers of early separation in the ADF are 'level of education upon entry' and 'choice of occupation' (Hoglin 2012, p. viii), retention has also been linked to 'belongingness'. The LASER 2011 survey identifies 'belongingness' as a retention issue and suggests ADF personnel need more organisational support in this regard. Surveyed personnel stated the following kinds of exclusion impact on their desire to remain in the ADF: being picked on, feeling forgotten about, and being treated with disrespect in an organisation which is perceived by some as having a propensity to find fault and punish rather than teach and develop its people (Defence People Group 2011, p. 4). Survey respondents to the LASER 2011 survey have noted that being different makes it harder to gain acceptance, as evidenced by the comment below:

> It is difficult for soldiers with different ethnic backgrounds and accents. The lack of acceptance of a few individuals gives the whole Army a bad name. It is also more difficult joining later in life, trying to keep up with the younger members. Treatment of older members should take into consideration their advanced maturity (Defence People Group 2011, p. 203).

While 'belongingness' is only one of ten factors associated with respondents' intentions to leave identified in the 2011 LASER survey, it should not be underestimated as a significant issue. This is because of the relationship between feelings of *not* belonging and marginalisation: thwarted belongingness can lead to marginalisation, which can lead to social exclusion and, potentially, even suicide (Joiner 2005; Bryan 2010). This study will show how language use plays a significant role in gaining and maintaining acceptance and equally in being marginalised and excluded.

In summary, the issue of diversity, looked at from the perspectives of the organisation, recruitment and retention, demonstrates that there is much to be gained by increasing levels of diversity and enabling better social inclusion in Defence. In particular, performance and capability are enhanced through a more adaptive and innovative workforce which is better able to respond to the challenges of intercultural operations and which enjoys the trust and confidence of the broader Australian community. At the same time, by increasing levels of diversity, Defence remains competitive in the labour market, recruiting and then retaining the best prospects by providing a supportive, inclusive workplace culture that recognises the diverse and valuable contributions of all. Language has a critical role to play in providing this supportive, inclusive workplace culture.

Orchestrating cultural change – the current approach

Defence is reminded on a consistent basis of the need for cultural change, as incidents are regularly reported in the Australian media.[9] To address these issues of equity, diversity and inclusion, Defence has commissioned a number of reports and reviews over the past three years. Significant amongst this collection of reviews are the ADF personal conduct review (Orme 2011), the treatment of women at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA), and across the ADF at large (Broderick 2011 and 2012), employment pathways for APS women in Defence (McGregor 2011), the management of incidents and complaints (Earley 2011), sexual assault and abuse in Defence (DLA Piper 2012); and other social issues such as alcohol usage (Hamilton 2011) and the use of social media (Patterson 2011).

These reviews follow a similar approach to the issues. They are evidenced-based with data taken from a range of sources, such as quantitative statistics, qualitative surveys, interviews, focus groups and written submissions. They all identify the problem(s) and provide recommendations for remediation. Yet despite the desire to change the existing culture, these policies and strategies for enabling social inclusion do not elaborate in any detailed or comprehensive manner on the *nature* of Defence culture. Some reports do define culture in general terms but only to acknowledge a degree of deference to existing literature on organisational cultures. For examples of this, see Broderick 2012, pp. 75-76 and Patterson 2011, pp. 3-4. In most cases, these reports assume that there is a tacit understanding by the reader of the nature of Defence culture and, interestingly, while there is detailed description of the current state, there are no explanations for why the current state is like it is. For example, while the Broderick Report is ground-breaking in many ways, it does not provide a framework for describing Defence as a 'hyper-masculine culture' (Broderick 2012, p. 306).

The approach Defence is taking to cultural change is generally within the context of a business model, using management, leadership and organisational frameworks to stimulate change. The various reports and reviews have tended to draw on literature and research in management and leadership, thus construing cultural change as an organisational/management issue. In particular, the reviews have tended to draw on one of two categories of organisational change theory. First, there is the *complex systems approach* which measures change through single or multiple alterations to a part or parts of an organisation (Amagoh 2008). For example, two of the five principles of success in the Broderick Report (2012) take a systems approach, notably Principle 3–*increasing numbers of women*; and Principle 4–*greater flexibility* to enable better work-life balance, particularly in relation to parenting.

The second category of organisational change theory is the *organisational development approach*. This approach applies behavioural science to human processes in an organisation, noting that change depends on agreement between individual and organisational goals (Rhydderch *et al* 2004). For example, references to leadership, talent management and support and development are kinds of organisational development responses to cultural change. Such analyses are also found in the Broderick (2012) and McGregor (2011) reports.

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9   In 2013, there were the following incidents: the ADFA scandal: see www.abc.net.au/news/2013-11-09/adfa-cadet-sacked-over-skype-scandal/5080834; the Army Jedi Council scandal: see www.abc.net.au/news/2013-11-14/army-personnel-sacked-over-explicit-emails/5092966; and the Navy HMAS *Ballarat* allegations: see www.abc.net.au/news/2013-11-07/navy-ship-embroiled-in-claims-of-hazing-ritual-sexual-assault/5077354.

To enable the implementation of the recommendations of these reviews, Defence is collectively managing the process through the 2012 *Pathway to Change* strategy which will track the progress of approximately 130 recommendations over the next five years across six 'levers for change'— leadership and accountability, values and behaviour, education and training, performance management, management of misconduct, structure and policy. In addition, and as previously mentioned, Defence has promulgated a *Defence Diversity and Inclusion Strategy* and established the Centre of Diversity Expertise, to broaden the pool of talent, to respect difference and to enhance capability (Defence People Group 2013b).

The current picture described in these respective reports may describe a set of particular circumstances, but without a theoretical framework in which to conduct analyses, reasons for the current state being as it is are not evident. For example, why is it that the Navy has a better record at integrating women than the other two uniformed Services? Navy enjoys a proportion of 18% women, the highest of the three uniformed Services, even though it is overall the smallest uniformed Service in the ADF (Department of Defence 2013a). Why is it that, despite years of talk of change, the number of men in the ADF between 1999 and 2011 has remained at around 86%?[10] The Broderick Report (2012) notes that international militaries, including those of the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, also recognise the need to improve the cultural experience for future sustainability. For example, in the discussion on the experience of women, the Broderick report states that other countries:

> … recognise the benefits of improving the defence experience for *all*
> members – moving from policy that approaches the integration of women
> as a problem to be addressed, to a focus on the values of diversity and
> individual talents in all their forms…. Integration is not about women, it is
> about the team … about building everyone's self-confidence (Broderick 2012,
> p. 309).

To explain why barriers to inclusion arise, it is helpful to consider applying an alternative disciplinary approach. This will provide a means for understanding why things *are as they are* and how then they might *be changed*. This study is the first of its kind: a study of language use in Defence applying social and linguistic theoretical frameworks to understand culture and cultural change.

An alternative approach

In contrast to the recent reports on cultural change, this report presents arguments for *language* change. Unless the language practices of the institution change in concert with other policy changes, it will be hard for leadership to 'walk the talk' as various reports have demanded (Silk *et al* 2000; MacGregor 2011; Defence Committee 2012; Department of Defence 2013b). To put my argument more colloquially, 'fixing the talk' is required before 'walking the talk'. Understanding how language is a barrier to inclusion is essential if the goal of a more inclusive and diverse organisation is to be reached.

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10   Compare Department of Defence 2009a with Department of Defence 2011a (the census reports from 2009 and 2011 respectively).

By taking both a sociological and linguistic approach to cultural change, language use is understood as a form of social behaviour, as a kind of social practice. In other words, the sociolinguistic approach links language to context and culture and provides the opportunity to first define and classify the nature of Defence culture(s), setting them up as objects of study. Second, the approach integrates language use as one kind of social practice, making it possible to link linguistic evidence to the competing power relations between groups and individuals operating within the cultures of Defence. This sheds light on *who is in* and *who is out*.

In this report, the analysis of Defence culture(s) uses the framework of Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) (Maton 2013) to provide evidence to support the argument that the claim to authority and power in the ADF is through *knower code* legitimation, while the APS is through a *knowledge code* one, and that within the ADF, the three uniformed Services are organised and legitimated by differing degrees of *classification* and *framing* within the knower code legitimation.[11] LCT will provide an understanding of why each Service is like it is, explaining how the mission(s), the environmental domains, the instruments of war and the power relations operate across the four Services of Defence and simultaneously incorporating language as a form of social practice within its framework.

The point is that both the mission and the environmental domains affect language choice. Environmentally-situated interactions always occur within a context of culture that affects how and what people say. These interactions have a role to play in people's social lives. They are a kind of behaviour and are thus considered part of their way of 'playing the game' of their culture (Bourdieu 1977). Interactions provide evidence for the different kinds of cultural codes, indicating how to get things done in different contexts and also provide evidence for the different bases of authority and status in each Service. They provide clues on who is powerful, who is not, who is accepted and who is marginalised.

Further, this study applies a model of language that recognises it as a form of social behaviour, thus taking into account the effect that context and culture have on language use. While the formalist tradition in linguistics (associated with the name Noam Chomsky) is concerned with the formal structure of language and its cognitive correlates, the Systemic Functional (SF) model of language (Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) models language as a product of human social interaction. It situates language in the context of culture, recognising that language is a complex system of meanings which are expressed through choices of grammar and vocabulary, and which, in turn, are realised through speech and writing.

The SF model of language is applied to language use in Defence in order to compare and contrast the different language strategies used in expressing inclusion and exclusion. While sociolinguistic studies of military language (Disler 2005 & 2008, Gibson and Condor 2009) are not new, it is fair to note that they are not numerous. However, there are a small number of studies that use SFL as the basis for grammatical investigations into the role of language in the construction of ideological positioning of military actions and military identities. For example, Butt, Lukin and Matthiessen (2004) demonstrated the grammatical choices involved in constructing regimental tasks as 'a family mission' while engaging in 'rightful destruction'; Achugar (2009) investigated how the Uruguayan military represented itself and

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11   The terms, *knower* and *knowledge code*, and *classification* and *framing* are technical terms within LCT and are defined and explained in detail in Chapter 2.

shifted its institutional identity during and after the dictatorship; and, most recently, Jantunen (2013) analysed strategic communication in the US military and demonstrated how it is used by leadership 'to generate legitimacy' (p. 90). These studies investigated the written language practices of the US and UK military communities. To date, there has not been a systemic functional linguistic study of the language of the Australian military. This is, I believe, the first study of its kind.

Applying the explanatory power of both LCT and SF theories to the cultural and social norms of Defence illustrates the various *institutional* identities and their culturally-accepted ways of communing with each other. All five institutional identities which are described are *ethical*, however Navy is also *honest*, Army is *courageous*, Air Force and Defence (as a department) are *capable*, and the APS is *honest* and *capable*. These identities are constructed through language and put to use to both define who is valued and to exclude those who are not. Language use perpetuates the current Anglo-Australian male military culture, but can equally underpin a new, more inclusive future culture. Being aware of how things are expressed is the first step in the battle with words, a battle of communicating new messages of acceptance and empathy in an organisation that is hungry for cultural change.

This study will illustrate that language practices of exclusion exist at the formal level; for example, the officially-endorsed Values Statements exclude through selected meanings of evaluation as well as through particular depersonalising grammatical choices. This exclusivity is further endorsed through the iconisation of limited types of heroes, who model only the values that are considered most favoured by the dominant group within the organisation. Consequently, the message, which is sent from the official heart of the institution, whether intended or not, is a systematic message that Defence is a *special* organisation of *Anglo-Australian, male soldiers renowned for their courage in battle*.

If this is not the message that is desired, then attention needs to be paid to this exclusionary portrayal. Imagine the organisation equally valuing other values, say ethical behaviour, which are modelled not just by white men, but by other categories of personnel in Defence. Consider a heroine modelling the value of accountability as a champion of financial probity; or a parent who models resilience and sacrifice by the very fact that their deployment has separated them from their young family which effectively denies both of them their relationship.

Similarly, this report will demonstrate that language practices of exclusion exist at the informal level within the institution as well. Everyday talk is exclusionary through its support of the dominant group and its social practices. In the Anglo-Australian, male-dominated workplace of Defence, casual conversation is transacted around the performance of tasks and team membership through the language of humour, banter, teasing and practical jokes, all of which align and bond people in teams and social groups. Exclusion occurs in this context when difference, of whatever kind that may be, is unsuccessfully negotiated and thus inequitably minimised through everyday talk.

If a group member is not familiar with how to negotiate these social practices, regardless of their demographic category, they will not achieve acceptance by the group. The more important the team is to successful task performance, the more important it is for members to fully achieve group membership. In the Defence context, teamwork is critical for mission success. The everyday talk related to teamwork functions to bond team members, and set team norms, standards and expectations.

Everyday talk is a critical site for normative linguistic behaviour.

Formal and informal language practices support the current homogeneity of Defence. An understanding of how language operates to perpetuate this homogeneity offers senior leadership the opportunity to counter exclusion through linguistic strategies of inclusion in order to support a shift in the institution towards heterogeneity, and the acceptance of diversity. Having a sense of how language operates provides a counter-argument for the commonly held view that unacceptable behaviour in Defence is due to 'a few bad apples'.[12] Unacceptable behaviour is not about a *few* individuals; rather, it is about institutionally-condoned cultural practices that individuals enact.

Research questions

The arguments for language change arise from the answers to three research questions which define the scope of the present study. These questions investigate the nature of Defence culture and its language use, which underpin its current state of homogeneity. These research questions with their sub-questions are listed below:

Question 1   How is Defence, and its respective Services of Navy, Army, Air Force and the APS characterised? What are the underlying cultural settings or bases of authority and status, that is, what are the underlying legitimation codes that enable each Service to achieve its mission and give each its distinctive character?

Question 2   Within the legitimation codes of each Service, how does the formal, officially-endorsed language of the institution construct an ideal identity or identities around which personnel are expected to rally and bond?

     a. What are the naturalised, dominant values and dispositions of these ideal identities?

     b. How do these ideals resist diversity and function to exclude?

     c. How are Defence personnel rallied around these ideals?

Question 3   How does informal, everyday, on-the-job talk perpetuate exclusion, while maintaining the cultural norms and authority of the dominant group?

     a. What kind of talk is used to marginalise or resist diversity?

     b. How do people respond to and counter marginalising talk?

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12   See Wadham 2013 for the argument *against* and Molan 2013 for the argument *for* 'a few bad apples'.

These research questions problematise the naturalised functioning of language in Defence, in order to present arguments for language change and to demonstrate ways of *fixing the talk*.

To answer each of the research questions, a number of different frameworks and methodologies are used. The first research question is addressed through the framework of LCT, which is applied to a wide range of Defence documents including training materials, recruiting policies and instructions, doctrine, human resources policies, strategic policies, newsletters, media reports, reviews and statistical data. The LCT characterisation of Defence underpins the subsequent linguistic and content analyses conducted to address the second and third research questions.

In addressing the second research question, SF linguistics is applied to the investigation of the formal, officially-endorsed language of the organisation. It specifically examines two kinds of written language– the Values Statements of Defence and a range of hero stories taken from Defence media and training materials which model these values.

The analysis of the Values Statements includes five documents–the four statements of the Services and the organisation-wide statement of Defence. During the course of this research, Navy, Army and the APS revised or replaced descriptors in their respective Values Statements necessitating additional analyses of the revised versions. Where relevant as a result of the revisions, companion texts such as the employment principles of the APS are also analysed.

The analysis of the hero stories investigates how ideal Defence values and dispositions are iconised in the hero stories of the organisation. Twelve hero stories are selected for analysis belonging to the genre of 'Exemplum', one which models ideal people and behaviours, and whose social purpose is to judge someone's character or behaviour (de Silva Joyce and Feez 2012). These 12 stories were sourced from a range of Defence sites specifically from the Services' News, the *Defence Magazine*, senior leadership speeches, doctrine and training materials to demonstrate the pervasive presence of this genre and the role it plays in the inculcation of Defence ideals. The choice of values, the kind of personnel and the communal ideal around which the stories build affiliation are categorised to reveal the preferred value(s), the preferred Service identities and the preferred organisational *hero*.

In response to the third research question, SF linguistics is also applied to the investigation of the informal, everyday casual conversation of the organisation. Specifically the investigation looks at the turn-taking moves in spoken dialogue to demonstrate how different kinds of turn-taking can function to include or exclude interactants in conversation. The choice of dialogic move can support or confront turn-taking moves of exclusion. The investigation provides a window into how the day-to-day talk is centred on team acceptance and membership and how this is negotiated through banter, jokes and nicknaming. The turn-taking moves of conversations are coded for move type, using the conversational turn-taking network of Eggins and Slade (1997).

The fragments of dialogues used for casual conversational analysis here have been provided by Defence personnel who were recruited to take part in this study. These members were people who identify with one or more of the diversity groups listed below and who can comment on life in Defence from the point of view of someone who is considered an *outlier*–someone who does not belong to the dominant group of the organisation and does not necessarily conform to its cultural norms.

These interviewees were sourced through the distribution of a DEFGRAM calling for ADF and APS volunteers. The volunteers needed to have been working in Defence for 10 years or more, if possible, and needed to identify with one or more of the following diversity groups:

- Female;
- First- or second-generation culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) Australian;
- Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (ATSI);
- Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex (LGBTI);
- People with a disability.

The DEFGRAM produced 107 requests for interview, with 32 candidates eventually selected. This number was considered an appropriate number across the Services and diversity groups to provide an indicative picture of the role of language in normalising particular social practices of group and team acceptance. In addition, the choice of candidates was dictated by a desire for an even spread of men and women, and at least one person from each of the four Services who identified with at least one of the diversity groups.

To sum up the overall approach being taken in this study, the sociological framework of LCT is used to situate the issue of diversity and social inclusion in Defence within a model that can account for the underlying organisational principles of cultural practice and which can accommodate language as a form of social practice within its framework. Further, language is modelled using the framework of SFL which situates language in the context of culture. The two frameworks are complementary in linking grammar, meaning, language and social practice. The methods used in the language analysis derive from the SFL framework with appraisal and icon analysis accounting for the meanings inherent in the corpus of the formally-endorsed texts of the organisation and casual conversation analysis accounting for the informal turn-taking moves in everyday talk which enable and resist inclusion.

Outline of the report

The challenge facing Defence is to build a more diverse workforce which is more representative of contemporary Australia. Such a workforce would not only ensure the trust and confidence of the Australian people, but would improve capability for mission success. A more heterogeneous workforce will assist operational efficiency in the global context, help Defence to compete in a competitive labour market, and ensure a higher return on investment in training.

Bringing about a shift away from the homogeneous nature of Defence towards greater social inclusion and heterogeneity has been the intent of many recent organisational change reviews and reports. However, none of these reports has accounted for the nature of Defence culture and the role language plays in perpetuating and maintaining cultural norms, particularly those of the dominant group.

This report argues that unless the language practices of the institution change in concert with other policy changes, sustainable cultural change may not result. The need for change includes both the formal, officially-endorsed language of leadership and the informal, everyday talk of the workplace. This discussion has been presented in Chapter 1.

In order to make the link between culture and language, the analyses of the study are situated in the social theory of LCT and the linguistic theory of SFL. This is because LCT views language as a kind of social practice, as part of the habitus of a culture, and SFL views language as a kind of social behaviour, impacting on and being impacted by culture. The methods in the analyses draw on both theoretical traditions and are explained in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 sets up the cultural context of the four different Services that comprise Defence. Using the LCT framework to situate the language practices of each of the four Services, the chapter shows how the influence of their respective missions is reflected in their different cultural practices. First, the difference between APS and ADF is described, noting that APS is primarily a knowledge code culture, while the ADF is primarily a knower code culture. Second, the differences between Navy, Army and Air Force are described, and it is argued that the differences between their respective team formations arise from their different environmental domains and instruments of war. Third, the extent to which each of the Services is better able to accommodate diversity and social inclusion is discussed. The fact that the APS is better at social inclusion than the ADF is a function of both their respective missions and legitimation codes.

The normative language practices of the officially-endorsed Values Statements of Defence which function to construct the ideal Defence identities are analysed in Chapter 4. Through appraisal and icon analyses, this chapter will show how each Service values some values more than others, and how the organisation as a whole iconises certain kinds of people more than others. While all Services share ethical behaviour as a common ideal, they also differ depending on their specific missions. Navy is more about honesty due to the intense nature of life on board ship; Army is more about courage as the soldier is the instrument of war in combat; Air Force is more about capability due to the high-tech nature of the aircraft; and the APS is more about honesty and capability due to its role as an 'enabler' of the overall Defence mission. However, not all these values are modelled by all kinds of Defence personnel. It is primarily the Anglo-Australian male soldier renowned for acts of courage in battle who is iconised as the ideal identity in the organisation. Yet other values are just as meaningful for the organisation. This normative language practice excludes other values and other people.

Chapter 5 analyses the normative language practices of everyday casual conversation in the workplace. Through casual conversation analysis, we find that casual conversation in Defence is dominated by the kind of talk characteristic of the *Aussie bloke*. These language practices function to align and bond people in teams, but can equally marginalise and exclude people who do not meet the standards set by the dominant group. Given the fact that Defence work is conducted in teams, it is critical for mission success that teams function effectively. Being an accepted and respected member of a team is essential. The process of meeting the 'standards' of the team is by minimising any 'perceived' difference through everyday talk. The normative practices of banter, practical jokes and nicknaming can be exclusionary and resist diversity in the formation of teams.

The Conclusion of the report is a summary of the arguments and recommendations for language change. Shifting away from a homogenous workforce to a heterogeneous one requires a shift in language use in the following ways:

1. Defence needs to introduce and teach intercultural competence which i) teaches the normative socialisation practices including language practices and ii) teaches the impacts of the different legitimation codes on intercultural relations at all levels in the organisation. This kind of intercultural training will build a better understanding between the four Services, but also will assist in more effective and empathetic international deployment.

2. Leadership needs to endorse and promote a greater range of hero and heroines from diverse backgrounds, modelling more than the values of just courage via various modes such as Defence media stories, revised doctrine, revised training materials and Defence directives in order to counter the ideal identity of the *Anglo-Australian male soldier renowned for acts of courage*. This will support efforts to normalise diversity and difference.

3. Defence personnel and leaders need to be taught about banter and, in some cases, how to banter and, most importantly, how to identify banter when it is exploited. This will counter potential social marginalisation by the dominant norms in the day-to-day work teams of Defence. By doing so, leaders are then better able to monitor and manage marginalisation at the lowest possible level before exclusion and social isolation can occur.

The chapter concludes by situating the report in the Pathway to Change strategy and offering detailed recommendations for consideration by Defence leadership.

CHAPTER 2

Frameworks and methodologies

[Code] theory is a theory of the nature and processes of cultural transmission, and of the essential part that is played by language therein.

(Halliday in Bernstein 1973, p. ix)

Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the frameworks and methodologies used in the study. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the study takes a sociolinguistic perspective on Defence culture, thereby calling on the descriptive power of social and linguistic theory to provide a description which incorporates the role of language in shaping Defence culture. First, the two frameworks of LCT and SFL are described. This is followed by a description of the four methodologies used to investigate the language practices in Defence in both the formal and informal contexts. The three linguistic methodologies are appraisal analysis, icon analysis and casual conversation analysis.

Appraisal analysis is used to shed light on the ideal identities inherent in the five Values Statements which are operating in the organisation. Icon analysis is used to explain how the ideal identities are iconised, sanctioned and revered by Defence; and casual conversation analysis is used to illustrate how everyday talk can support or resist diversity and inclusion. In other words, appraisal and icon analysis show *what's in* and *what's out* in terms of the kinds of people the organisation wants its people to be, while casual conversation analysis shows how Defence people enact their interpersonal relationships around group and team membership, that is, *who's in* and *who's out*. And finally, the fourth methodology, content analysis, is used to gather together the collective wisdom of Defence people who know what it is like to be marginalised yet have successfully adapted and countered marginalisation during their Defence careers.

Frameworks

Within the discipline of sociology, various theories and models exist to serve different explanatory purposes. For example, Conflict Theory is a sociological approach to culture which looks at the role of coercion and power in the formation of social order. 'Social order is maintained by domination, with power in the hands of those with the greatest political, economic and social resources' (Crossman 2013). The idea that social order was controlled by those with economic power interested French sociologist Bourdieu who pioneered investigative frameworks, formulated descriptors and engaged in empirical research on the nature of culture.

Bourdieu understood culture to mean the relationship between the objective social structures and the everyday practices of community members (Webb 2002). He described the social structures as the *field*. Within this field, those who participate are competing for a limited, valued set of resources that he labelled *cultural capital*. Importantly, these participants also interact through normalised and naturalised practices of the field, which he labelled the *habitus*, from the Latin for 'habit' or 'deportment': that is, how the participants take on and conform to the unconscious 'rules of the game' of the culture in question (Bourdieu, 1990, Bourdieu, 1977).

Bourdieu's work focused on the relations between people in their struggle for power and control. It provided a framework to characterise the normalised *social practices* of a culture. In every culture, there are those who have power, status and authority and those who do not. Reasons for why this is the case are not necessarily obvious to its members, as the status quo of power relations typically acquires a 'taken for granted' status and thus appears to be natural and normal. It becomes the *habitus* of the culture. In Bourdieu's framework, language is separate and not part of the sociological investigation. As a consequence, the role of language as a form of social practice was not considered functional in social terms and therefore not considered to be part of Bourdieu's framework.

British educational sociologist Bernstein (1975) took an alternative view to language and its function in society, noting that language is instrumental as a shaper of human societies, with context and opportunity providing different orientations to meaning by its members, that is, particular ways of looking at the world and understanding it. He termed these orientations *codes*. From the educational point of view, he demonstrated how certain codes are more desirable than others for success. By bringing language into the sociological picture, Bernstein expanded Bourdieu's notion of social practice and further developed the notion of *habitus*. In essence, Bernstein investigated the underlying, structuring principles to explain the descriptions provided through Bourdieu's field, capital and habitus framework. And just as with Bourdieu, Bernstein was primarily interested in relations between people.

While Bourdieu and Bernstein were concerned with modelling relations between people in societies and cultures, Maton (2013) is instead concerned with relationships between people *and* knowledge. As knowledge is just as much a part of society as people, it is thus an important consideration in modelling how cultures operate. Maton has developed Bernstein's code theory to include not just relations between people but also relationships between people and knowledge, in order to establish what in a culture shapes the field and is regarded as legitimate or what is possible to do in a culture, by whom, where, how and why.

Legitimation Code Theory

By building on Bourdieu's and Bernstein's work, Maton (2013) developed a framework to explain culture and the organising principles of legitimate power and authority. His framework is referred to as Legitimation Code Theory (LCT). It is a social theory which categorises social behaviour into different codes based on different kinds of principles of legitimation. These principles underpin the right to status and authority and are called legitimation codes. In LCT, these codes are distinguished by degrees

of classification and framing.[13] To understand the differences between the codes, it is necessary to explain the notions of *classification* and *framing*.

Classification refers to the degree of 'bounded-ness' of a practice/behaviour, event or thing, where bounded-ness means how defined and thus rigid or restricted something is. For example, the military Dining In night is a particular kind of event.[14] It is clearly defined as a ritualised, formal military celebration traditionally held to celebrate victory after battle (Royal Australian Air Force 1996). These days it is practised as a formal, social event in the Australian military to build social cohesion and affiliation. There are particular stages during the event, with a clear beginning, middle and end, where particular rituals such as *passing the port* take place.

Given these defining characteristics, Dining In is an example of a strongly-classified form of meal. Equally, it is a strongly-framed meal in the sense that the participants are tightly controlled. This includes not only when to engage in conversation, but also when to stand, sit, eat, drink and take comfort breaks. Jovial conversation is also controlled through Mr Vice, whose authority is delegated by the senior rank in charge of the event.[15] Mr Vice has the task of dis/allowing banter during prescribed stages of the event and imposing fines when standards and/or behavioural norms have been breached. Dining In nights are thus very strongly framed.

Contrasting the Dining In night with a buffet highlights the elements of classification and framing. A buffet is weakly classified in the sense that the choice of foods is un-prescribed and there is no ritual around the process of eating. The food is available to be eaten as desired and any kind of dish can form part of a buffet. Further, a buffet is weakly framed because there are no controls on what is eaten and in what order. It is entirely up to the individual diner. Thus Dining In nights are strongly classified and framed, while buffets are weakly classified and framed.

In LCT, the concepts of classification and framing are applied to cultures and/or groups of people who are cooperating together and engaged in particular social behaviours for specific reasons. In this context, classification and framing are applied to two kinds of relationships, which people within the culture or group engage in. The first kind of relationship is the relationship between people. Hereafter, this relationship will be referred to as the *social relation*. People can relate to each other through strong classification and framing or through weak classification and framing. Strong classification means they have to be a certain kind of person, while weak classification means they can be anybody. For example, in order to be a public servant or a member of the Defence Force, recruits must be Australian. Non-Australians are ineligible.[16] Eligibility for membership in these groups is thus strongly classified as Australian only.

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13 For a detailed explanation of classification and framing, see Bernstein (1977).

14 In Navy, this event is called a Mess Dinner.

15 In Navy, the authority of Mr Vice is delegated by the Mess Dinner President; in Army, it is by the Dining President; and in Air Force it is by the Chairperson or the President of the Mess Committee.

16 There are examples of non-Australians being eligible through the Overseas Lateral Recruit Programme from other Defence forces such as the UK; however, a transferring military member must take out Australian citizenship within a designated period of time. See www.Defencejobs.go.au/recruitmentcentre/canI joint/overseasapplicants

Similarly, uniformed personnel are controlled through a rank structure and the *Defence Force Discipline Act 1982*. Therefore, compared to ordinary civilians, uniformed members are more strongly framed or controlled by their own military law.[17] The relationship between people in Defence is strongly classified and framed. Contrast this with a group of people at a rally. In this context, the relationships between people are un-prescribed, anyone can attend regardless of personal characteristics, and control over the attendees extends only to maintaining law and order. The relationship between the attendees is weakly classified and weakly framed.

The second kind of relationship, which people within a culture or group engage in, is the relationship between people and knowledge. Hereafter this relationship will be referred to as the *epistemic relation*. What people know and how they relate to this knowledge can be through strong or weak classification and framing. Strong classification means there is strong categorisation of a problem or issue and strong framing or control over how the issue is dealt with, while weak classification means that there is less interest in what is known and more on how it is addressed. For example, applying the diagnostic method (the *how*) to solve a medical condition (the *what*) is a strongly-classified and -framed relationship to knowledge, whereas expressing a particular position (the *what*) using a particular mode of expression (the *how*), through performance where the artist has complete artistic licence, is an example of a weakly-classified and -framed relationship to subject matter.

The degree of strength or weakness of the classification and framing of *social relations* and *epistemic relations* determine the four different kinds of legitimation codes. These codes are illustrated in Figure 2.1 as a Cartesian plane where the *social relation* is on the *x* axis and the *epistemic relation* is on the *y* axis. Variation along these axes produces four legitimation codes which are labelled as the *knower* code, the *knowledge* code, the *elite* code and the *relativist* code.

Knower codes typically have stronger social relations and weaker epistemic relations. They emphasise the dispositions of members of the culture, whether these dispositions can be described as innate, inculcated, cultivated or based on social position such as race, class, gender etc. Knowledge codes typically are the reverse with weaker social relations and stronger epistemic relations. They emphasise the possession of knowledge as the basis of authority and status. Elite codes typically have both strong social relations and epistemic relations. In other words, they emphasise both the peoples' dispositions and the possession of knowledge. Finally, relativist codes have both weak social and epistemic relations. They privilege neither knower nor knowledge. Rather, legitimacy rests on the claim that there is no basis for judging anyone or anything as better than anyone or anything else.

17　These rules address various forms of criminal conduct, both of a civil and military nature. They also relate to areas such as the non-medical use of drugs, consumption of alcohol, unacceptable sexual behaviour and indebtedness. Many of the practices banned by the military regulations are sometimes permissible under civil law and, in many cases, seen by some in the community as acceptable. So members should always be aware of *Defence Force Disciplinary Act* regulations and ensure that their behaviour is appropriate at all times: http://www.defence.gov.au/dco/partners/c1_1.html
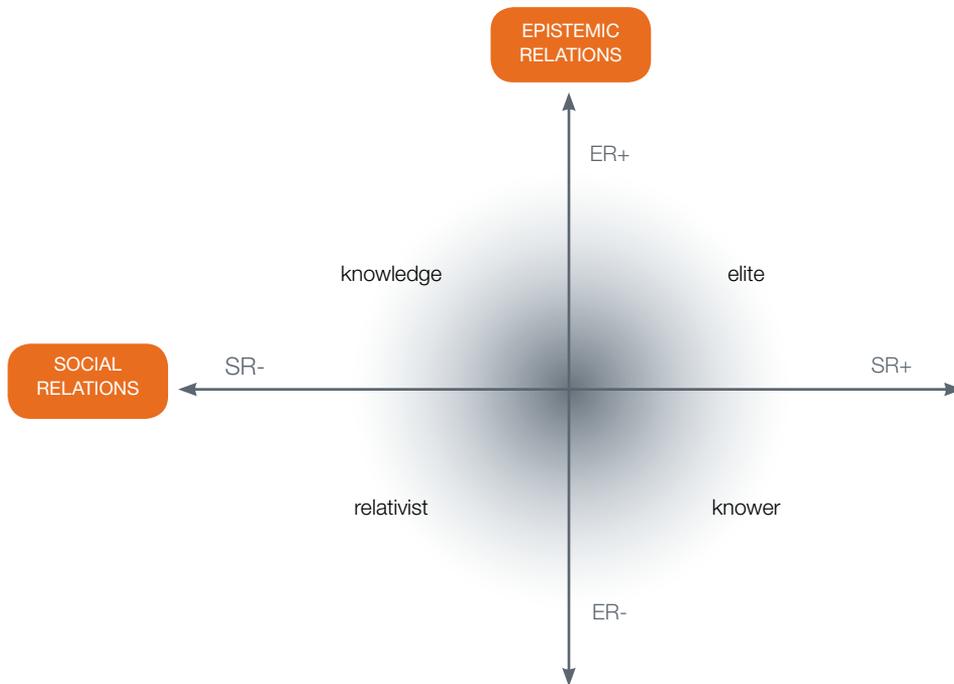
Figure 2.1–The four legitimation codes

People and their social practices in different contexts may emphasise different degrees of strength or weakness in social relations (how people relate to each other) and epistemic relations (whether their relationship to what they know matters more or less). Variation in the degree of strength and weakness of classification and framing produce different kinds of relations. For example, along the social relations axis, there are four kinds of relations between people. Weakly-classified and -framed social relations produce a *trained* relation, one based on specialisation and training. As relations become more strongly classified and framed, they produce firstly a *cultivated* relation, one based on dispositions that can be further inculcated through communities of practice, followed by a *social* relation, one based on social categories such as gender, race, function etc. Finally, the most strongly-classified and -framed relation is that of the *born* relation, one based on such things as 'natural born talent' or 'born to rule' kinds of legitimacy.

As for the social relation axis, the epistemic axis also produces different kinds of relations to knowledge depending on the degree of classification and framing on what is studied and how the study is approached. The weakest form of relation, those with *no insight* are the ones where how and what is studied does not matter. As the strength of classification and framing increases, there is the *doctrinal* relation to knowledge which is mostly concerned with how something is studied or done. This is followed by the *situational*, which is mostly concerned with what is studied with less interest in how. Finally, there is the *purist* relation, which is concerned both with what *and* how something is studied. The degree of emphasis forms the basis of distinctiveness, authority and status.

Identity and relationships between people are shaped in different ways by social and epistemic relations. The codes indicate what legitimises status and authority in any particular cultural context. The four legitimation codes represent different principles that underpin different cultures and/or groups of people. The codes are the means whereby cultures are maintained, reproduced, transformed and changed. Whoever or whatever controls these settings possesses the means to set the shape of the culture in their favour in both behavioural and language practices. This allows them to make the characteristics of their own practices the basis of status and achievement in their particular culture (Maton 2007).

Importantly, social practices are naturalised by the code orientations of one's particular culture. The notion of *social practice* in LCT includes language, which is also viewed as having normative properties. Language choice is socially determined, has social effects and is subject to social convention. For example, the ways people talk to their parents, to their best friend or to their superior in the workplace are different. Significantly, if people disregard the social conventions around the kinds of acceptable talk, they are unlikely to succeed socially in any particular context. In other words, language has particular characteristics and patterns depending on the cultural field in which it is a social practice. Language patterns both set up and perpetuate the behaviours of the cultural field. Language is part of the habitus.

Systemic Functional Theory

The process of identifying the characteristics and patterns of language use which feature in different contexts and cultures requires a model of language which recognises language as a form of social behaviour in order to account for the effect context and culture has on language use. Unlike the formalist, Chomskyan tradition in linguistics, which is concerned with language structure and cognition in isolation from the social context, the Systemic Functional (SF) model of language (Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) models language as a product of and contributor to human social interaction. It situates language use within the social action of which it is part, the context of situation, as well as within the broader cultural environment which defines what actions are possible, the context of culture. It models language as fundamentally a system of meanings negotiated in context, these meanings being expressed through different choices of grammar and vocabulary which, in turn, are realised through particular patterns of speech or writing. As Halliday (1991) writes:

> The entire construction of grammar is critically bound up with the situational
> and cultural contexts in which language has been evolving … language is as
> it is because of what it does: which means, because of what we do with it, in
> every aspect of our lives (p. 274).

The SF model views language as a form of social behaviour, albeit a very complex and sophisticated one (Halliday 1978, pp. 36-39). In this context, what is important about language is that it is instrumental in enacting social relationships and social behaviour (Halliday 1973, p. 11). Furthermore, relationships and behaviour are dictated by cultural paradigms. As such, each culture embodies a set

of behavioural choices which are all *potentially* possible and *potentially* acceptable. This potentiality applies to all forms of behaviour including linguistic behaviour. In this behavioural sense, language is viewed as a resource for making meaning within the constraints of the culture in which it is embedded. Figure 2.2 illustrates how language and culture are linked.
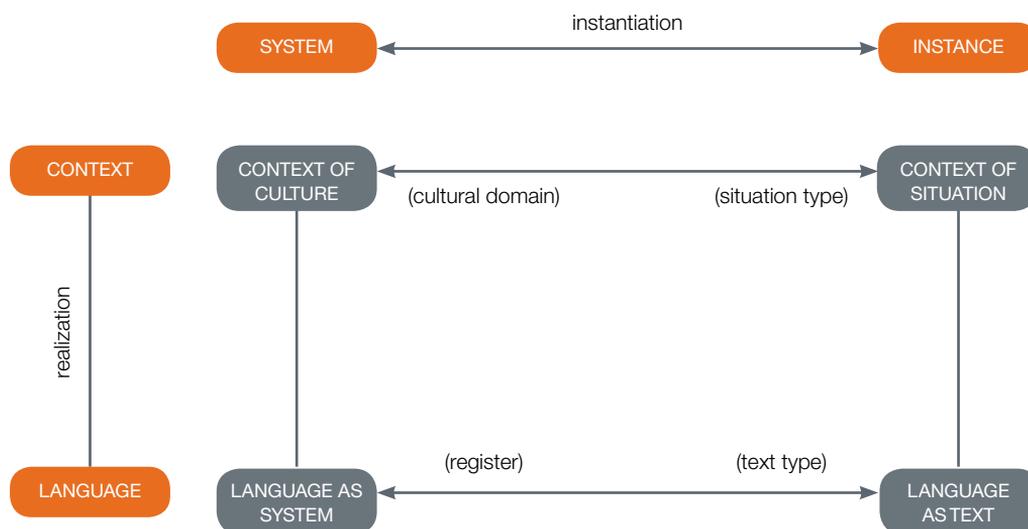
Figure 2.2–Language and context, system and instance (Halliday in Webster 2007, p. 275)

Essentially, language is a *system* of meaning. It is a reservoir of meaning options in people's minds which are instantiated or produced as written or spoken *texts* by users. What people say and how they say it depends on what they want to do and who they are talking to. For example, the context of situation can be built around each of these two utterances just by the shared knowledge of this kind of situation in the Australian civilian culture.

Example 2.1   *Shoosh! I'm trying to listen to the news.*

Example 2.2   *Excuse me, Sir, do you have a moment?*

The context of situation of Example 2.1 is most likely an adult, telling someone, whom they know very well, such as their child, to be quiet so that they can hear the TV or radio news, most likely at home. Example 2.2 is a request to speak to someone and there are two possible situations here, depending on the *context of culture*. If the cultural context is civilian, then the person asking the question is very polite and is asking a man whom they do not know well for assistance. However, if the cultural context is military, then the person asking the question is clearly of a lower rank, requesting assistance from a more senior rank. It is both the context of situation and the context of culture that influences language choice and language practices.

Language is used to accomplish things. For example, children use it to regulate their environment, to interact with others, to shape their identity, to explore their environment and to create imaginary worlds (Halliday 1973). This *use* of language as behaviour is purposeful and therefore fulfils a social function. It is this social function of language that is reflected in the internal organisation of language as a system. Halliday (1973) states:

> Learning one's mother tongue is learning the uses of language, and the meanings, or rather the meaning potential, associated with them. The structures, the words and the sounds are the realisation of this meaning potential. Learning language is learning how to mean (p. 24).

The potential to make meaning is realised by the set of linguistic resources that are available within a language. These resources are the lexicogrammar of the language where lexicogrammar refers to the 'combination of grammar and lexis (vocabulary); the resources for expressing meanings as wordings' (Matthiessen 1995, p. 785).

Through the implementation of lexicogrammar, language functions in three ways. It has three distinct roles that are put to use–the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual–which are referred to as *metafunctions*. The ideational metafunction serves to *construe* experience in and of the world. It represents experience in language as happenings, entities and circumstantial features, organised logically in relation to each other. The interpersonal *enacts* social roles and, more particularly, speech roles. This metafunction expresses the particular tone or tenor of the speaker, how they feel, their opinions and evaluations, as well as meanings of assertion, query, hesitation, doubt, wonderment and so on. The textual metafunction *enables* the ideational and the interpersonal to be presented in a manner that can be shared by speaker and listener as text. It is the organising metafunction, providing coherence and cohesion. These three metafunctions select from the lexicogrammar to realise their particular meanings (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

The capacity to make meaning through language and non-verbal social practices combines to construe the totality of an individual's and, importantly, a society's meaning-making potential. Language therefore, constitutes human experience, social processes and the social order. It is a central construct of a culture. SFL is thus the appropriate framework in which to situate language analysis which is intended to demonstrate the role language plays in maintaining and perpetuating cultural norms, in particular, those cultural norms which exclude.

Methodologies

The previous section briefly outlined the sociological and linguistics frameworks that underpin this study on language in Defence. The social theory of LCT incorporates language as a kind of social practice thus allowing for language use to be understood as an integral part of culture. The linguistic theory of SFL, which models language as a form of social behaviour, aligns with LCT to provide a framework through which to observe how language use both influences and is influenced by contexts of situation and contexts of culture.

In this section of the chapter, the methodologies are explained. These methodologies are of two types: linguistic and qualitative interview content analyses. The linguistic methodologies investigate and describe the nature of language use within the Defence context which can both resist and enable diversity and social inclusion. These three methodologies are located within the SFL framework and include appraisal analysis, icon analysis and casual conversation analysis. These methods as well as the interview context analysis are explained below.

Appraisal analysis

Within the SFL model, appraisal analysis describes meaning making as it relates to people's interpersonal relations. It is an analytical tool of the interpersonal metafunction. In this study, appraisal analysis is used to analyse the five Values Statements of Defence to reveal the kinds of ideal identities which the organisation wants its people to model themselves on. It allows us to see what kind of person is modelled as ideal and what kind of person is not. The appraisal analysis of the officially-endorsed values is relevant to the second and third research questions of the study. It is used to determine what kinds of interpersonal meanings are foregrounded by each of the Services in the process of constructing their ideal identities.

Appraisal analysis probes how writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticise. In the words of Martin and White (2005):

> It is concerned with the construction by texts of communities of shared feelings and values, and with the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes and normative assessments. It is concerned with how writers/speakers … align or disalign themselves with actual or potential respondents, and with how they construct for their texts an intended or ideal audience (p. 1).

Appraisal is a tool for investigating three interpersonal domains of meaning–attitude, engagement and graduation. Attitude is concerned with evaluations such as feelings, emotional reactions and judgments of people's behaviour. Engagement is concerned with the *voices* that are constructed in texts, how they are introduced, what they claim or disclaim and so on, in support of authorial opinions. Graduation is concerned with the resources of amplifying and blurring interpersonal meanings. This report analyses the attitude present in the Values Statements and demonstrates the kinds of meanings of attitude, that is, how evaluations can be expressions of how people feel, reactions to things or judgments of people and their behaviours. The following examples, which are taken from the interviews conducted for this study, illustrate these differences.

Example 2.3   *I loved everything about Army.*
This statement tells us how someone feels i.e. they feel love for the Army.

Example 2.4   *That's a really nice outfit.*
This statement positively evaluates a thing, in this case a person's clothes.
The speaker has had an emotional reaction that is expressed as an attitudinal
description of the outfit.

Example 2.5   *He was kind of a gobby sort of clown.*
This statement negatively judges a person's behaviour. The man who was
evaluated as a clown probably talked too much and acted a bit too stupidly
for the other person's liking.

These three examples illustrate the three kinds of evaluations by expressing feelings, by emotional
reactions to things or by judgments of people. Meanings inherent in the various Values Statements are
expressed as judgments. Judgments of people's behaviours are categorised in the appraisal framework
according to meanings of social esteem (how special, capable or tenacious) or social sanction (how
honest or ethical). These two divisions of social esteem and social sanction break down into five
different categories of judgment–normality, capacity, tenacity, veracity and propriety. The first three are
evaluations of a person's social esteem, that is, meanings to do with the kind of person they are, as
Martin and White (2005, p. 52) explain:

> Social esteem tends to be policed in the oral culture, through chat, gossip,
> jokes and stories of various kinds–with humour often having a critical role to
> play. Sharing values in this area is critical to the formation of social networks
> (family, friends, colleagues etc.).

The other two categories, veracity and propriety, are evaluations of a person's behaviour measured
against community standards, which is about how 'proper' they are in the eyes of others. In the words
of Martin and White (2005) again:

> Social sanction on the other hand is more often codified in writing, as edicts,
> decrees, rules, regulations and laws about how to behave as surveilled by
> church and state – with penalties and punishments as levers against those
> not complying with the code. Sharing values in this area underpins civic duty
> and religious observances (p. 52).

Examples of the kinds of positive meanings inherent in each of these five kinds of judgment are
provided below in Table 2.1. These categories of judgment are applied to the Values Statements to
determine what the members of Defence ought to be like, that is, what behaviour and dispositions
are most valued by the organisation and thus upheld as ideals. This list of terms is only intended as a
general guide to the meanings at stake in each of the categories.

Judgment		Meanings of positive judgment
Social esteem	**Normality –** *how special*	Unsung, fortunate, stable, cool, etc.
	Capacity – *how able*	Clever, expert, educated, learned, competent, productive, sensible, insightful, robust, vigorous, etc.
	Tenacity – *how tenacious*	Brave, heroic, cautious, wary, careful, tireless, resolute, meticulous, faithful, loyal, constant, persevering, adaptable, etc.
Social sanction	**Veracity –** *how honest*	Truthful, honest, credible, frank, candid, direct, discrete, tactful, etc.
	Propriety – *how ethical*	Good, moral, ethical, law abiding, fair, just, sensitive, kind, caring, respectful, polite, charitable, generous, etc.

Table 2.1–Five kinds of judgment (from Martin and White 2005, p. 53)

Positive normality is about admiring individual traits which set someone apart as unique or special, in the sense that a positive evaluation evaluates a trait as being above the degree normally expected; positive capacity is about a person's ability, their knowledge and skill set; and positive tenacity is about a person's inclination to act–their resolve. In the social sanction category, veracity is about probabilities of truthfulness; and finally, propriety is about moral and ethical behaviour, in other words, how much a person's behaviour is beyond reproach.

Mapped onto the axes of LCT, meanings of *capacity* relate to the *trained* setting on the social relations axis and the *purist* and *situational* settings on the epistemic axis. In contrast, meanings of propriety, veracity and tenacity relate to the *cultivated* and *social* settings on the social relations axis and the doctrinal setting on the epistemic axis.

In this study, the *appraisal* analysis involved identifying words/phrases or groups that carried meanings of judgment, which were then coded into one of the five categories. Examples taken from Defence values and behaviours statements, which have been coded under the five kinds of judgments, are illustrated in Table 2.2.

JUDGMENT	SERVICE	EXAMPLE
Normality	Army	… with a sense of duty and compassion
Capacity	PLICIT	We are clever
	Navy	Honour … inspires physical effort
	Army	Teamwork is … individual competence
	Air Force	We are capability focused …
	APS	Focuses on … managing performance
Tenacity	PLICIT	We … strive to identify opportunities to eliminate inefficiency and waste
	Navy	Our integrity … underpins our fighting spirit
	Army	Initiative is the ability to achieve the mission by exploiting opportunity
	Air Force	Our people are resilient
	APS	… focuses on achieving results
Veracity	PLICIT	We provide … accurate advice
	Navy	Honesty is always being true to ourselves, our shipmates and colleagues
	Air Force	Air Force people are trusted to defend our country.
	APS	… is openly accountable for its actions …
Propriety	PLICIT	We demonstrate the highest standards of probity
	Navy	Courage demands unwavering obedience to moral principles
	Army	It (courage) is doing what is right and fair
	Air Force	Our people are honest, ethical and …
	APS	… provides a workplace that is free from discrimination

Table 2.2–Tokens of judgment taken from Defence values and behaviours statements

In addition to the appraisal analysis of the interpersonal meanings of judgment, textual meanings were also interrogated. The organisational structure of the texts and the grammatical choices within the Values Statements select from meaning options within the domain of the textual metafunction. These selections can express inclusion to a greater or lesser degree. From the structural point of the view, the analysis deconstructs how the Values Statements function as stand-alone, coherent texts. It investigates firstly how each of the values are defined and then how examples of best practice and ideal behaviour are exemplified for each value. The analysis shows how abstract, generalised and depersonalised language choices conspire to be less inclusive than concrete, specific and personalised choices. These differences are illustrated in the examples below. Example 2.6 is less inclusive than Example 2.7, as there are no references to people or actual specific actions of people.

Example 2.6   *Professionalism is striving for excellence*
This statement uses the abstract phrase *striving for excellence* to
define the value of Professionalism

Example 2.7   *We work hard to deliver high quality results*
This statement avoids abstract terms, choosing instead the personal
pronoun *we* to refer to people who engage in a concrete activity, that is,
who *work hard* to produce a specific outcome, that is, *high quality results*.

Essentially, the appraisal and textual analyses reveal the naturalised, dominant values and dispositions of ideal Defence identities and, in so doing, identify the ideal values and dispositions, that is, what is included and what is not within these identities. By identifying these exclusive values and dispositions, it becomes possible to counter them with alternative, inclusive constructions which celebrate diversity and which continue to rally and bond the members of the organisation in a manner that is in keeping with the collective mission.

Icon analysis

While appraisal analysis sheds light on the dominant values and dispositions of the ideal Defence identities, the icon analysis investigates how these ideal values and dispositions are exemplified and iconised in the hero stories of the organisation. The analysis shows us that Defence systematically limits what and who it values most.

The range of hero stories, which are selected for analysis, are the kinds of stories that model ideal people and behaviours through the genre of Exemplum. Twelve of these stories were sourced from the Services' *News*, the *Defence Magazine*, senior leadership speeches, doctrine and training materials. The approach taken to the selection of these stories was to select broadly across the kinds of written material in Defence. The breadth extends from materials used internal to the organisation both to train and to lead, as well as materials used to promote and broadcast the work of Defence. The choice of values, the kind of personnel and the communal ideal around which the stories build affiliation are categorised to reveal the preferred value(s), the preferred hero and the preferred organisational identities.

The SF analytical tool for this component of the study draws on the work of Tann (2013), who states that a community is 'held together by shared beliefs and mores that define its boundaries' (Tann 2013, p. 369). These serve as the *doxa* of a community, a term used by Bourdieu (1977) to denote what is taken for granted and what is self-evident in the natural and social world of the culture. Essentially, the values of the Values Statements are normalised as characteristics of Defence people. They become the shared beliefs and mores of the organisation.

Identity within a community, in this case, the Defence community, is bound to its values and also by a shared history that transcends time. The shared history is built up through descriptions and stories that exemplify and uphold the values and beliefs. These stories can be about individuals who demonstrate the values or about events and traditions that encapsulate the values. These are the stories that form

the celebrated heroes and/or heritage[18] of the organisation; they represent the *voice* of the community. The values are modelled by Tann (2013) as an iconisation triangle in Figure 2.3. In this model, values are modelled by heroes who are singled out as generalised representatives. They model the standard of behaviour of any particular community or culture and provide a collective sense of community. This sense of community is what the members of the organisation identify with and align to.
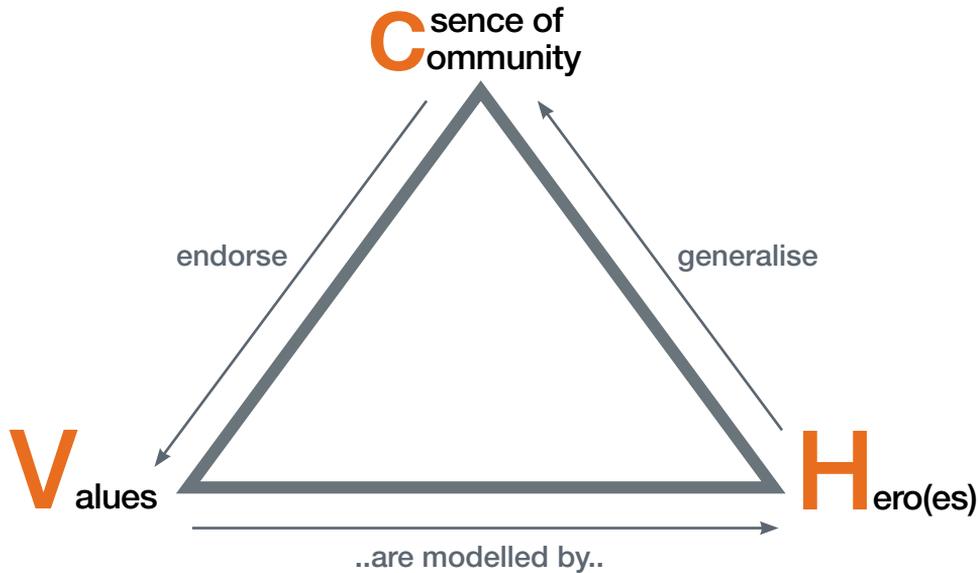
Figure 2.3–Iconisation triangle (Tann 2013, p. 387)

The icon is built up through particular language patterns that are employed within the hero stories. A typical linguistic pattern is demonstrated using the story of Chief Petty Officer *Buck* Rogers, a celebrated hero who models ideal leadership behaviour in the Australian doctrinal publication Leadership (Department of Defence 2007a, p.3-3~3-6). This doctrine underpins officer leadership training. The Rogers vignette is reproduced in Table 2.3. The process of iconisation in the text can be broken down as follows:

Step 1   The values that are considered salient are named as nouns–*loyalty, courage, teamwork*.

Step 2   The hero is identified and his behaviour is related to the values via the phrase–*a living example of Defence values*.

Step 3   The hero's behaviour is recounted through a chronology of events of the incident and his actions and attributes at that time.

Step 4   The hero's behaviour is conflated with the kind of behaviour expected of the community of leaders in the ADF, which is expressed as the abstract noun group–*the ADF way of leadership.*

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18 Heritage in this sense refers to events or things which also serve to model the values, such as the ANZAC story or the story of the sinking of HMAS *Sydney* in 1941.

Excerpt from Leadership Training Model - Chapter 3	Iconising components
3.7 As a result of our military history, the ADF has developed a way of leadership that focuses as much on the characteristics of those that are being led as it does on the attributes of the leader. 'The ADF Way' of leadership is …	**Community**
3.8 'The ADF Way' also implies that we value and encourage the resourcefulness of subordinates in allowing them to achieve the means … ………………………………..Values also play a vital role in the 'ADF Way' of leadership. Previous influence and inculcated values will guide an individual or a group when they are separated from their normal leader or confronted with an unfamiliar situation.	**Values**
HISTORICAL EXAMPLE—LOYALTY, COURAGE and TEAMWORK **Chief Petty Officer 'Buck' Rogers** was a living example of Defence values. On the night he died, the aircraft carrier HMAS MELBOURNE and the destroyer HMAS VOYAGER were conducting exercises off the New South Wales south coast. In the late evening VOYAGER crossed in front of MELBOURNE and the two ships hit, with MELBOURNE smashing the destroyer in half. Rogers was one of more than 50 men trapped in darkness in a compartment of the sinking forward section. **He took control and tried to bring calm in the disastrous situation. He probably realized that not all would be able to get through a small escape hatch and that he, being a large man, had no chance at all. 'He was more intent on getting the younger chaps out first', said a survivor**. The forward section finally sank about ten minutes after the impact. **Rogers was heard leading his remaining doomed shipmates in a prayer and a hymn during their final moments.** **From *50 Australians*, Australian War Memorial**	**Hero** A recount of events & **Buck's actions**

Table 2.3 – Process of iconisation in sample hero story

This process of iconisation is one of the means by which organisational identities are built up. Members of the community of practice are inculcated through these values and the exemplars. The organisation intends for members of the community to identify with these exemplars in the following fashion–these heroes are *one of us and I am like (or want to be or will try to be) like them*.

The 12 stories selected for analysis in this study have undergone this kind of icon analysis. By identifying the iconising features of the language, the analysis illustrates which values are most valued, what kinds of heroes are mostly used to build icons and what kind of shared sense of community is construed.

Casual conversation analysis

The third linguistic tool of analysis based within the SF model is casual conversation analysis (CCA). CCA is used in relation to the final research question to analyse language examples provided by the interviewees in order to understand the nature of the casual conversation and how it supports or resists diversity and inclusion. This part of the report draws on the work of Eggins and Slade (1997). Their framework is used to reveal the interpersonal meanings in the discourse structure of casual conversation, in other words, to show how different kinds of turn-taking can function to support or confront propositions posited in conversation.

The CCA analysis provides a window into how day-to-day talk in an Anglo-Australian male workplace is centred on task performance and team success and negotiated through banter, jokes and nicknaming, which support the dominant group along with their preferred social norms and practices. In short, the choice of dialogic moves can be used to include and, equally, to exclude. The dialogic moves of conversations are coded for turn-taking type using a set of choices based on the framework of Eggins and Slade (1997).[19]

The dialogues provided by the interviewees are recounts of previous dialogic exchanges and so are incomplete and mostly only fragments of the originals.[20] The context of each dialogue was provided by the interviewee. Each dialogic example was introduced during the interview to exemplify how the interviewees responded to conversations which contained propositions positioning them in either inclusive or exclusive ways. The analysis demonstrates the strategies of inclusion and exclusion in the following manner. Firstly, the dialogue is transcribed and divided into turns and each turn is analysed as either *supporting or confronting* the propositions within the message of each turn. This kind of analysis demonstrates how a dialogue can position a person as either supported and included, or confronted and potentially excluded.

In the example (see Table 2.4), Rhonda starts the dialogue with a request to Speaker A, who is already doing something. Speaker A replies with a non-compliance. He supports his non-compliance with reasons – *he's only a simple man, and he can't do two things at once*. Rhonda then agrees with the proposition of Speaker A that *men can't do more than one thing at a time*. Her turn supports his proposition. She then further supports the proposition with reasons for her agreement – *he's a man* and *he's simple*. Speaker A registers his support for her agreement through laughter. This example is an example of an inclusive strategy. Both interactants are supportive of each other even though the proposition is rather absurd, which is a feature of banter. Twenty six dialogues were coded in this manner.

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19   For an explanation on the systemic set of turn-taking choices, see Eggins and Slade (1997), Chapter 5.

20   Unfortunately, the constraints of the project did not extend to recording actual dialogue. Actual authentic recordings, if able to be given ethics approval, would be an extremely useful exercise to confirm/deny the results of the analysis.

Proposition	speaker	Dialogue
	Rhonda	Request of Speaker A
proposition posited: *Men can't do more than one thing at a time.*	A:	I'm only a simple man. I can't do two things at once, you know. Don't ask me these things.
Proposition agreed: *Yes, men can't.*	Rhonda:	Yes, you're right. You're useless. You're a man.
Registering support	A:	laughter

Table 2.4–Conversation analysis of Rhonda–APS (Disability)

Content analysis

In addition to the casual conversation analysis, the third research question is also addressed through qualitative analysis of the volunteers' interviews. The interviews are subjected to a content analysis in order to answer how people respond to and counter marginalising talk, a sub-question of Question 3. The content analysis investigates the kind of everyday talk that is used to marginalise, as well as the kind of talk outliers use to counter such talk to enable or maintain their acceptance by the group. The interview questions probe language use around team membership and the use of humour to negotiate difference, affording such outliers the chance to remain in the team. The content analysis involved coding the interviews into groups of *like* opinions and attitudes which connect language use to group acceptance, belongingness and workplace language practices, including the use of humour, banter, nicknaming and jokes. The volunteers needed to be working in Defence for ten years or more to ensure that they had sufficient experience in identifying and managing marginalisation at work.

The interviews were semi-structured, asking questions about the volunteers' reasons for joining up, their feelings of belonging, their participation in workplace humour, their views on how to achieve team membership, their views on how to counter marginalisation and advice on how to adapt to the behavioural expectations at work. The names of all the interviewees have been changed in this report to ensure anonymity. Copies of the interview plan and prompt sheet are provided in Appendix A. The content analysis uses the qualitative software package, Nvivo, to assist with coding and quantification.

The demographic features of the interviewees are illustrated below. Chart 2.1 illustrates the gender spread across the Services; of 32 interviewees, 17 were female and 15 were male. As one of the diversity group categories was women, it was not surprising that women outnumbered men in the data set. However, the number of female volunteers sourced from Air Force was the lowest (2 in total), with APS the highest (6 in total).
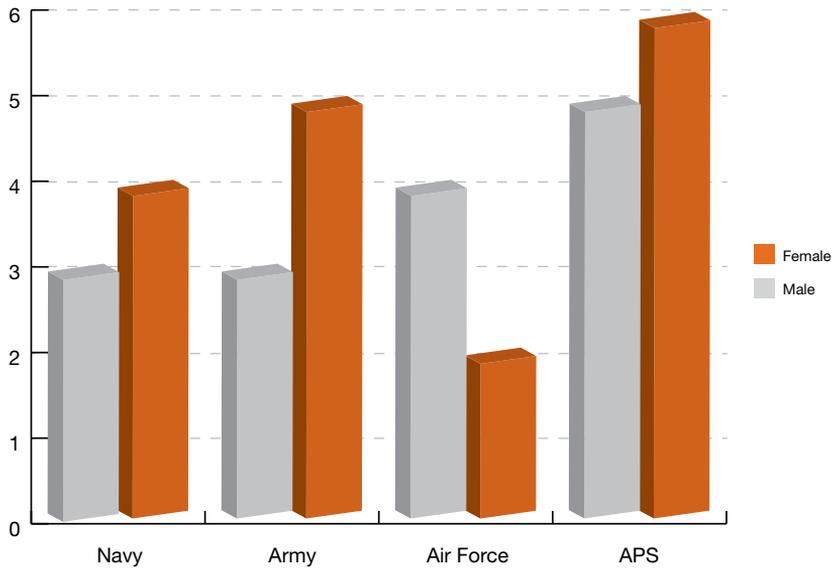
Chart 2.1–Gender of interviewees across the Defence Services

Chart 2.2 indicates the diversity groups according to gender, showing that the representation of each diversity group was not balanced across genders. LGBTI men and CALD women are the two groups with the largest numbers in the data set, while men with a disability are the smallest.
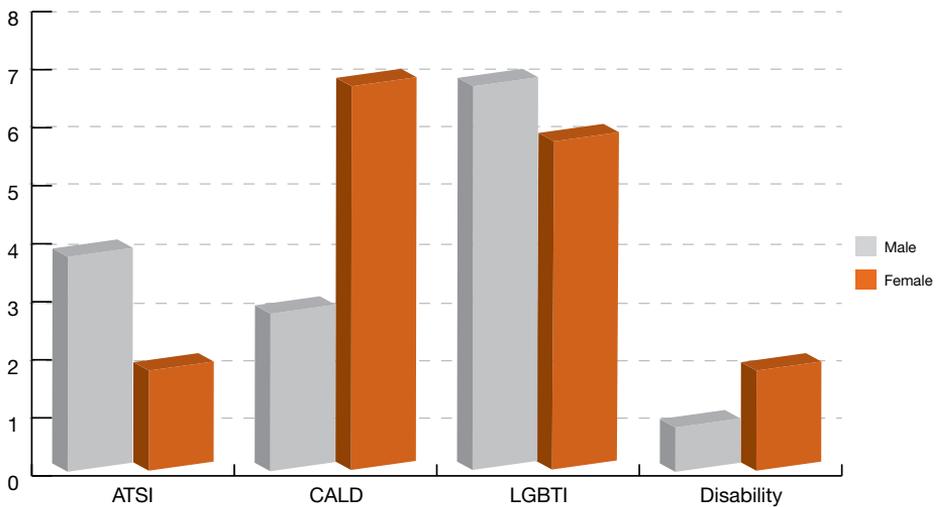
Chart 2.2–Diversity groups according to gender of the interviewees

Chart 2.3 maps gender and diversity across the four Services. The only diversity group that has interviewees from across all four Services is male LGBTI. The least represented are people with disabilities with only interviewees from the APS and Navy; otherwise, each diversity category is represented across two or three Services. However, the important consideration for the study is that all diversity groups were covered across both genders.
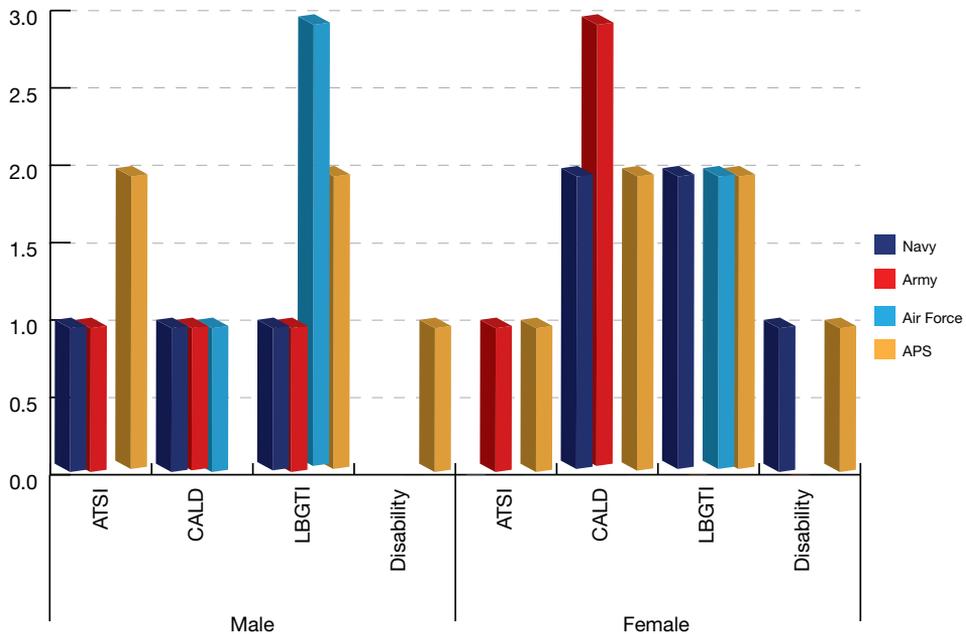
Chart 2.3 - Gender and diversity of interviewees across the four Services

Finally, in terms of the demographics of the interviewees, the spread across the locations is illustrated in Chart 2.4. All states, except Tasmania and the Northern Territory, were represented with the majority of interviewees coming from Canberra. This is possibly because Defence employees located in Canberra have typically been working in the organisation for ten years or more. They are more senior and thus there is a concentration of this kind of personnel in this location. Nonetheless, not having candidates evenly spread across locations or diversity groups was not expected to have a negative impact on the outcomes of this part of the study, as the linguistic mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion are stable across groups. In other words, the same kinds of linguistic choices and strategies are expected to be employed to exclude, regardless of the diversity group. Social exclusion *per se* is not confined to diversity groups. Anyone can experience social exclusion if they are not feeling part of the group and anyone can be positioned as someone who falls outside the social group–as an outlier.
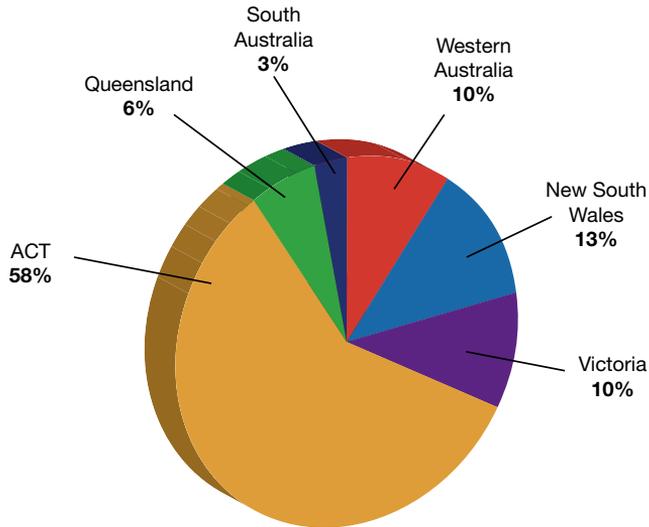
Chart 2.4–Location of interviewees

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the frameworks and methodologies used in this study. The sociological framework of LCT provides the basis for the description of the cultures of Defence. It also provides for the inclusion of language as a kind of social practice in order to demonstrate how behaviour, in the form of language, constructs and perpetuates cultural norms. The language analysis is situated within the framework of SFL, a linguistic model which formulates language as a form of social behaviour influenced by culture and situational context, while at the same time influencing and constructing cultural norms.

The linguistic methodologies used to interrogate language are situated within the SFL model and include appraisal analysis, icon analysis and casual conversation analysis. The qualitative, content analysis is a method used to capture interviewee opinions and experiences, which were gathered through a semi-structured interview of approximately 40 minutes each.

Appraisal analysis is the tool for analysing attitude and evaluative meanings in texts, applied here in particular to the Values Statements of Defence and the four Services. Icon analysis provides the means of capturing how certain meanings are modelled by selected, normative characters to rally people around community norms, and is used to illustrate how hero stories, within Defence, model the preferred values by preferred heroes within the organisation. Casual conversation analysis is used to demonstrate how casual conversation, particularly humour in the form of banter, is used to secure group acceptance but also to isolate and exclude through emphasising a person's difference as a reason to marginalise. Finally, the qualitative content analysis is used to code interviewees' attitudes and opinions on the communication strategies of exclusion and inclusion, and ways to manage marginalisation and maintain group acceptance.

Chapter 3 will describe Defence culture using LCT and demonstrate the different principles underlying the four Services of Defence which set them apart from each other, and which enable each Service to fulfil its mission. Within the context of the sociological description of the four Services, the remaining chapters will illustrate the role language plays in resisting and enabling cultural change within the organisation. This illustration of language use will firstly look at the formal, officially-endorsed language of the organisation, specifically values and Defence identities in Chapter 4. This is followed in Chapter 5 by an illustration of the informal, everyday talk in the Defence workplaces which resists and enables social inclusion. These chapters support the argument that without an understanding of how language works to perpetuate social norms and maintain social control, cultural change, which includes language change, may not be sustainable in the long term.

CHAPTER 3

Four cultures, one Department

Do as I say because I am who I am,
or do as I say because I know.

Introduction

The purpose of Defence is enshrined in its mission statement, and both the ADF and the APS work in concert to achieve the mission of Defence, namely:

> … to defend Australia and its national interests. In fulfilling this mission, Defence serves the Government of the day and is accountable to the Commonwealth Parliament—which represents the Australian people—to efficiently and effectively carry out the Government's defence policy (http://www.defence.gov.au/AboutUs.asp#values).

As a collective, the organisation is a servant of the Australian Government, a democratic government representing the Australian people. However, despite having a common mission, Defence has been described as an organisation consisting of *four tribes*: Army, Navy, Air Force and the APS (Jans 2002). Such a characterisation implies cultural difference, with each tribe having its own particular *habitus*[21] and its own particular set of social practices. Within Defence it is recognised that differences do exist and are openly joked about by members of Defence. For example, the uniformed services commonly consider Navy and Army to be alike, due to a similarity in team formation, and thereby different to Air Force–*Army camps under the stars, Navy navigates by the stars and Air Force chooses accommodation according to the number of stars*.[22]

Simply by omission, this humorous explanation of the differences between the uniformed Services alerts us to the first significant difference that exists between the cultures of the organisation. This is the difference between the ADF and the APS. While Air Force may be *sent up* by their uniformed colleagues in Navy and Army, the civilian workforce of the Public Service are at times not even considered to be a part of the project of defending Australia. The differences between the ADF and the APS can be seen, in the first instance, by their respective mission statements. The mission statement of the APS is whole-of-government-wide, applying to all APS. It is not specific to the APS in Defence; however, the APS working in Defence are integral to Defence objectives and work towards the collective Defence mission.

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21   Habitus–the unconscious taking in of rules, values and dispositions (Bourdieu 1997).

22   This expression is listed under 'stars' in http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Appendix:Australian_English_military_slang

> **The ADF mission** is 'to deter and defeat armed attacks on Australia by conducting independent military operations without relying on the combat or combat support forces of other countries' (Department of Defence 2009b, p. 13).

> **The APS mission** is 'to develop a highly capable workforce and efficient, value-adding operating models so we can help you deliver your outcomes'.[23]

The ADF contributes to the protection of Australia's national security by independent means, while the APS is about enabling the work of the organisation it serves, in this case Defence. As an enabler, the APS helps the ADF deliver its mission.[24] The purposes of these two arms of Defence are profoundly different and this difference can be characterised as a difference between legitimation codes. However, this difference should not be understood as more or less important. In the words of the Secretary of Defence, '[t]here is a bit of a tendency for some to see Defence civilians as constituting something called a "back-end" supporting the ADF "front-end"' (Richardson 2013, p. 4). This is not the case, as Defence APS provide essential tasks that impact operational capability directly (ibid).

In this chapter, I argue that the ADF is legitimated through a knower code, while the APS is legitimated through a knowledge code. In concert with each other, both legitimation codes enable the organisation as a whole to achieve its collective mission. However, the two codes accommodate diversity and social inclusion in different ways. The knowledge code of the APS is better at managing difference and being more socially inclusive. This is because the right to authority and status of people is based primarily on what they know, not on who they are. In contrast, the knower codes of the ADF are naturally more exclusive because of the justifiable need for uniformed personnel to possess particular attributes and dispositions in order to successfully engage in high-risk, dangerous work. It matters who you are: the kind of person you are. Justification for this position is found in the social practices, including the language practices, of the uniformed and non-uniformed personnel, which are presented in the following chapters.

This chapter presents justification for the claim that Defence is an organisation comprising of two legitimation codes which enable different degrees of social inclusion. The chapter is structured as follows: firstly, I present a comparative description of the ADF and the APS using the framework of LCT (Maton 2013). Using this framework, it becomes possible to understand the underlying principles of authority and status that are operating to drive the four Services. It is also possible to observe the way language is used to support these principles and to provide a context for enacting changes in language practices in order to bring about lasting cultural change. Language practices are understood as part of a holistic view of culture and are complicit in the process of social inclusion and accommodating diversity.

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23   See www.apsc.gov.au/about-the-aps/the-commission/strategic-directions-2011-14

24   Note the use of *we* and *you* in the APS statement. *We* refers to the APS and you refers to the Department of Defence, a department of the Commonwealth of Australia.

Following the description of the ADF and the APS, I present a description of each of the three uniformed Services of Navy, Army and Air Force. The three Services are contrasted with each other and distinguished by different settings along the social and epistemic relations axes of the LCT framework. Each Service achieves its mission through different settings on these axes which result in the formation of different kinds of teams. While all three Services cultivate the attitudes, dispositions and innate talents of their people, Air Force and Navy tend to place more emphasis on specialisation than Army. As this emphasis introduces influences of knowledge code into the knower codes of Air Force and Navy, these Services share some characteristics with APS, including the ability to more easily accommodate difference and social inclusion. The chapter explains how these two legitimation codes are more or less able to accommodate diversity and social inclusion and the implications of this in the workplace. Further, the content of this chapter provides the context of culture in which language functions to both enable and resist social inclusion.

Do as I say because I am who I am

The social practices of the ADF function to realise the mission to 'deter and defeat armed attacks on Australia' via a knower code legitimation. These practices can be divided into types:

Type 1 Kinds of work and control

Type 2 Kinds of interpersonal relationships and control

Type 1 practices include education and training activities which prepare personnel for the 'unlimited liability'[25] of military practices which include, in the case of Army, joint combat, protection, support, indigenous capacity building, *hearts and minds* actions, humanitarian assistance and intelligence gathering (Australian Army 2009). These behavioural practices are managed by Type 2 practices, through a hierarchy of ranks and through officially-endorsed language practices which make explicit military values and codes of conduct. Other language practices prescribe how uniformed personnel are expected to relate to knowledge in the workplace. Military doctrine, defence instructions, rules of engagement and training curricula documentation all set out how work is to be conducted. For example, the Joint Military Appreciation Process is the accepted method for mission planning. Similarly, the Defence Training Model is the endorsed process for the analysis, design, development, delivery and evaluation of training.

Selection into the military is via a process of commissioning for officers and enlistment for other ranks, where the member serves at the pleasure of the Crown for a specified period. The recruitment process selects prospective recruits on more than just educational background. Psychological, medical and fitness reports are compiled and prospective recruits undergo an interview process which is designed to identify those with the appropriate values and dispositions for a military life focusing on who they are. Their temperament, their values and their innate talents are all considered when deciding on suitability (Webbe 2013).

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25 The concept of unlimited liability in defence of national interests distinguishes members of the military from other professions. Furthermore, the military allows for the lawful killing of others in the performance of duty. Moreover, the responsibility of military leadership permits the sacrifice of soldiers' lives in order to achieve military objectives. The stark and brutal reality of these differences from normal society has traditionally been a distinguishing feature of military life, contributing to a sense of separateness, even superiority, in relation to the civilian population (Hurley 2010, p. 4)

Pay and conditions are prescribed through the *Defence Pay and Conditions Manual* and determinations on industrial relations matters are overseen by the Defence Force Remuneration Tribunal. Promotion through the lower ranks is determined by time in rank and job rotation, then at the higher ranks more competitively through suitability and performance (Jans 2002). Uniformed personnel also engage in symbolic rituals, such as parades and memorials, ceremonies which honour significant acts of service, valour and historic events, and dress in uniforms which display symbols of significance such as epaulets of rank, badges of readiness and qualifications, insignias of corps/service, medals of Defence service and so on.

These kinds of activities in the Defence workplace, just described, can be understood as the field of work, the *what* of the workplace, while the way in which the work is implemented or achieved can be understood as the *habitus*, the *how* of the workplace. It is the *habitus* of the ADF that normalises the behaviour of uniformed members in a number of unique ways.

Firstly, all uniformed members have an understanding and acceptance of their role as protectors of the state and its citizens, including an acceptance of 'unlimited liability'. Secondly, uniformed members have an acceptance of the authority of senior ranks and of the need to conform and obey rules to get the job done even if they do not agree or do not particularly want to comply. They physically embody military behaviours, including ways of walking, standing, marching and parading. They also use military ways of talking, including using *registers* of command and control, of specialised strategic, operational and tactical practices, and informal registers of everyday casual conversation which are heavily punctuated with truncated military terms and acronyms.

They accept inculcation into military life through team-building exercises in individual and collective training continua and they strive to emulate military ideals and values through models of leadership and self-sacrifice. They bond very strongly with each other in their teams and have expectations of the behaviour of themselves and others. Letting the team down has serious social consequences. Similarly, there are tests of team loyalty throughout the working career. In fact, as mentioned earlier, ADF personnel are subject to the *Defence Force Discipline Act 1982* and thus are held 'to a higher standard than many other professions' (Defence Committee 2012, p. 8).

These characteristics can be interpreted through an LCT lens. In the case of the ADF, the social relations of the military members are strongly classified and framed. The system of rank classifies each member by different levels of responsibility and accountability, and the frame in which they operate is tightly controlled. Coupled with this is the prescribed nature of engagement with knowledge in the workplace. Personnel refer to *Defence Instructions*, doctrine and other prescribed procedures when planning or achieving a mission. These prescribed processes allow only limited discretion on the part of the uniformed member. In fact, it does not seem to matter who the member is: there is an expectation to follow the prescribed process. The degree of adherence to a prescriptive process does depend on the level of seniority, noting that the lower ranks have less flexibility and more prescription than higher ranks.

Such processes could include the Defence Training Model, the Joint Military Appreciation Process or ADF personnel administrative practices. In this sense, the relationship of the member to the knowledge is weakly classified and framed. In this culture, it matters less how to do something because there

are procedures to follow to get work done. It matters that a member knows a lot, but no one person can cover consistently and successfully all the considerations of warfighting. These procedures have evolved from lessons learned over many decades of experience. Nonetheless, these prescriptive processes mean that the epistemic relations tend to be weakly classified and framed. With strongly-classified and -framed *social relations* and weakly-classified and -framed *epistemic relations*, the ADF manifests a *knower* code.

Do as I say because I know

In contrast, the APS in Defence provides financial management, policy development and service delivery in various forms, such as research and development, administration, logistics, governance and compliance, which collectively help to enable the Defence mission of security and protection.[26] The social practices of the APS workplace exercise administrative control through guidance, surveillance and compliance (Thomson and Sano 2006).

Members of the APS within Defence are employed via a merit-based selection process and are organised into a hierarchy of professional levels and reporting structures. APS behaviour is controlled by APS values, a code of conduct and an enterprise bargaining agreement called the *Defence Enterprise Collective Agreement* (DECA). The DECA sets out the terms and conditions of APS employment in Defence, developed in accordance with Government parameters, and based on negotiations between the employee bargaining representatives, unions and the Department of Defence. There is no requirement to wear uniforms, however, all APS have Defence identification cards, which must be displayed. Work performance is measured through an annual performance management process known as the Performance Feedback Assessment and Development Scheme. Promotion through the professional levels of the APS is typically achieved by merit-based transfer into higher-level positions. Rewards for outstanding service are given through a commendation award scheme.

The *habitus* of the APS normalises acceptance of the enterprise agreement (DECA). The *habitus* includes the embodiment of civilian professional behaviours and norms: for example, work attire style may depend on the workplace context, ranging from business suits to casual attire, as well as on the individual's preference. Social bonds are built on civil, polite, professional interaction with an acceptance of individual styles and even eccentricities and through induction into Public Service ways of talking and writing in registers of administrative control, reporting, research and development. When asked what they do, Defence APS typically reply by naming the unit in which they work; for example, *I work for DMO*, or *I'm in Finance*. They identify with the work unit. The APS has a comprehensive Learning and Development arm which provides ongoing courses relevant to particular levels in the areas of policy, leadership, finances and governance (Australian Public Service Commission 2013b).[27] APS employees are very aware of their work level classification in relation to each other and compete for positions in the workplace. In fact, as authority and power rests in what you know, relations to

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26   For a description of public service functions across government, see Whelan 2011, p. 9.

27   Also see http://www.apsc.gov.au/learn for a list of professional development training.

knowledge can be used to demarcate work practices according to work-level classification, which is enshrined in the *Defence Classification Manual 2010* (Department of Defence 2010b, Chapter 4).[28]

Interpreting the APS through the LCT lens, the social relations of the APS members are weakly classified and framed. People are classified into workplace levels, with job descriptions detailing what kind of work they do at what level of complexity.[29] These descriptors do not outline how people should or should not relate to each other interpersonally; rather, this kind of guidance is provided through the APS Values, Principles of Employment and the Code of Conduct which stipulates respect and courtesy:

> … when acting in connection with APS employment, treat everyone with
> respect and courtesy, and without harassment.[30]

This kind of guidance does not mediate people's relationships other than to ensure they remain polite and respectful to each other. This affords a degree of discretion on the part of the APS members to establish their workplace relationships according to their own preference. In this sense, the social relations are less strongly classified and framed compared with the uniformed members.

In contrast to the social relations of the APS, the epistemic relations are more strongly classified and framed. What you know matters in the APS, as noted in the comment that '[t]he Australian Public Service is made up of extremely competent, professional nation builders' (Carr in Whelan 2011, p. 51). This means there is a strong connection between who you are and what you know. In the APS merit-based system, this is evident in the selection criteria for employment. All jobs come with selection criteria which address skill sets, expertise, experience and qualifications, and recruits are not competitive for a position if they do not have these prerequisites. Business managers require management and/or finance qualifications and project managers require project management experience and qualifications, and so on.

While it is true that personal attributes also play a part in selection, particularly as they relate to the APS values and Code of Conduct, an applicant is not considered suitable for a position on attributes alone. They are not primary as qualifications and knowledge matter. This means that the epistemic relations tend to be more strongly classified and framed. With weakly-classified and -framed *social relations*, and more strongly-classified and -framed *epistemic relations*, the APS manifests a *knowledge* code. Figure 3.1 illustrates the different codes on the Cartesian plan. The arrow points depict the fact that these characterisations are relativities, that is, tendencies rather than absolute categories. This is not to suggest that qualifications do not matter in the selection processes of the ADF, rather it is a matter of emphasis. In the ADF, emphasis is on a person's suitability for military life, while in the APS emphasis is on a person's skills and knowledge. Consequently, the APS is more of a knowledge code than the ADF, while the ADF is more of a knower code than the APS.

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28   Available at http://www.defence.gov.au/dpe/pac/aps/workstandards_home.htm

29   This is outlined in the Department of Defence's *Workplace Relations Manual*: see Department of Defence 2010c, and http://www.defence.gov.au/dpe/pac/DW_homepage.htm.

30   Australian Public Service, 'Code of Conduct': see http://www.apsc.gov.au/aps-employment-policy-and-advice/aps-values-and-code-of-conduct/code-of-conduct
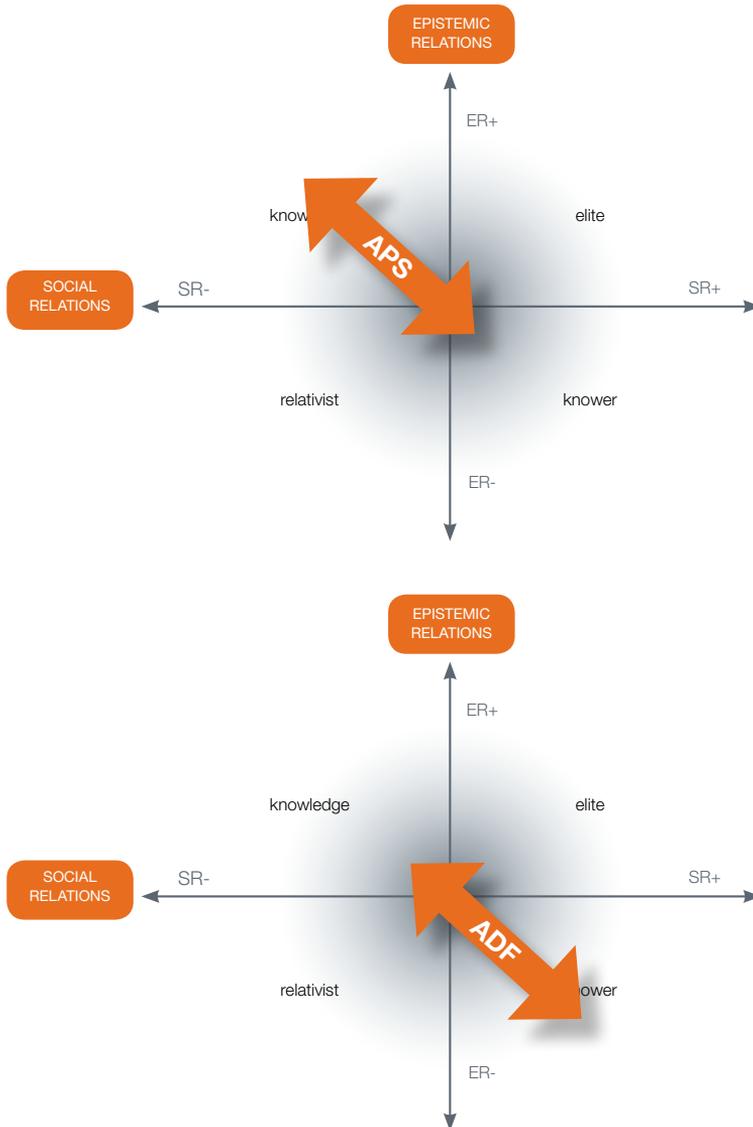
Figure 3.1– APS as knowledge code and ADF as knower code

The characterisation of the uniformed and civilian cultures in Defence as knower and knowledge codes respectively resonates with the institutional/occupational model of Moskos (1981). Moskos (1981, pp. 3-4) noted that an institution such as a military organisation is 'legitimated in terms of values and norms, that is, a purpose transcending individual self-interest in favour of a presumed higher good', whereas in a corporation, 'an occupation is legitimated in terms of the marketplace, that is, prevailing monetary rewards for equivalent competencies' (see Table 3.1).

Variable	Institution	Occupation
1. **Legitimacy**	Service; values – duty, honour, country	Marketplace economy
2. **Role Commitments**	Primary commitment to organisation	Segmental commitment to organisation
3. **Compensation**	Much in non-cash form or deferred entitlements, pay partly determined by need	Salary system; cash-work nexus; pay Directly related to skill level
4. **Residence**	Adjacency of work and residence locales	Separation of work and residence locales
5. **Legal jurisdiction**	Broad purview over military member	Narrow purview over military member
6. **Spouse**	Integral part of military community	Removed from military community
7. **Societal Regard**	Esteem based on notion of sacrifice	Prestige based upon level of compensation
8. **Reference Groups**	'Vertical' – within organisation	'Horizontal' – external to organisation

Table 3.1–Institution vs Occupation Model (adapted from Moskos 1981, p. 2)

Moskos argues that military organisations have tended to avoid the occupational model in favour of the institutional. The institutional model sets up strongly-classified and -framed social relations, with the Defence member having inculcated *service* and *duty* and innate *self-sacrifice* characteristics, and exists in a vertically-organised hierarchy *reference group* with other members. In contrast, the occupational model sets up weaker social relations in that personnel are not as hierarchically organised in relation to each other but rather have a horizontal peer relationship with others of the same occupation and their value rests in their occupational expertise. Thus the social relation is more weakly classified and framed. There may be vertical lines of reporting but the horizontal reference group plays an important role in relations to knowledge. There is a deference to peers outside the institution in order to stay *abreast of the field*.

In addition, the institutional model implies that the epistemic relation is less important and matters less than being the correct kind of person of rank and therefore of status, as noted by Moskos (1981):

> [U]nlike most civilians, for whom compensation is heavily determined by
> individual expertise, the compensation received by military members is
> essentially a function of rank, seniority and need (p. 4).[31]

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31   ADF pay structures are based on rank, job family expertise and seniority. Roles that are more technical or require more skill or responsibility have higher pay grades within the same rank. See Department of Defence 2010a, Chapter 3, Part 1, 'Graded Officer Pay Scale and Graded Other Ranks Pay Scale'

Again, in contrast, the occupational model implies a strong epistemic relation between knowledge and personnel, as payment or reward is based on expertise and skill level, rather than rank.

Applying the institutional model as a knower code and the occupational model as a knowledge code respectively to Defence, the occupational model resonates with the APS, legitimated by a knowledge code, made up of a group of *trained* scientific and bureaucratic specialist personnel, while the institutional model resonates for the ADF, with legitimation via a knower code made up of a group of ranked, inculcated and *cultivated* military members. The knower code of the ADF suggests that the basis for specialisation is the possession of the right kind of cultivated disposition, which is articulated explicitly through rank and its visual display. The right to authority and status is *who you are* as displayed via the uniform, while in the APS, authority is based on *what you know*.

The uniformed Services: Navy, Army and Air Force

Having discussed the cultures of the APS and the ADF, the focus will now turn to the differences between the uniformed Services. This section will describe the similarities and differences using LCT, noting how these differences enable and or resist diversity and social inclusion.

The three uniformed Services share the same fundamental task. They are charged, on request, with the task of providing warfighting capability to the operational level headquarters, that is, Joint Operations Command (JOC). The task of providing warfighting capability is the responsibility of the Chief of each uniformed Service and has three components: *raise, train* and *sustain*.

Raise is the process of generating force elements through recruitment, which is a shared effort with Defence Force Recruiting and an employment services commercial provider. The Services are collectively involved in the attraction of personnel through advertising and in the determination of eligibility and suitability through the recruiting process, which involves a series of testing and interviewing stages to select appropriate types of personnel. Eligibility entails a checklist of criteria without which a prospective recruit cannot progress through the recruiting process. For example, requirements for citizenship, age, education, medical and psychological factors, criminal history and security checks all have to be met.

Once eligibility is established, prospects are then screened for suitability through an interviewing process. Suitability is about job fit, whether or not the candidate is suitable in terms of their motivation, military compatibility, training potential and personal situation. Interview questions are around the issues of job understanding, expectations of Service life, training requirements, personal attributes, skills and experience, ability to assimilate to a team-based, hierarchical and disciplined organisation, appreciation of ADF operations and appreciation of leadership (DFR 2013). 'We don't automatically take the nine out of ten who are bright but might not have the social skills and are not as resilient, flexible and adaptable' (Wilkie in Masters 2012, p. 25).

The **Train** component for each Service involves training for other ranks, that is, sailors, soldiers and airmen and -women, and officer training to a specified preparedness level. Training begins with recruits. Recruits are separated from their civilian communities in order to undergo a process of 'resocialisation'

(Wadham 2013). This process of military professional education is designed to build the military identity. The intention is to resocialise individuals into military professionals who have the right to apply military force in the pursuit of national interests in responsible, selfless and ethical ways, as set out in the Defence Values (see Chapter 4). These military professionals are trained to be experts, stewards, representatives and servants of the State (Orme 2011, pp. 62-63). Military professional education inculcates individuals by:

- removing the individual from their usual context and influences

- employing intensive, prolonged, *whole of life* immersion

- modelling a master-apprentice approach as a community of practice

- employing strong socialisation which cultivates and re-forms attributes and dispositions through surveillance and discipline

- emphasising procedural knowledge, and

- building loyalty to the institution, and to the team, while valuing self-sacrifice for the greater good.

    (Maton 2004 and 2013, p. 98)

As a result of the inculcation process, recruits spend a lot of time together, learning how to be a professional military person. This *whole of life* experience builds close bonds of mateship[32] that are forged through team activities which succeed only through the development of persistence, determination and selflessness.[33] Wolfendale (1997) sums up the nature of military training as follows:

> Modern military training is an intense, all-encompassing process. Cadets live, work, and socialise almost exclusively within the military world. The new cadet is removed almost entirely from the civilian world and finds him/herself in an environment where everything s/he does is observed by her/his superiors and her/his peers. The military profession, unlike any other profession, requires that new members identify completely with their new role as members of the military profession. There is no 'taking the soldier's hat off'. Either the new combatant commits fully to her/his role or s/he fails to be a good combatant (p. 131).

Further, the ability of the team to achieve the mission requires obedience and acceptance of authority. Military training is thus achieved through the strict discipline of the official training regime and the respect for rank expected of a knower code.

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32   'Mateship' is a term used by Defence to describe the kind of social bond of team members. 'Mateship embraces loyalty to leaders, subordinates and comrades and is the foundation that bonds successful teams' (Australian Army 2002, Chapter 2), however the term itself is inherently sexist, with the *Macquarie Dictionary* defining it as 'a code of conduct among men expressing equality and fellowship'.

33   See, for example, Defence Force School of Signals (2007).

The length of recruit, trade and specialisation training differs according to each Service. For example, in Navy, recruit training is over 11 weeks at HMAS *Cerberus* in Victoria. In Army, it is over 14 weeks at Kapooka Barracks in NSW, and in Air Force it is over 11.5 weeks at the RAAF Wagga Wagga Base in NSW.

With respect to the inculcation of civilians joining Defence, the length of officer training also differs according to each Service. In Navy, it is 5 months of training at HMAS *Creswell* in Jervis Bay Territory followed by six months at sea before a three-year degree at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA). The first 12 months includes six months at sea to introduce the trainee midshipman to life at sea before investing further in their training. In Army, officer training has two pathways, either 18 months at the Royal Military College (RMC) Duntroon or an ADFA degree followed by 12 months at RMC. Air Force officer training involves 17.5 weeks at the Officer Training School at East Sale, Victoria or the equivalent time in Single Service Training while undertaking a degree at ADFA.

Upon graduation from recruit training, other ranks are sent to Initial Employment Training (IET)[34] where they learn their particular trade. Officers may find themselves undergoing specialist training, such as flying training for pilots in Air Force or Warfare Officer Training[35] in Navy. The differing lengths of training for officer and other ranks result in different levels of inculation and Service affiliation. In officer training, Army is the most inculcated, offering six more months than Navy and, substantially, 12.5 more months than Air Force. Army uses a 'General Service Officer' model at RMC which ensures graduates are able to perform a broad range of tasks before specialising, whereas Navy and Air Force rely on specialist training for employability. Army also trains recruits for three weeks longer than the other two Services. In contrast, Air Force inculcates significantly less than the other two Services in their officer training.

The **Sustain** component involves the maintenance of the workplace competencies achieved through recruit and IET training and the professional training of officers to sustain levels of capability and maintain preparedness levels required by JOC. The three Services have to ensure that their personnel are prepared for operations, that is, that they are ready to be deployed. This means readiness for deployment in terms of physical, medical and dental fitness and currency in terms of professional and trade competencies, as well as in weapons handling. In order to ensure readiness, the sustain component engages personnel in collective training and exercises, such as Mission Rehearsal Exercises and Unit Readiness Exercises.

Communities of practice – teams

Despite sharing the same fundamental task of providing capability, the way in which each Service provides that capability to JOC differs depending on the environmental domain and on the instrument of war. These are different in each of the Services and so produce a different kind of *community of practice* underpinning each Service's capability. A community of practice is a joint enterprise which binds members together into a social entity with a shared repertoire, such as routines, sensibilities, styles etc. that have been developed over time (Lave and Wenger 1991). The learning within a

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34   In Navy, this is referred to as Category Training.

35   In Navy, this is referred to as Application Training.

community of practice is situated within the work context or a simulated context during training and, importantly, the identities of the participants in the community are constructed during participation. We can see the shape of the three communities of practice from their respective mission statements.

Navy's mission is:

To fight and win in the maritime environment as an element of a joint or combined force. To assist in maintaining Australia's sovereignty and to contribute to the security of our region.[36]

Army's mission is:

To win the land battle. The Army achieves its mission by providing a potent, versatile, adaptable and agile land force that can be applied with discrimination (Australian Army 2008, pp. 20-21).

Air Force's mission is:

To fight and win by generating integrated kinetic and non-kinetic air and space effects across the sea, land, air, space and cyber operating domains.[37]

In the first instance, each Service primarily operates in its respective environmental domain; the maritime environment for Navy, the land environment for Army, and the air, space and cyber environments for Air Force. This immediately sets up different communities of practice. Secondly, participation of personnel in each of these communities or Services is also impacted by the instrument of war. The individual becomes a member of a larger social entity that is arranged into different social configurations. Navy personnel fight as members of a ship's crew. Army personnel fight as members of teams organised into sets of larger teams, that is, section, platoon, company, battalion etc. Air Force personnel fight primarily as squadrons, which are made up of air crew and ground crew.

Whilst recognising that there are exceptions within each Service, in general terms, the instrument of war for Navy is the ship, for Army it is the units and formations of its soldiers, and for Air Force it is the aircraft. The capability of each instrument of war is different, something which is again clear from the mission statements and this impacts on the training of the personnel whose jobs are to ensure the instrument functions optimally to achieve the mission. Table 3.2 below taken from Jans (2002) captures the differences between the uniformed Services, which summarises their differing communities of practice.

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36   See www.navy.gov.au /about/organisation/navy-values

37   See http://www.airforce.gov.au/About_us /About_the_RAAF/Air_Force_Vision/

Factor	Navy	Army	Air Force
The core element of professional identity	Command at sea	Art of land warfare and the 'brotherhood' of arms	Aviation technology
Self measurement	Number of ships	Number of people	Level of technology
Unit operations and the way the mission is accomplished	• Independent platform manned by an integrated hierarchical team. • The Captain is the Apex of the fighting machine • All are at equal risk	• Semi-autonomous groupings of soldiers, often with junior NCO as leaders, doing the close-combat fighting. • The CO is the Chessmaster. • Risk decreases with rank.	• Samurai or knights: a small elite does battle on behalf of the other members. • The CO is the Head Knight. • Risk increases with rank.
Intra-service distinctions	Seamen/submariners – Others	Combat Arms – Support Corps – Others	Jet pilot - Other pilots - Others
Most sensitive, 'die-in-the-ditch' professional issue	Interference with independence in maritime operations	Down grading of combat role to peacekeeping pseudo-warrior	Reduction of manned aviation capability

Table 3.2–Intra service culture comparisons (Jans 2002, p. 123)

The different environmental domains and instruments of war in each Service have differing effects which are described below. To start with the Navy. For Navy personnel, the safety of the entire crew is the collective responsibility of everybody. The Chief of Navy describes the 'New Generation Navy Culture' as having three pillars–warfighting and sea worthiness, improvement and accountability, and values-based, people-centred leadership. The crew works as one to ensure the success of the mission (warfighting) and the safe return of the ship (sea worthiness). Damage on board through flood or fire has the potential to be catastrophic for all, so everyone plays a role in its management. The skills required for living in close quarters over long periods of time, and sharing the work of damage control while managing individual work responsibilities, forms the basis of recruit training, IET and officer training.

This kind of working environment contributes to achieving the mission and, at the same time, builds strong, inwardly-focused relationships. Chief of Navy notes 'that we often work within the confines of our own ship and as such we can sometimes become a little insular'.[38] Indeed, Navy personnel are always on board ship, regardless of where they are. Land-based activity is equated to life at sea: Navy bases are ships, such as HMAS *Creswell*, which is a training base; the environs around buildings are the sea; transport off bases are 'liberty' boats and so. This interest in the ship and its safety impacts on relationships in the Navy. On board, senior ranks take on the role of mentor and coach as they check on the welfare and competencies of their team. Rank is respected but so is the right of all crew to speak up to ensure both safety and mission success. This creates a hierarchy of relationships that is

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38   'Looking to the future', *Navy News* 14 March 2013, p. 2.

strongly bonded and which tolerates challenges, much of which is achieved through the use of humour and *sending up*, throughout the ranks. However, the ultimate task of the ship's company is to meet the Captain's intent. It is in this sense that Navy people say that 'the Captain is the ship' (Department of Defence 2007a, pp. 3-9). Sailors thus identify as a member of the group before they recognise their function in the group. If you ask sailors what they do, they'll answer something like *I'm in the Navy*. Their identity is linked to the social entity of their Service, the ultimate team, characterised in Navy as 'a team of teams' (DNPS 2008, p. 3).

This combination of sea as domain and ship as instrument produces a community of practice which forms, un-forms and re-forms two kinds of teams while at sea. In the first instance, only a few of the crew, the warfighting officers, are warfighters. Otherwise most of the crew have both a warfighting role and a trade or professional role such as medic, engineer, mechanic, electrician, chef, radio communications etc. Consequently, they form teams for damage control when the ship is at risk, otherwise they un-form and re-form back into their typical trade or professional team, illustrating that '[t]he ship is paramount and the ship's company both shapes and is shaped by the ship' (Commander John Wearne, personal Communication, 21 January 2014).

This duality of team formation of the ship's company can be conceived as a difference in orientation along the epistemic axis. The damage control teams are formed around strict protocols or Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs). They practise and practise until the team is able to perform the procedures to the required standard. Once all the competencies have been met, it is the ship, not the individuals, which is thus mission ready. The emphasis on SOPs is an example of a *doctrinal* orientation to knowledge concerned with *how* to do something, how to perform a procedure. This contrasts with the trade and professional teams which tend to rely less on procedures and more on situational context. For example, if something breaks, or a diagnosis is required, then procedures may not help in finding the solution. The team has to come up with what is wrong through the application of joint problem solving and trade/professional expertise. This is a *situational* orientation to knowledge, concerned with the *what* of a situation (Maton 2013, p. 176). Damage control teams are thus more doctrinal, while trade/professional teams are more situational. Doctrinal approaches on the epistemic axis are more representative of knower codes, while situational approaches are more representative of knowledge codes, as they provide for more freedom of action. Navy teams thus tend to form and reform around knower/knowledge motivations depending on the kind of work.

To take now the case of the Army, the effect of domain and instrument of war on the solider can also be understood by orientation on the epistemic axis. The soldier is inculcated to be a warrior, trained in the skills of soldiering built up through teamwork as its primary context. The warrior team is the instrument of war. Land warfare requires soldiers to have shared skill sets in the *art of war* and other relevant skills in areas such as radio communications, medical therapies and basic engineering. At any point in achieving the mission, a soldier may be asked to step up and take someone's place, if required. They are thus trained as generalists first and specialists second (Jans 2002, p. 82).

Soldiers are aware of their team members and are trained to act under stress in high-risk situations in routinised ways and to protect each other, even at risk to themselves. They are bonded very tightly and team membership is crucial. They share common socialisation and strong interdependence of functions. They are routinised through SOPs and take their individual responsibility as an effective team member very seriously. Injury and mistakes are not tolerated in this context. Knowing *how* to do something in high-risk situations is critical. If you ask a solider what they do, they'll answer something like *I'm a soldier* (Jans 2002, p. 83). Their identity is linked to being an inculcated individual, working in a tightly-bonded team. In other words, Army warfighting teams are doctrinally oriented. They are motivated and underpinned by procedures which are indicative of a knower code orientation.

To come now to the Air Force, the community of practice is divided into two distinct types of teams within the squadron. There is the small, elite group of aircrew whose roles are to fly and engage in warfighting. Only a very limited few *go to war*. This group is engaged in high-risk activity and, like Navy and Army, enacts the procedures of a knower code orientation. The majority of the personnel in Air Force, however, have the primary role of supporting the aircraft. The work of keeping an aircraft and its concomitant technology in a state of readiness requires expertise and specialisation, as much as it requires compliance with aviation regulations and procedures. According to the Director General Personnel – Air Force in an email dated 22 January 2013, 'he who knows first, can see first and therefore shoot first'.

In this sense, the social entity of Air Force is a group of professional and technical specialists who manifest both doctrinal *and* situational orientations on the epistemic axis. In contrast to Navy, however, there is no forming, un-forming and reforming into teams of different code orientations. Rather, the teams are stable, with the aircrew and support crew each manifesting both the orientations of a knower code and a knowledge code. Not surprisingly, due to the level of specialisation required to keep high-tech airplanes flying, Air Force people tend to identify with their profession over their Service–'[t]he Air Force tells me I'm an Air Force officer first and a pilot second; I say I'm a pilot first and a pilot second' (Jans in Moskos 1988, p. 213). This identification with the profession extends also to the air(wo)men, that is, the troops, where '[t]rade specialisation overshadows the inculcation of the military persona. Engineer first, troop second' (CO No. 1 Recruit Training Unit, personal communication, 25 September 2013).

By taking environmental domain and instrument of war into account, the varying degrees of influence from the knowledge code in the knower code orientations of the three uniformed Services come to light. Their respective social practices are underpinned by varying degrees of knowledge code influence. When looking at the differences between the uniformed Services as communities of practice, another consideration is their respective orientations along the axis of social relations. Navy, Army and Air Force all predominantly train through practices that expose personnel to ideal values, outcomes and exemplary models through prolonged classroom teaching and master-apprentice, situated learning. Ways of being, doing and approaching things are shared and practised over and over again, binding people together in relationships of trust. As briefly mentioned earlier, this kind of values-based orientation is a particular setting on the social relations axis which is termed the *cultivated* orientation (Maton 2013, p. 185).

With Navy and Army, both requiring most of their people to cooperate in the high-risk activity of warfighting, the relations between people are strongly bounded. In order to achieve the mission, rank and role become critical. In threat situations, directives of the chain of command must be followed. A person of rank controls the behaviour and relations of others. This strongly-bounded and -framed 'do-as-I-say-because-I-am-who-I-am' approach to managing relations between people affords Navy and Army legitimation through a *social* orientation on the social relations axis (Maton 2013, p. 95). This orientation is determined by social category, for example, a uniformed member's rank and function.

While all the uniformed Services share a cultivated orientation, they have other, additional orientations to people that set them apart from each other. With its propensity to emphasise the profession or occupation, Air Force is more like APS in that qualification and specialisation are valued as legitimising authority and status. This kind of legitimation affords Air Force a *trained* orientation on the *social relations* axis as well as the cultivated setting (ibid).

To sum up this characterisation using an LCT model, the three uniformed Services manifest different kind of teams in their respective communities of practice as illustrated in Table 3.3.

	Navy	Army	Air Force	APS
Doctrinal	✓ (team 1)	✓	✓	
Situational	✓ (team 2)		✓	✓
Trained			✓	✓
Cultivated	✓	✓	✓	
Social	✓	✓		

Table 3.3–The four Services mapped against LCT settings

Noting the statistical reality of Defence, the dominant code in the organisation is the knower code of the uniformed Services. The knowledge code of the APS has far less influence on the organisation. Consequently, it operates as a minority code, making up just 30% of the workforce. Control of the codes of a culture are in the hands of the dominant group, in this case, the uniformed, Anglo-Australian male group, making up 86% of the population of Defence. In addition, within the APS population, the number of ex-uniformed service personnel working as APS civilians is approximately 25%. Defence is thus dominated by a knower code which is controlled by the dominant group. Consequently, with this level of control of a knower code, the capacity for Defence to naturally *include* is limited. There is systematic resistance to inclusion.

With an understanding of the different codes of legitimation, it becomes possible to explain how these codes impact on diversity and inclusion as well as what happens when these different codes come into contact in the workplace. The following section will consider the effect of having more than one legitimation code in Defence by taking two perspectives. The first will examine how the codes manage diversity and social inclusion. The second will look at what happens when the codes come into contact and what the intercultural implications are.

Codes, diversity and social inclusion

In achieving their respective missions, the APS and the ADF enact different codes. It is thus not surprising that these two sections of the organisation co-exist in a state of tension, as each is motivated by competing orientations to human resource management and to the nature of the work in the workplace. These differences create different systemic impacts on diversity and social inclusion. By their very nature, social relations in the ADF work against social inclusion. Essentially, this is because it matters *who you are*. Members are selected based on their particular dispositions and attributes and they are part of the group if they have the appropriate characteristics.

In contrast, social relations of the APS work in favour of social inclusion, essentially because it does *not* matter *who* you are. Members can be anyone as long as their *selection* is based primarily on their training and not primarily on their dispositions or attributes, whether they are innate (such as gender, race or class), inculcated, cultivated or based on some kind of *born* right. Herein lies one of the intrinsic and systemic differences between the APS and the uniformed Services. With weak social relations, the APS manages diversity and inclusion in a more naturalised and normalised manner. For example, the representation of women is a case in point.

> Women make up 57.5% of the Public Service. This is comparable to women's participation rate of 58.4% in the overall Australian workforce. And even though the representation of women in the APS workforce of Defence is considerably lower than APS wide at 40.4%, it is about three times more than in the ADF, which is a low 13.8% (McGregor 2011, pp. 16-19).

This is also the case for other characteristics. While statistics are patchy, we know from the Australian Bureau of Statistics that the 2011 Australian Census (ABS 2012) showed that 19% of the Australian population speaks a language other than English at home. In the ADF, it is 5.41%, while in the APS it is 14.11% (Department of Defence 2013b, p. 6). The APS includes CALD staff more comfortably than the ADF. In addition, when looking at religious affiliation, statistics collected by Defence show that two-thirds (63%) of Defence personnel have some religious affiliation, with 44% being Catholic and Anglican. Non-Christian religions represented 1% or less of Defence (Department of Defence 2011b, p. 4).

In the case of LGBTI, information on sexual orientation is not collected in any formal process, so it is difficult to paint an official picture of LGBTI representation in Defence; however, the representation at the Mardi Gras in 2013 offers a possible insight into the current state of participation. All four Services were represented by volunteers at the Defence Mardi Gras march. Of the uniformed Services, Navy, the smallest Service, had the highest turn out (43%), while Army, the largest Service, had the smallest turn out (27%).[39] Male and females were equally represented in Navy; females were under-represented in Army and over-represented in Air Force. Acknowledging that these figures are not statistically valid, and if you assume that there may be an equal proportion of LGBTI across each of the Services, it is interesting to note that it appears to be harder to be LGBTI in Army than in Navy and Air Force.

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39   These numbers were collected by viewing a video of the Defence participants and counting them which was posted on the Defence LGBTI Information Service website, http://defglis.com.au

From an LCT perspective, it is the difference in the kind of social relation which sets up the capacity for an organisation to be naturally *in*clusive or not. When relationships in the workplace depend more on the trained orientations of the knowledge code, that of skills and knowledge, then the social group in more inclusive. This is representative of the knowledge code of the APS, as its demographic statistics demonstrate more diversity. In contrast, when social relationships depend more on a socially recognised function, such as rank, or socially-preferred attributes, such as gender or race, the social group is more exclusive. This is evidenced by the demographic reality of the ADF. Historically, it has been a Christian, Anglo-Australian, male organisation. It has been by its very nature exclusive. However, the only *social* orientation that should be critical to selection into the ADF and the APS is Australian citizenship. This *social* attribute may be justified by the desire for loyalty to the nation, but other social attributes such as gender, religion, race, sexual orientation and, in some cases, disability are not justifiable as reasons for exclusion.

In contrast, the *cultivated* orientation to relations between people that facilitate the communities of practice in the ADF *should* be used to discriminate, as these go to the heart of achieving its mission. Attributes that are enshrined in the values and core behaviours of each of the Services are legitimate and necessary in order to discriminate and thereby exclude. It is on this basis of discrimination that the APS and the ADF should differ. It is reasonable to expect that a uniformed person be physically fitter than an APS employee. It is part of warfighting to be fit, in both mind and body, to cope with the demands and stresses of warfighting. It is also reasonable to select prospective recruits on the basis of dispositions which match the desired values of resilience, courage, initiative, integrity, loyalty and so on.

This distinction between the APS and the ADF is also relevant when considering the differences between Army, Navy and Air Force. While all three manifest a knower code, the Air Force tends to be more inclusive, as it values situational relationships to knowledge more than the other two Services. Air Force assigns more value to individual expertise and is therefore more inclusive, much like the APS. This underpins characterisations of Air Force by Army and Navy that ridicule Air Force as a uniformed Service. Comments such as 'Air Force is the paramilitary wing of the APS' or '… civilians in uniform' point to the variations between the knower codes of the three uniformed Services.[40]

Further, Navy is succeeding more than the other two Services in attracting a broader demographic. For example, once Navy started putting women on ships, they realised soon enough that it was not about gender, but rather capacity to do the job. Women are now enjoying a degree of acceptance in Navy because they have been given the chance and they have demonstrated their capacity to do the job. Women are becoming part of the team, with selection based on their attributes and dispositions rather than their gender.[41] This represents selection based on a cultivated rather than a social orientation to social relations.

With the emphasis on the social relation of the individual and the warrior identity, Army is less diverse and less inclusive. The emphasis on rank and tight team relations results in interpersonal relationships

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40   These expressions feature in the everyday banter of Defence, however, in these two cases, I have been unable to locate a written reference to them.

41   Navy employs 18% women, the highest of the three uniformed Services, even though it is overall the smallest uniformed Service with 13,517 members. See Department of Defence 2013a.

that are very strongly classified and framed. The *social* orientation is exploited by the dominant group to continue to select their own kind as its preferred type of team member. This is a 'kind affinity' bias (May 2013). In Army, it is difficult to be different, particularly if you appear to have characteristics that fall outside the norms of the group and it is risky to stand out. It is an extension of the 'tall poppy' syndrome. Until the opportunities are made available and brave trail-blazers from diverse backgrounds are supported and afforded the opportunity to demonstrate their capacity to do the job, Army will continue to resist diversity as part of its *habitus*. For example, one soldier whom I interviewed made the following comment,

> I've worked in policing organisations and private civilian organisations where that type of thing just does not occur, that type of language, racist and homophobic …. But it's permitted within Army, within the Defence culture in many areas that I've come across.
>
> Wil, Army (LGBTI)

In short, Army is invested in the *social* orientation that excludes through historical biases, such as heritage background, gender and sexual orientation, but it is, at the same time, invested in the necessary *cultivated* orientations required of a *warrior*. In a sense, Army needs to shift away from the social orientation while maintaining a cultivated orientation to enable more diversity.

In summary, the knowledge code of the APS will always be more inclusive than the ADF because people are selected primarily on what they know, not on who they are. The knower code of the ADF is naturally more exclusive because of the justifiable need for people with particular dispositions who have the ability to engage in dangerous, risky and stressful work. The challenge for the ADF is to use the cultivated orientation as the basis for selection rather than any social orientations that are relics of the past and should be assigned to history.

Interculturality

In the integrated environment of Defence, the four cultures are in constant contact. Through this multiple contact, complex interculturality and relations between people of different cultures are played out every day through the use of language. It is in the choice of what language to use where the impact of the legitimation codes can be seen. In a knower code of the ADF, the rank system explicitly maps out who is who, and who has authority. These relationships are unequal, formal and socially distant. The rank system demands overt signs of respect, such as the salute and titles of authority and status. Vocatives such as *Sir* and *Ma'am* are expected. Omitting to salute or address a senior rank with an appropriate title can result in a reprimand or other disciplinary action. This kind of language is understandable, given the need for tight control in the circumstances of warfighting.

In contrast, a knowledge code de-emphasises social difference, assuming people are equally worthy of mutual respect. This respect is not enabled through a system of titles or ranks, but rather through the levels of politeness in language. When working together in this context, co-workers constantly negotiate their level of familiarity through talk and the more people get to know each other, the more informal and casual the everyday talk becomes. This is because the work level hierarchies are not as

important as getting the job done. This is a feature of the APS workplace, where people mediate their relationships through polite requests, which become less formal as familiarity increases.

In the APS, the trained social relations means that politeness strategies are required when telling someone to do something. One can expect polite requests. For example, an Executive Level 2 writing to another APS staff writes *it might be best to get in touch* with instead of writing *get in touch with* or even *please get in touch with*. This former formulation is indirect and suggestive rather than commanding. In the APS, it is risky to command: getting work done depends very much on polite suggestions and requests. Even formal correspondence uses modulated forms such as *I am writing to you to remind you to speak with your supervisor* instead of *please speak to your supervisor*.[42] In comparison, between uniformed members there is no need for modulated requests in correspondence. Provided rank is acknowledged in the salutation, direct formulations are tolerated and even expected. No flowery, polite language is required. For example, in the following excerpt from an email from a Lieutenant Colonel to a Colonel, the request for signature is a statement which is underlined in the excerpt.

> Sir
>
> [Name] Agreement for your signature. The scan is not particularly flash but should do for now. I will have a cleaner version scanned in the new year.
>
> Regards
>
> [First name]

The need to be careful and polite is replaced by acknowledgement of difference in rank through the salutation. This difference in language expression goes some way to explaining why APS staff can accuse military staff of being rude and combative in meetings. With rank doing the work of the polite, indirect speech required by APS culture, military people negotiate the content of meetings and work tasks directly, with little regard for the need for politeness. This can be interpreted as abrupt and aggressive by APS staff and this is indeed how APS women interviewed for the 'Report on APS Women in Defence' viewed interpersonal relations between APS women and military members as reported in McGregor (2011):

> Consistent with the 'boy's club' culture was the perception that military style attributes are those that are valued and rewarded. There was a perceived lack of emphasis on people skills, with a commensurate focus on performing tasks combined with an abrupt, tough and assertive/aggressive communication style (p. 34).

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42   Wording taken from an email dated 21 May 2013 from the Director General Personnel–Army addressed to all Army civilians.

If this is the kind of working style that characterises the naturalised day-to-day style of the workplace, it is not something personnel come to appreciate and understand until they can compare it with another style. This was the case for a senior, female APS worker who, after leaving Defence to join the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, noted:

> I could not believe how different it was from my experience to date. I would go home to my husband and say, in wonderment, 'everyone genuinely wants to help me to do my job', and 'people are so [there was no other word for it] *civil*'. I wasn't used to this. It's not that I came from Defence bruised and bleeding from hand to hand combat. But rather I was used to a base level of – again, there's no other word for it – *aggro*, that I hadn't realised existed until it was no longer part of the air I breathed [source details deliberately omitted].

By using the framework of LCT, it becomes possible to see how *habitus* works to naturalise what to people outside the field might not appear to be natural. Knowledge code APS relationships are mediated through modulated politeness strategies, while knower code ADF relationships are mediated through vocatives of rank. When these two styles come into contact, participants naturally react through an unconscious bias based on their respective habitus.

In Example 3.1 below, the military member is task oriented and directive, outlining *dos and don'ts* (denoted by grey highlighting) in an integrated workplace of mostly APS staff. The email pays very little attention to readers' sensibilities. The word *please* is the only overt indicator of politeness. For a civilian, this email could be read as patronising because of the use of the direct imperative grammar of commands in both the positive–*Do this*–and the negative–*Don't do*. These grammatical choices are reminiscent of an adult-child relationship, rather than a message from an adult to another adult. Of course, for the author of the message, it is doubtful that there was any intent to be patronising, yet the possibility of it being received as such exists due to the difference in the legitimation codes. The writer is a knower coder, directing from a position of authority, while the readers are knowledge coders expecting to be afforded respect through modulated language.

Example 3.1   Task-oriented email with minimal negotiation of the interpersonal relationship

| *Italics denote language which mediates the interpersonal relationship* | ***Good Morning All,*** The [deleted name] Bookings Database for 2014 will be made available from next Monday, 02 Dec. I will send you all the Objective link for you to save to your favourites.

Please take note of the following reminders:

1. Do not blanket-book facilities. Only book for the specified time and day you require a particular facility. The incoming OPSWO is aware that blanket-bookings are not permitted and will advise of any deletions.

2. If you no longer require a booked facility, don't forget to go in and delete your reservation.

3. Do not over-write someone else's booking.

4. Return to the homepage before saving and closing the database.

5. All vehicle bookings are to be made by the OPSWO only. You can check the availability of a vehicle, but you are not to book it yourself. Vehicle requirements for training activity support will be booked as part of the TSR process.

6. The school is catering for extra courses next year so some space was needed to accommodate. There were no responses from the allocation spreadsheet I sent out weeks ago, so the classroom/staffroom/facilities allocation is now locked in.

FYI and planning.

Regards,
(Signature)
Warrant Officer Class Two
[Military Unit Name] | Grey highlight denotes language related to task |

In contrast, Example 3.2 illustrates an email which uses significantly more polite language to develop rapport with the reader on the interpersonal level, as well as to request a task-related action. This message is what would be usually expected of an APS supervisor who is accustomed to working in a context where requests can be contested. The trained orientation of the knowledge code affords members of the group the opportunity to challenge and contest. By using polite language, as well as providing a logical reason for the request, the author of Example 3.2 is mitigating this potentiality.

Example 3.2   Interpersonally-oriented email

| *Italics denote language which mediates the interpersonal relationship while making requests*

Underlined text denotes the reason for the request to explain why and mitigate against non-compliance | *Hi* [Name 1]

Thank for the update; and for clarifying to the team that they need to wait for the thumbs up from yourself and [Name 2] before going ahead and liaising with [Unit Z].

I think it's great you communicated to the rest of the team for their situational awareness. In the future *we just need to be mindful to be extremely* clear on any guidance we email as, due to the large number of people, some team members may misunderstand the intent of the email.

In summary, *you and [Name 2] did an amazing job getting this* minute drafted and signed by [authorising delegate] *so quickly, and you deserve a gold star for keeping the team in the loop*.

Cheers, [Name 3]. | Grey highlight denotes language related to the requested task |

These two examples illustrate the different, *normalised* uses of language between the two Services. Both the military member in Example 3.1 and the APS supervisor in Example 3.2 are expressing themselves appropriately within their culture, that is, within their legitimation codes. The knower code principles in Example 1 underpin the language choice of direct imperative with minimal politeness, while the knowledge code principles in Example 2 underpin the modulated, indirect style of request. Both are appropriate, yet both can be met with unexpected responses. APS members who receive Example 1 may be offended, while military personnel receiving Example 2 might not take on board the supervisor's warning.

It is in this language space that knower-knowledge code tensions can arise. Extrapolating this out into social interaction and workplace behaviour, there are a number of workplace features in Defence that can be understood as codes in conflict. The APS is the minority culture in the organisation. It makes up 28% of the overall workforce and, significantly, 25% of this minority is made up of ex-uniformed personnel.[43] With a quarter of the APS in Defence being ex-military, knower code principles continue to underpin much of their day-to-day behaviour. For example:

1. The direct, un-modulated language of the ex-uniformed personnel may be considered rude and inappropriate by APS and may contribute to perceptions of bullying.

2. Ex-uniformed personnel might not consult and negotiate with APS staff, preferring to act and do doctrinally as they were used to in the ADF, believing they have the intrinsic authority from having experienced life in the rank hierarchy.

3. Ex-uniformed personnel might not understand that the knowledge and skills of their APS colleagues demand respect in the same way that rank does.

4. Ex-uniformed personnel may not heed managerial direction from APS, as a result of not appreciating the value of indirectness as an alternate means of *command and control*.

5. Ex-uniformed personnel may bring doctrinal orientations to problem solving, which may be inappropriate or not applicable.

6. Ex-uniformed personnel may overlook the value of thinking time when problem solving, preferring to apply *tried and true* doctrine and acting.

7. Ex-uniformed personnel may ignore the civilian leadership or civilian advisor, taking guidance and advice from a uniformed member instead, even if their line manager is a civilian more senior than the uniformed member.

Similarly, there is a reverse effect when APS personnel encounter knower code behaviours from both military and ex-military co-workers. When the knowledge code of the APS rubs up against the knower code of the ADF, the following has the potential to occur.

1. APS personnel may feel invisible in uniformed contexts. Military interviewees have described civilians as either threats or unknowns because there is no visible marker of rank such as epaulets (Deputy Director Military Operations, Defence Force Recruiting, personal communication, 6 February 2013). The result of this is the APS worker has feelings of being overlooked or ignored. This can impact negatively not just on the individual but also on the organisation. Say, for example, in an organisational restructure of a unit made up of mostly civilians, the military *knower* in charge may attribute greater value to what *they* believe is important to the restructure rather than what the specialist civilians advise based on their expertise and specialisation. In this case, the organisational needs of a unit which provides niche capability might not get the optimal outcome in a restructure process.

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43   The statistics of 28% comes from Department of Defence 2013b and the 25% of ex-uniformed personnel in APS is from Department of Defence 2011a.

2. APS personnel may adopt the direct communication strategies of the knower coders, which can cause tension when applied inappropriately in a knowledge code context.

3. The APS worker is generally not prepared for the combative style of *fight/go in hard* in order to contribute. Even when they are assigned a nominal rank, APS personnel have to work to maintain their authority with uniformed personnel; they do not have a recognisable *command presence* due to the modulated nature of knowledge code requests.

4. APS supervisors of ex/military personnel may experience a lack of recognition of their authority.

5. APS personnel see the value in thinking time, rather than defaulting to doctrinal processes. This is the difference in epistemic relations where the APS is operating with a situational orientation, while the military member is motivated by a doctrinal orientation.

6. If they feel threatened, APS personnel may withhold information as a means of preserving power. This is because *knowledge is power* in a knowledge code.

7. APS personnel are not comfortable being direct and so dealing with conflict in the workplace *at the lowest level* is a very difficult task and personnel may prefer to avoid the confrontation.

In achieving their respective missions, the APS and the ADF enact different legitimation codes. It is thus not surprising that the two Services may co-exist in a state of tension, as each Service is motivated by competing orientations to social relations and to relations to knowledge in the workplace.

In terms of diversity and social inclusion, the APS accommodates differences and can mitigate potential feelings of exclusion through polite language and respectful treatment, whereas uniformed personnel using direct language and task-oriented approaches to work can unintentionally exclude. Having an understanding of these propensities can provide a degree of empathy towards each other. Knowing the underlying organising principles or codes of a particular culture provides a justification for why people behave the way they do, that is, the *habitus* they unconsciously enact.

Conclusion

This chapter has described LCT and applied it to the description of the APS and the ADF, and to the three uniformed Services of Navy, Army and Air Force. The knowledge code of the APS is intrinsically more inclusive than the knower code of the ADF. Within the ADF, the Air Force and, to a lesser extent Navy, have knowledge code principles in the sense that specialisation is valued as much as rank and hierarchy. However, they are manifestly knower codes along with Army. The difference between the knower codes of the Navy, Army and Air Force lie in their respective orientations on the social relations and epistemic relations axes.

The different kinds of teams resulting from the differences in environmental domain and instruments of war result in these orientations. Navy has *doctrinal* and *situational* orientations to knowledge and *cultivated* and *social* orientations to relations between people. Army has a *doctrinal* orientation to knowledge and *cultivated* and *social* orientations to people. Air Force has *doctrinal* and *situational*

orientations to knowledge and *cultivated* and *trained* orientations to relations between people. For the APS, social relations tend to be oriented towards a *trained* setting as their interest is less in *who you are* and more in *what you know*, and epistemic relations tend to typically manifest a *situational* orientation.

These differences in orientation within the codes are the reasons why the four Services within the ADF may not necessarily get along in the workplace, and why misunderstandings and miscommunication can occur. This is typical of an intercultural context where people of different cultures, who are motivated by different codes, meet the unexpected situation, where their *habitus* is not shared by others and where intercultural skills are required for harmonious work relationships. Skills such as tolerance for ambiguity, behavioural flexibility, communicative awareness, knowledge discovery and respect for otherness become important (INCA 2004).

While knowledge codes manage diversity more seamlessly than knower codes, knower codes need not be so exclusive. The knower codes of the uniformed Services orientate collectively around the *cultivated* orientation on the social relations axis. This is the orientation where values and behaviours are inculcated. These values and behaviours are developed in ADF training: with the development of the right kinds of values and behaviours, the ADF produces a workforce able to meet fundamental inputs to capability and thus achieve the mission. Thus exclusion need not be based on anything other than demonstrated adherence to the expected values and behaviours, rather than exclusion based on race, gender, sexual orientation and so on.

Nonetheless, the inculcated values and behaviours most preferred by the ADF are not equally valued or inculcated. Some values are preferred over others and, sadly, some kinds of people are preferred over others. Similarly, in the APS, which operates within a values-based employment environment, the inculcation process and adherence to APS values is an ongoing challenge (McGregor 2012, p. 9), as the knowledge code principles work against a values-based employment environment, which the APS has adopted (Australian Public Service Commission 2006, p. 3). The language practices of the organisation conspire to maintain and perpetuate this situation. Without language change, there is unlikely to be behavioural change. Chapter 4 will demonstrate the formal language practices that maintain this status quo, while Chapter 5 will demonstrate how the informal practices support the dominant group within Defence.

CHAPTER 4
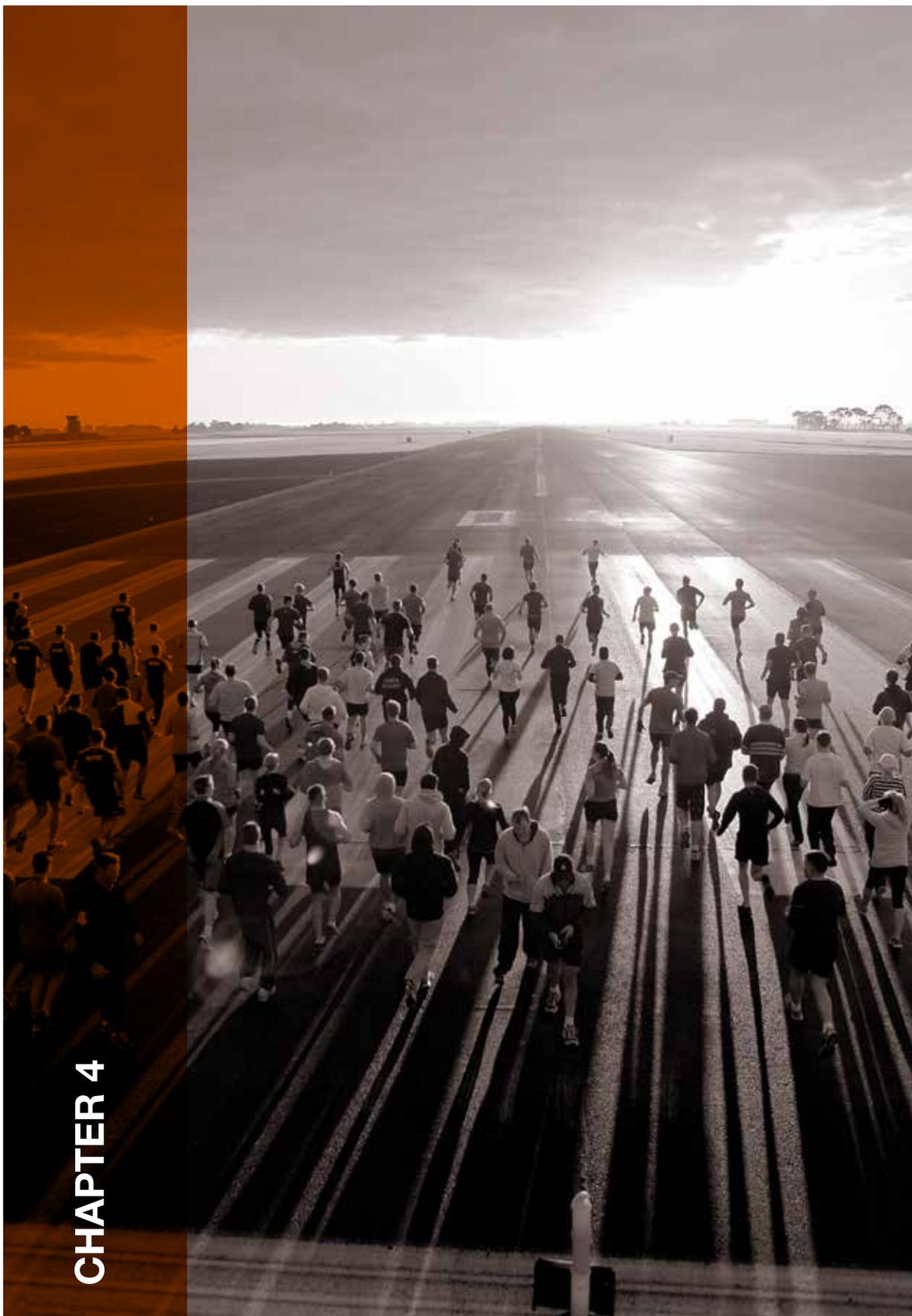
CHAPTER 4

Values and icons to rally around

We are icons of Australian society.

(Defence Committee 2012)

Introduction

The knowledge and knower codes of Defence outlined in Chapter 3 provided the framework for understanding the different organising principles behind status and authority. What this means in terms of diversity and social inclusion is that knowledge code cultures such as the APS are more able to accommodate diversity, in the sense that anyone, regardless of their background, gender, beliefs, race etc, can participate as a fully-fledged member of the group provided they have the requisite expertise. It is this ability to accommodate diversity which allows knowledge code cultures to be intrinsically more socially inclusive than knower code cultures.

In contrast, as knower code cultures like the ADF are more concerned about who a person is and what their attributes and dispositions are, it is not surprising that they show a preoccupation with inculcation and the process of developing individual aptitudes and innate skills. This preoccupation is observable through kinds of training regimes that emphasise teamwork and team bonding, as well as through language practices which rally people around specific and desirable attributes. It is thus anticipated that knower code institutions would have officially-endorsed documents and statements that make explicit the kind of attributes a desired member of the institution should have or should, at the very least, aspire to.

Such documents and statements use social categories like desired attributes and values to create 'representations or positions in specific discourses which individuals are invited by the text to occupy, and with which the individuals identify themselves' (Tann 2009, p. 6). Use of these kinds of documents, specifically Values Statements, are indeed the strategy for building appropriate professional identities in Defence. In concert with the Mission Statement of Defence, there is an organisation-wide Values Statement known as PLICIT—an acronym for the five values of Professionalism, Loyalty, Integrity, Courage, Innovation and Teamwork. In addition, each of the four Services has its own specific values and behaviours statements that are used in training and inculcation.

This chapter will investigate how the officially-endorsed values and behaviours statements of Defence resist or enable diversity through the construction of the ideal image(s) of Defence personnel. It will argue that the naturalised values, attitudes and dispositions which are selected by each Service reflect what is required to achieve their respective missions. For Navy, the ideal sailor and officer is honest and ethical; for Army, the ideal soldier and officer is brave and ethical; for Air Force, the ideal air(wo)man is capable and ethical; for the APS, the ideal person is honest, capable and ethical; and finally, for Defence as a collective whole, the ideal person is capable and ethical.

The chapter opens by investigating the intrinsic meanings of the values using appraisal analysis, noting what is desired and what is omitted, and how the grammatical choices within these statements range from inclusive to exclusive. The grammatical expression of the values is inclusive when people are expressed as *actors*—the doers of the action—who perform desired actions which demonstrate the meanings of the values in their respective definitions.

The chapter goes on to examine how these values are upheld and modelled by icons, using icon analysis, to reveal the kinds of values and behaviours that are reinforced by heroes in Defence media and Defence training resources. Values and stories are important because 'historical characters, artefacts and values in a text *align people* into groups with shared dispositions' (Martin and Stenglin 2007, p. 216) and further they rally their audience around communal ideals (Tann 2013).

The typical Defence hero is a hero in uniform from an Anglo-Australian background who performs acts of bravery in battle and models the values of courage and sacrifice. In short, this chapter will illustrate what Defence presents as its exclusive ideal values around which it gathers a group of *like-types* to achieve its mission. This type of hero is unnecessarily exclusive and works against the desire for Defence 'to represent the community it serves'. Herein lies a site for language change. By aligning more of the desired values to a broader range of heroes, the language of leadership can begin to *walk the talk* of cultural change.

Defence values

From an LCT perspective, Values and Behaviour Statements function as flags around which people rally in ritualised performance (Martin and Stenglin 2007). In the ADF, the military recruitment process of testing and interviewing identifies desirable attributes and dispositions of prospective recruits, weeding out those considered unsuitable candidates and selecting people based on qualifications and *suitability*. In terms of suitability, health and fitness are essential, but so too are attributes such as resilience, acceptance of authority and cooperativeness. The influence of the knower code in the uniformed Services reinforces these *suitable* attributes through training and thus, over time, deepens these attributes and dispositions within the uniformed member. Eventually, members come to embody the values and behaviours of the institutional ideal. However, within the APS, the process of inculcation is much less evident. While APS members agree, through the DECA, to adhere to the APS values and Code of Conduct, inculcation is much less emphasised than in the ADF.

The role of language in this process of inculcation is critical. Language names, defines, exemplifies and generalises values and codes of behaviour. Language presents values, describes histories and generalises ideal behaviours as community norms, thereby engraving behaviours as naturalised.

In this section, the discussion begins with a description of the values of Defence, using the semantic analysis that was described in Chapter 2. The discussion describes the analytical results, noting what the ideal member is for each Service, and how grammar and certain choices in expression afford or enable social inclusion or not. Also, the manner in which Defence and the four Services utilise the grammatical and lexical choices in their official literature are discussed.

As mentioned, there are five separate sets of values in Defence. There is the collective Defence values statement known as *PLICIT*, and a set for each of the four Services of Navy, Army, Air Force and the APS.

Defence values (PLICIT)

The Defence values (PLICIT) bring the four cultures together as one results-focused, values-based organisation. The intent of the Defence values was 'not to replace the single Service or APS values but to create a common and unifying thread for all Defence people' (Defence People Group 2013a) in order to achieve the joint mission of Defence. These values were developed as an underpinning of values-based leadership in 2007, arising from the Defence Renewal Program under the leadership of Air Chief Marshal Angus Houston, the then Chief of the Defence Force (Department of Defence 2007b, pp. iii-iv). The six values are Professionalism, Loyalty, Integrity, Courage, Innovation and Teamwork, known collectively as PLICIT.

These values are directed at both uniformed and civilian members of Defence and thus try to capture ideals of both workplace contexts. For example, in the description of Integrity, the term *mateship* is directed at the military members while the term *disrepute* is an intertextual reference to the APS Code of Conduct. The PLICIT value of Integrity is thus directed at both groups. The PLICIT values are a combination of knower and knowledge code attributes which the organisation as a whole has an obligation to emulate. It is a set of values directed to all, as seen in the following statement that introduces the values on the Defence website:

> The Defence values (PLICIT) are aspirational and underpin the Defence
> corporate culture, contribute to achieving organisational goals and form
> the basis of the behaviours expected of our people and leaders;
> both ADF and APS.
>
> (http://www.defence.gov.au/apscareers/whatweoffer/values.htm).

Table 4.1 presents the explanation of these values with the symbols that accompany them in their web-based published form.

Professionalism	**Professionalism is striving for excellence in everything we do.** We work hard to deliver high quality results, do our job to the best of our ability and take pride in our achievements. We are sensitive to changes in our working environment and are ready to respond. We provide impartial, comprehensive, timely and accurate advice. We constantly seek to improve our work performance.
Loyalty	**Loyalty is being committed to each other and to Defence.** We serve the government of the day and support our leaders and colleagues to undertake tasks and achieve results in line with government direction. We treat everyone at all levels with respect, care and compassion. We work to uphold the best interests of the Australian people.
Integrity	**Integrity is doing what is right.** We behave honestly and ethically, and demonstrate the highest standards of probity in our personal conduct. We act fairly and accept personal responsibility for our decisions and actions. We build trust through productive working relationships. We do not allow mateship to be misused to cover up bad behaviour or bring the organisation into disrepute. Our actions clearly match our words.
Courage	**Courage is the strength of character to honour our convictions (moral courage) and bravery in the face of personal harm (physical courage).** In Defence we stand up for what we believe is right and we speak out robustly and openly against what is wrong. We have the courage to accept valid criticism, admit to errors, learn lessons and improve. We give honest feedback on work performance.
Innovation	**Innovation is actively looking for better ways of doing our business.** In Defence we are open to new ideas and strive to identify and implement better ways of doing business. We are clever and make best use of the resources that we have to do our job. We encourage sensible risk taking, and strive to identify opportunities to eliminate inefficiency and waste.
Teamwork	**Teamwork is working together with respect, trust and a sense collective purpose.** Teamwork is cultivated through strong, positive leadership and attention to the needs of team members. In Defence teamwork is integral to everything we do, and characterises our working relationships inside Defence and across the whole of Government. We foster collaborative workplaces, communicate openly and solve problems in a collegiate manner, share ideas and take advantage of the diversity of our knowledge and experience.

Table 4.1 – PLICIT values and symbols

Navy values

Navy subscribes to five values, with the first value, Honour, being the most significant and encompassing the other four values of Honesty, Courage, Integrity and Loyalty. The descriptions of these values were expanded in 2012 as part of Navy's continuous improvement process. The values are published in a booklet which includes ten signature behaviours designed to demonstrate how to live the Navy values in support of the people, their performance and their professionalism in Navy.[44] Table 4.2 presents these Navy values with images that accompany them in their web-based published form.

Honour	Honour is the fundamental value on which the Navy's and each person's reputation depends! Honour reflects our moral and ethical standards. It demands strength of will and inspires physical effort and selfless service. Honour guides our actions in a way explicit rules cannot; it shapes our conscience and determines our notions of pride, self-respect and shame.
Honesty	Honesty is always being true to ourselves, our shipmates and our colleagues! Honesty demands we face our shortcomings. We must be open and upfront with each other and ourselves. Honesty drives personal and professional growth. A lack of honesty hinders improvement, allows incompetence to be swept under the carpet and encourages failings to be ignored. Honesty enables us to serve with a clear conscience, sincerity and selflessness.
Courage	Courage is the strength of character to do what is right in the face of adversity! Courage demands unwavering obedience to moral principles. Courage drives responsibility, humility and personal example. No amount of education or experience can overcome a deficiency of courage.
Integrity	Integrity is being committed to always doing what is right, no matter what the consequences! Integrity is unforgiving: if it's not right, don't do it - if it's not true, don't say it. Our integrity defines our moral power and underpins our fighting spirit. As people of integrity we confront and overcome wrong regardless of personal cost.
Loyalty	Loyalty is being committed to each other and to our duty of service to Australia! Loyalty is a reciprocal obligation of our shared and mutual commitments to each other and to the nation. It requires we acknowledge commendable effort and that we accept responsibility and accountability for our actions and for those of our subordinates.

Table 4.2 – Navy values and images

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44   Navy values are found at http://www.navy.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/Serving_australia_with_pride_2012.pdf

Army values

The Army values have recently been revised following the so called 'Jedi Council' incident in 2013 that shed light on issues of respect towards women in the Army across ranks and ages.[45] As a result, the original three values of Courage, Initiative and Teamwork were revised and a new value, Respect, was added. This value was made explicit in line with the Chief of Army Directive 21/13 (Australian Army 2013). Army values are complemented by the I am an Australian Soldier behaviours document and the Rules for a Fair Go initiative (Australian Army 2013). The new values are reproduced below in Table 4.3. These values are prefaced by the following introduction on Army's webpage:[46]

> Today's Army carries on a tradition steeped in the core values of courage, initiative, respect and teamwork. What binds these values together is an icon of Australian history - the Rising Sun Badge. While the Rising Sun has evolved over time, every soldier that wears it carries on the proud tradition of service to the nation. Our officers and soldiers live the values of courage, initiative, respect and teamwork. They're ordinary Australians who tackle extraordinary situations.

THE ARMY'S CORE VALUES

COURAGE	Courage, moral and physical, to act in the best interests of the Nation and the Army; including the moral strength and professionalism to balance the will to win with compassion, and mateship with duty.
INITIATIVE	Initiative to explore opportunities and embrace innovation to improve Army and our service to our Nation.
RESPECT	Respect for ourselves, our colleagues, our community and our history of service to the Nation; acknowledging that each one of us has earned the right to wear the Rising Sun Badge and the responsibility to uphold the values and traditions it symbolises.
TEAMWORK	Teamwork to support each other, our Australian community, our allies and our regional security partners in striving to achieve our mission; in a world connected by digital communication, such national and international 'communities' exist in both physical and online domains.

Table 4.3 – Army values

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45   'Army Launches New Value', Army News, Edition 1309, 18 July 2013.

46   Army values are found at http://www.defencejobs.gov.au/army/Lifestyle/traditionsAndValues.aspx

Air Force values

The Air Force values[47] are also fairly new, being just over 12 months old. Unlike Navy and Army values however, they are not complemented by a separate behaviours statement. Instead, the descriptions of behaviour are used to explain how each of the values are to be enacted in the workplace by Air Force personnel. The values are designed to be easily remembered by the acronym READIT. The six Air Force values are Respect, Excellence, Agility, Dedication, Integrity and Teamwork. The Air Force poster is reproduced in Table 4.4. For the sake of readability, the text is reproduced immediately below the poster.

Table 4.4 – Air Force values

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47   Air Force values are found at http://airforce.gov.au/About-us/About-the-RAAF/Air-Force-Values/?RAAF-P1m6QSkD2B/
     teTTYHuezoElikbosHGEX

RESPECT

Air Force People always respect the rights of others. Our people are just and inclusive. We recognise diversity is essential to improve our capability.

EXCELLENCE

Air Force People demonstrate professionalism, mastery and continuous improvement in everything we do. Our people are motivated and encouraged to innovate. We are capability focussed, operationally ready and are driven to successfully complete the missions required of us.

AGILITY

Air Force People respond swiftly to challenges. Our people are resilient and quickly adapt to changes in our environment. We are flexible in how we think and act and we use resources wisely.

DEDICATION

Air Force People are trusted to defend our country. Our people are courageous and serve with pride and commitment. We cherish our heritage, honour the achievements and sacrifices of those who have gone before us and will create the legacy for the future.

INTEGRITY

Air Force People have the courage to do what is right. Our people are honest, ethical and demonstrate sound judgment. We hold ourselves and others to account.

TEAMWORK

Air Force People work together to deliver precision air and space power. Our people collaborate with the Defence Team and our partners. We share the responsibility to ensure a safe environment, everywhere and always.

APS values

The APS values provide the philosophical underpinning of the APS and articulate its culture and operating ethos. The APS values and Code of Conduct were designed 'to protect the integrity of the APS … [and] to provide guidance to APS employees on how they ought to behave and the standard of conduct required' (Defence People Group 2013a). Both the values and the Code of Conduct are codified in Section 13 of the *Public Service Act 1999*. Until June 2013, the APS Values Statement consisted of a description of the Public Service expressed as 14 dot points, categorised into four groups: relationship with Government and Parliament, relationship with the public, workplace relationships, and personal behaviour.   They were difficult to understand and difficult to remember. It was thus decided to divide these descriptions into two separate statements, a Values Statement and a Principles of Employment Statement.[48] The five new values are Impartial, Committed to Service, Accountable, Respectful and Ethical. The values are also arranged in such a way to produce the acronym ICARE, to ensure ease of recollection. Following the division of the original 14 dot point values, the new Principles of Employment now read:

The APS is a career-based public service that:

- makes fair employment decisions with a fair
  system of review; and

- recognises that the usual basis for engagement is as
  an ongoing APS employee; and

- makes decisions relating to engagement and promotion
  that are based on merit; and

- requires effective performance from each employee; and

- provides flexible, safe and rewarding workplaces where communication, consultation, cooperation
  and input from employees on matters that affect their workplaces are valued; and

- provides workplaces that are free from discrimination, patronage and favouritism; and

- recognises the diversity of the Australian community and fosters diversity in the workplace

The new APS values are reproduced in the bookmark format published by the APS Commission shown in Table 4.5.

Australian Government
Australian Public Service Commission

APS Values

Impartial
The APS is apolitical and provides the Government with advice that is frank, honest, timely and based on the best available evidence.

Committed to service
The APS is professional, objective, innovative and efficient, and works collaboratively to achieve the best results for the Australian community and the Government.

Accountable
The APS is open and accountable to the Australian community under the law and within the framework of Ministerial responsibility.

Respectful
The APS respects all people, including their rights and their heritage.

Ethical
The APS demonstrates leadership, is trustworthy, and acts with integrity, in all that it does.

Table 4.5 – APS values

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48   See http://www.apsc.gov.au/aps-employment-policy-and-advice/aps-values-and-code-of-conduct

The ideal values

The task of demonstrating the naturalised meaning contained in the values of Defence as a whole, as well as of the four individual Services, involves applying appraisal analysis to the meanings *inscribed* in both the names and text of the Values Statements. The meanings inherent in these statements are evaluations, specifically judgments of what people should be like or how they should behave.

To recap the method of analysis described in Chapter 2, the semantically-based appraisal analysis is a linguistic tool (Martin and White 2005) which selects and codes evaluative meanings in language. Evaluations can be expressions of how people feel, or can be directed at things, or at people and their behaviours. People's behaviours are evaluated through five kinds of judgments representing different kinds of opinion. These are categorised according to meanings of either social esteem (three kinds) or social sanction (two kinds).

The first three kinds of judgment are evaluations of a person's social esteem, meanings to do with the kind of person they are in the eyes of others, classified as normality (how special), capacity (how able), and tenacity (how resolved). The other two categories which are related to social sanction are evaluations of a person's behaviour measured against community standards; how proper they are in the eyes of others, classified either as veracity (how honest) or propriety (how ethical).

The appraisal analysis involved identifying tokens of judgment, usually individual words or phrases, that were then coded according to one of the five kinds of judgment. Once these were coded, the software program, UAM Corpus tool, quantified the tokens into percentages. Applying these judgment categories to the tokens in the Defence Values Statements produced different distributions across the five Values Statements. This distribution produces interesting distinctions between the Services, as summarised in Table 4.6.

	PLICIT	Navy (NGN)	Army (new)	Air Force	APS (new)
Normality **How special?**	0	4.2	7.5	3.35	0
Capacity **How able?**	32.35	8.4	17.5	32.1	24.5
Tenacity **How resolved?**	23.35	13.95	37.5	21.25	21.5
Propriety **How ethical?**	29.63	36.4	37.5	33.75	17.5
Veracity **How truthful?**	14.66	36.95	0	9.6	37

Table 4.6 – Distribution of judgment across tokens in Defence Value Statements

The snapshots given in Table 4.6 are all positive judgments. The PLICIT collective values, and the individual Values Statement of each Service judge each of their *ideal* traits favourably. However, at the same time, these judgments are very selectively chosen from the full set of potential judgments. As a collective, the PLICIT values predominantly select judgments concerned with capacity (32.35%)

and propriety (29.63%) to describe the overall *ideal* organisation-wide identity. The message here is that Defence sees its people as both highly skilled and ethical. The *highly skilled* judgment category resonates with the knowledge code and the *ethical* category resonates with the knower code. As the organisation as a whole operates according to a combination of both codes, it makes sense for PLICIT to represent a balance of the attributes of each.

Navy shares with PLICIT and Air Force a strong emphasis on the values of propriety (36.4%) but in contrast selects veracity (36.95%), that is, meanings of honesty, above the other categories of judgment. Navy's ideal identity is an ethical and honest sailor and officer. In essence, Navy takes a knower code approach by foregrounding veracity and propriety. Noting the importance of the ship in terms of Navy's ability to fulfil its Mission–*to fight and win at sea*–values which inculcate good behaviour on a ship are important. The ship is isolated through distance and ocean from headquarters. The following comment came from the Program Director of New Generation Navy, on 23 July 2013, who was keen to explain why veracity and propriety matter, noting that 'when you "let the lines to", the ship sails away from command control. Those on board the ship need to be honest and forthright in achieving the mission'.

The ship also confines the ship's company in high density, pressured living quarters which necessitates a reliance on Navy values to manage people's relationships on board. Consider the following comment from a Ship's Warrant Officer on 29 August 2013: 'the sailors can accept that he's obviously gay, they can half accept that he's the dude that wears make-up … but they can't accept that he's a thief'. The need for honesty and ethical behaviour from both sailors and officers is critical, thereby pointing out why the dominant meanings of the Navy values are based around veracity and propriety.

Army similarly values propriety (37.5%) but uniquely selects tenacity (37.5%), that is, meanings of resolve, above all other categories. Army desires soldiers and officers to be moral and courageous and also manifests a knower code approach by foregrounding tenacity and propriety. Army favours tenacity, that is, courage and resolve as well as moral behaviour. To be a good soldier is about displaying both physical and moral courage. This makes sense when you consider the requirement for a soldier to obey and act in land environments of imminent, collective threat and danger. The ideal soldiers are people who will put the safety of their team ahead of their own, relying on acts of bravery to achieve the mission. However, with the introduction of the new value, Respect, there is an additional emphasis on ethical behaviour while fighting war. The ideal soldier is someone who is brave but respectful, mindful of their role and their moral limits. Consider the Chief of Army's comments on 4 July 2013 in his speech announcing the new value of Respect.

> We need warriors; plenty of them … if you have the physical, mental and moral fibre to be an Australian solider then we want you. And every other Australian soldier will respect you when you join us. That is why we are adding 'Respect' to our trio of existing values. It must be the glue that binds the other three together. It is the quality which will both temper, and sharpen the hard edge that must be a part of our Service if we are to survive and prevail in war (p. 4).

The PLICIT distribution of judgments is repeated in the **Air Force**, where its values are predominantly about capacity (32.1%) and propriety (33.75%). Like Defence at large, Air Force is concerned with capability and ethical behaviour as ideals. It wants its people to be highly capable and morally upstanding in the conduct of their life and work and so, in contrast to Navy and Army, Air Force includes knowledge code attributes as part of its values. Meanings of capacity, such as excellence and teamwork, foreground expertise, know-how and capability. However, there is also very strong consideration paid to ethical behaviour with the first of the six values being Respect. The Chief of Air Force has explained how the policy of 'New Horizons', underpinned by Air Force values, will ensure future capability and performance:

> New Horizon is equally about the things we must prevent that undermine
> capability; like bullying, harassment or other unacceptable behaviour, or
> safety incidents. These undermine team cohesion and performance and
> destroy lives (Brown 2013, p. 1).

Finally, the **APS** values, like Navy, predominantly select judgments of veracity (37%), suggesting that the ideal APS identity is an honest and, therefore, accountable person. As with Air Force, the APS also selects both knowledge and knower code attributes in the Values Statement. However, as explained above, the value of veracity has taken precedence in the new Values Statement.

Importantly, through the rewrite of both Army and APS values, the process of revision changed the distribution of judgment categories in each. In the case of Army, the previous Values Statement foregrounded only tenacity (47.9%), while the new statement foregrounds tenacity **and** propriety equally at 37.5%. By including Respect as a value, the ideal soldier or officer shifted from courageous to courageous *and* moral. See Table 4.7 for a comparison of previous and current statements.

	Army (old)	Army (new)
Normality	6.25	7.5
Capacity	18.75	17.5
Tenacity	47.9	37.5
Propriety	27.1	37.5
Veracity	0	0

Table 4.7 – Comparison of judgment across Army Value Statements

In the case of the APS, the previous 14 dot point description was split between Principles of Employment and values. The previous description selected propriety (42.1%) and capacity (33.15%), thereby construing the ideal APS identity as capable and ethical much as in the PLICIT and Air Force values. The rewrite singled out veracity as salient, thereby upgrading honesty as an important feature of the APS member, while at the same time shifting the meanings of capacity and morality to the principles of employment. The effect of this move by the APS Commission is to maintain the ideals of capacity and propriety while adding the ideal of veracity. So for APS, there is a new expectation that people are capable, ethical **and** honest as illustrated in Table 4.8 below.

	APS Values (old)	APS Values (new)	APS principles of employment
Normality	0	0	7.75
Capacity	33.15	24.5	30.7
Tenacity	10.5	21.5	7.75
Propriety	42.1	17.5	53.8
Veracity	14.35	37	0

Table 4.8 – Comparison of judgment across APS Value Statements

When these five categories of judgment are considered from the perspective of the knowledge/knower codes in Defence, we can see how the ideal identities support the different codes. The category of capacity is about ability, expertise, specialisation etc. It is thus the kind of judgment that would be expected of a knowledge code where it matters what people know, while the other four categories are about the individual's attitudes and/or dispositions. These fit with the expectations of a knower code where it matters who you are. Importantly, values are typically attributes of individuals, which tend to be formed through the process of growing up, but they can also be developed through the inculcation process during training, a process explicitly engaged in by the uniformed Services. The military person is built up through both *suitability* selection and through inculcation. It is thus not surprising that the Defence PLICIT Statement includes a combination of ideals of knowledge code, that is, capacity and of knower code, that is, propriety. Air Force selects both knowledge and knower code choices in the same manner as PLICIT. The Navy and Army values select knower code ideals of propriety and veracity for Navy, and propriety and tenacity for Army. The previous APS values explicitly selected knowledge code and knower code equally but, with the addition of veracity, the balance has shifted more in favour of knower code ideals. These identities are illustrated below in Table 4.9:

Code	Judgment	PLICIT	Navy	Army	Air Force	APS
Knowledge	Capacity	✓			✓	✓
Knower	Normality[49]					
	Tenacity			✓		
	Veracity		✓			✓
	Propriety	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 4.9 – Identities across Defence Value Statements

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49   The Values Statement do not tend to select meanings of normality. This may be because the Department wants homogeneity rather than 'tall poppies'. Meanings of normality are attributes which set people apart rather than blend them together.

By mapping the judgment categories against the four Services and Defence as a whole, we can see how the Values Statements support the legitimation codes underpinning the four Services. According to their values, Air Force and the APS have knower *and* knowledge attributes, while Navy and Army have solely knower code ones. PLICIT encompasses both kinds of attributes and thus both codes are representative of an integrated and federated institution. The fact that Navy and Army select only knower code values reinforces the fact that Navy and Army, more than Air Force, recruits a certain kind of person, someone appropriately suited to a strongly-regimented military life of discipline and teamwork, and who is able to operate effectively in a tightly-bonded team.

Through this kind of appraisal analysis, the ideals of each of the Services can be made explicit and understood in relation to each other. These values serve to rally members around the kinds of identities each of the Services consider critical for their particular mission success. These values provide the basis for inculcation into the particular Service, and each set of values is different due to the particular environmental domain and the instrument of war. While different kinds of identities are built up through the Values Statements across the different Services, they all share the meaning of propriety, thereby unifying all Defence identities and rallying the members around meanings of respect and fairness.

An important point to note here is that the naming of a value is critical to the inculcation process. Unless something is named, it cannot be made available as a resource for rallying members of the group. While this may seem obvious, in the case of the value of Respect, Army has only recently appreciated this fact. Prior to naming Respect as a value, and despite stating that respect underpins all of Army's work and behaviour,[50] Army could not inculcate respect as an ideal value. Army had to first name it so that it could function to set behavioural standards. It is thus important to consider *what is not* in the Value Statements, as much as *what is* in them. Both impact on the construal of an ideal identity.

The above discussion analysed the Values Statements, using semantic and grammatical analyses to provide a description of how Defence as a whole and the respective Services construe the ideal person through the Values Statements as a means of inculcating Service norms. The values provide the basis for a range of idealised Defence identities. Through the semantic analyses, it has been demonstrated that:

1. The ideal sailor is honest and ethical.

2. The ideal soldier is brave and ethical.

3. The ideal airman/woman is capable and ethical.

4. The ideal civilian is honest, capable and ethical.

5. The ideal Defence person is capable and ethical, as expressed through the PLICIT values.

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50   'An underlying premise of these [the original three] core values is the principle of respect (Australian Army 2013).

The Values Statements of Navy and Army foreground attributes and dispositions that are knower code based. This has the effect of inculcating more emphatically the kinds of cultivated dispositions of an organisation that is strongly classified and framed around who its people are. In contrast, the Air Force and the APS include knowledge code attributes to ensure that knowledge and skills are considered along with individual attributes. This has the effect of emphasising specialisation as instrumental in determining who has authority and access to status. It reflects the 'do as I say because I know' feature of a knowledge code.

The grammar of inclusion

It is one thing to explicitly state the ideal identities of an institution but it is equally important to consider how these statements are expressed in grammatical terms. In the SFL model of language, meaning is realised through the lexicogrammar. To be specific, the meanings of the values are realised by the lexicogrammar of the statements, that is, the words and the structure that they form. This section will demonstrate how grammar matters when inclusion is at stake. The discussion will demonstrate how:

- Army and APS values are expressed mostly as definitions;

- PLICIT and Navy values are expressed by definitions and expressions of lived-experience with both people and values functioning as *agents*—the causer of actions;

- Air Force provides only lived-experience; and

- APS values use adjectives to *name* their values, which in fact describe how civilian workers should *behave* rather than *be*.

Values need to resonate with the individual if they are to have an effect. A person has to be able to understand what the values mean for them, but also they need to be able to relate them to their day-to-day behaviour and attitudes in the workplace. Grammar plays an important role in this process. This section will look firstly at the structure of the Values Statements and then at the grammatical choices which can lead to inclusive formulations of grammar that resonate most effectively.

The ways values are expressed in the Values Statements have implications for social inclusion. Values are abstract notions or qualities which are desirable as a means of reinforcing appropriate behaviours. For example, Army doctrine overtly uses values to develop a soldier's sense of team membership as reflected in the statement that '[v]alues form the heart of team cohesiveness and identity' (Australian Army 2002, p. 2-2). However, the effectiveness of the Values Statements in the formation of identity depends on Defence personnel recognising these attitudes, dispositions and behaviours as their own. Effective recognition relies on appropriate language expression. The grammatical and lexical choices provide a bridge to inclusivity. In effect, if the expression of the value(s) is inclusive, the Defence person is able to *imagine* themselves by, firstly, seeing themselves in the description, secondly, imagining that they could be and act like that and, thirdly, deciding to try to be like that (Tann 2009, p. 2).

For values to be understood, they need to be defined and the language of *defining* is an important component of the Values Statements. Typically, the language of defining relies on the utilisation of the verb *to be* or its synonyms, as shown in this sample definition of Professionalism from the PLICIT values.

Abstract quality	Verb to be	Definition
Professionalism	***is***	*striving for excellence in everything we do.*

In addition to the language of defining, the Values Statements also describe the actions of Defence people, mostly using action verbs and/or adjectives which describe people's characteristics. This is the language of *lived-experience*, that is, these language selections describe how the value can be realised in or translated into examples of peoples' behaviour. For example, in the PLICIT value of Professionalism, the lived-experience of people is described using the action verbs, *work, deliver* and *do*, expressing *what* people do when they are professional, with adjectives and phrases expressing *how* people do it, as shown in Table 4.10.

Clause	Linking words	Defence people	Action verbs	What they do	How they do it
1		We	**work**		**hard**
2			**to deliver**	high quality results,	
3			**do**	our job	**to the best of our ability**
4	and	**(we)**	**take**	pride in our achievements.	

Table 4.10–Grammar of lived-experience around PLICIT value of professionalism

Note that in the language of defining, the value is what is important. It is what is defined; whereas in the language of lived-experience, people feature, they are what it is about, they are the actors of the actions.

These two kinds of language—of defining and of lived-experience—are used in all the Values Statements but with different emphases and effect. PLICIT follows a regular pattern across the six values. The pattern opens with the name of the value, which is followed by a definition and then by the language of lived-experience, as illustrated in Table 4.11.

Pattern	Example	Grammatical resource
Name of value	Loyalty	Abstract concept expressed as a Noun
Definition of value	**Loyalty is being committed to each other and to Defence**	Verb 'to be' – *is*
Defence people's lived-experience	We serve the government of the day and support our leaders and colleagues to undertake tasks and achieve results in line with government direction. We treat everyone at all levels with respect, care and compassion. We work to uphold the best interest of the Australian people.	Action processes of *serve, support, undertake, achieve, treat, work*

Table 4.11–PLICIT pattern of presenting definition and lived-experience

Navy values also use the language of defining and, like PLICIT, each value begins with a definition using the verb *to be*. This is followed by the language of lived-experience, introducing people into the statement in a similar fashion to PLICIT. However, Navy values express lived-experience in another manner, by expressing the value as an agent. What this does is express the values as causative. Values make the Navy person either *be* or *do something*. For example, *Honesty enables us to serve with a clear conscience*. This expression tells Navy people that values make or cause good behaviour. Navy values cause a person to behave in ethical and truthful ways. See the analysis in Table 4.12.

Pattern	Example	Grammatical resource
Name of value	Honour	Abstract noun
Definition of value	**… is the fundamental value on which the Navy's and each person's reputation depends!**	Verb to be – *is*
Further definition of the value	Honour reflects our moral and ethical standards.	Synonyms of the verb 'to be' – *reflects*
Value as Agent of good Navy behaviour	It demands strength of will and inspires physical effort and selfless service Honour guides our actions in a way explicit rules cannot; it shapes our conscience and determines our notions of pride, self-respect and shame.	Action & agentive processes – *demands, inspires, guides, shapes etc*

Table 4.12–Pattern of presenting definition and lived-experience in Navy Value Statements

In contrast, Army values are predominantly definitions. Each value is named, and then defined, except for the newly-added value Respect, which is expressed through the language of lived-experience with the actor, *we*, and the action verb, *have*, implied (see Table 4.13).

Pattern	Example	Grammatical resource
Name of value	Initiative	Abstract noun
Definition of values	(Initiative is) to explore opportunities and embrace innovation to improve Army and our Service to our nation.	Verb to be – *is*
Name of value	Respect	Abstract noun
Army people's lived experience	(We have) respect for ourselves, our colleagues, our community and our history of service to the Nation; acknowledging that each one of us has earned the right to wear the Rising Sun Badge and (has earned) the responsibility to uphold the values and traditions it symbolises.	Possessive attributes: *respect* Action processes , *earning, upholding*

Table 4.13–Pattern of presenting definition and lived-experience in Army Value Statements

In contrast to Army, Air Force takes a different approach to values. There are no definitions, just the name of the value followed by lived-experience in terms of both actions and peoples' attributes (see Table 4.14).

Pattern	Example	Grammatical resource
Name of value	DEDICATION	Abstract noun
Air Force peoples' lived-experiences.	Air Force people are trusted to defend our country. Our people are courageous and serve with pride and commitment. We cherish our heritage, honour the achievements and sacrifices of those who have gone before us and will create the legacy for the future	Thinking processes – *are trusted, cherish, honour* Action processes – *serve, have gone, will create* Descriptive adjectives - *courageous*

Table 4.14–Pattern of presenting lived-experience in Air Force Value Statements

Finally, the new APS Values Statement presents an interesting selection of language choices. First, each value is named, not by an abstract noun as for all the other Values Statements, but by expressions of people's qualities. For example, the first value is *Impartial*. Impartial is an adjective describing a person's moral sense of justice. If the abstract noun had been used, it would have been *Impartiality*. However, by using the adjective, impartial, the value name is telling the public servant how to work in a manner desired by the Public Service Commission. This is followed by a definition which uses the language of defining, but, again, with a bit of a twist. The value Impartial is not defined but rather the APS is. The APS is made up of people, but the people have been generalised into an abstract group of people called the *Public Service*. The abstraction *Service* then lends itself to being

defined. Further, there is no expression of lived-experience in the APS values, rather *how to live* is gleaned from the names of the values, which are qualities rather than things (see Table 4.15).

Pattern	Example	Grammatical resource
Name of Value	IMPARTIAL	Adjective
Definition of Public Service	The APS is apolitical and provides the Government with advice that is frank, honest, timely and based on the best available evidence.	Descriptive adjective – *apolitical, frank, honest, timely* Action verbs – *provides*

Table 4.15–Pattern of presenting values in APS Value Statements

In summary, Army and APS values provide mostly definitions; Navy values provide definitions and lived-experience with both people as actors and values as agents; Air Force values provide only lived-experience; PLICIT values provide definition and lived-experience; while APS values use adjectives to *name* their values while actually describing how civilian personnel should behave.

From the point of view of inclusion, the Values Statements that incorporate lived-experience make the shift from depersonalised definitions of abstract values to personalised descriptions of individual behaviour which model how the Services want their people to behave. This organisational style speaks to the individual and provides the opportunity for personnel to *imagine themselves* as having similar attributes, dispositions and behaviours as the ideal identities.

Another means of expressing inclusivity through language choices is the method of incorporating people into the Values Statements. As mentioned earlier, people can be present or not. If they are present, they can function as actors or not and when they are actors, they can be referred to in the first, second or third person.[51] First- and second-person references are much more inclusive than third person. The Air Force Values Statement exemplifies this very effectively. In the lived-experience section of the value *Integrity*, people are the actors in every clause beginning with the third-person reference Air Force People. This sets up a deliberate constraint or exclusion on who can be an actor in this text—only Air *Force people* can. The next reference is a first-person, possessive reference, *Our people*. The use of the possessive first-person pronoun *our* includes everyone in Air Force, leaders and followers alike, as one inclusive group. The final reference is again a first-person pronoun, *we*. Everyone is included in the use of we. Air Force values are written very inclusively because the statement includes lived-experience in the structure and also the first-person pronoun choices ensure that everyone in Air Force is included.

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51 Person is the grammatical system distinguishing speakers and addressees from each other and from other individuals. First person is the speaker, *I* and *we*; second person is the addressee, you; third person is neither speaker nor addressee, *he, she, it* or *they* (Matthews 1997).

Typically, when comparing the five Values Statements, we find that PLICIT and Air Force values thematise people as actors more than Navy, Army and the APS. The difference between PLICIT and Air Force is that PLICIT defines the meaning of each value. The APS and Army Values Statements typically just define and because this is the predominant style, actors do not feature, thereby making it difficult to personalise the values for individual Service members. The pronoun *we* is not present in the APS statement, and in the Army statement it features only once by implication, but not explicitly stated. These texts are impersonal definitions of values. These two Values Statements are thus significantly less inclusive than PLICIT and Air Force.

A point to note in relation to these differences is the use of pronouns in the formulation of the definitions. When a value is defined, it can be defined in impersonal or personal terms. The more personal the definition, the more Service members can relate the value to themselves. Navy values demonstrate this personalised formulation of defining. For example, the Navy definition of Honesty– *Honesty is always being true to ourselves, our shipmates and our colleagues*–includes the first person possessive pronoun *our*. The use of this pronoun links honesty to a group of people - *to us*. This links the definition of Honesty to the people it is directed at and Navy personnel can see themselves in the definition, as well as in the lived-experience. This personalisation of the abstract definition of the value serves to envelop the reader and thereby build inclusivity. Thus, in the case of Navy's statement, the definitions of the values are personalised with values functioning as agents and people expressed as actors. When people are actors, the pronoun we is used. This again produces a statement which resonates inclusively with Service members. Thus, to sum up, PLICIT, Air Force and Navy Value Statements express their values more inclusively than Army and APS.

To conclude, the grammatical analyses draw attention to how language choice can impact on expressions of social inclusion. The Values Statements are more or less personal and thereby, more or less inclusive. The inclusion of people in the values' definitions through pronouns and the inclusion of people as actors in the lived-experience descriptions of these values are the grammatical means for expressing the values in a personal, socially-inclusive fashion. Basing a comparison on these criteria, PLICIT, Air Force and Navy are more personal and thus express inclusion more than Army and the APS. In short, the grammatical choices can impact on the message of inclusion that is being presented through the values.

Contradictory identities

Taking another perspective, we can also consider what the ideal identities for each Service are NOT, and this perspective offers insights into the identities as well—what is not idealised is as important as what is. For example, not even one of the Values Statements foregrounds meanings of normality. These are meanings related to how special or unique one is, that is, the possession of personal attributes which set individuals apart from the crowd. Interestingly, the ideal identities of Defence are not about being special, different or unique. They are more about the group, the team and the qualities that individuals need to ensure team success. The differences between the sets of values across the Services represent differences in the operating environment and the kind of work each Service is called upon to do to achieve the mission. The fact that there are no meanings of normality in any of the

statements implicitly points to the emphasis on teams. This emphasis is made explicit in three of the five Values Statements through the inclusion of the value Teamwork.

Yet despite the emphasis on conformity for individual Service personnel, the organisation as a whole overtly positions itself as special by evaluating itself, interestingly, through meanings of normality. This sets up contradictory identities: internal identities for the personnel of Defence and an external identity for Defence in the community. The previous discussion has illustrated the internal identities of Defence; however, the following will discuss the external identity propagated by Defence. Two common expressions of normality are–'we are icons of Australian society' (Defence Committee 2012, p.8) and 'we are held to a higher level of account because of our place as defenders of the Nation' (Morrison 2013, p. 5). Both these statements contain judgments of normality. In the first example, being an icon sets those who are evaluated as such apart and, in fact, positions them as worthy of respect in comparison to the general public. Icons are originally representations of some sacred personage and so, by analogy, the *icons* statement invokes the meaning that the Australian Defence member is like a sacred person. This is a strong statement, which overtly claims that Defence members are special.

Similarly, the second statement evaluates using graduated meanings of normality. Being held to a *higher level of account* positions Defence personnel as higher than others, presumably the general public. The justification is based on the important and risky work of national security and defence of the nation. The use of the comparative *higher* sets up this superior position, grading the Defence member above the general public and, again, an invoked meaning of specialness is the result. So while the Values Statements do not encourage difference or special-ness, the organisation as a whole does. It construes itself as special but there are risks in this kind of representation. These expressions tell prospective recruits, and the community at large, that the organisation is, by implication, exclusive.

On one level, these statements may serve to make the community feel safe in that it is protected by a special Defence Force that is held to high standards. However, it also serves to indirectly indicate that only special kinds of people can join this exclusive organisation. This puts at risk the current desire of Defence to *represent the community it serves*.

A way around this contradiction would be to evaluate the *work* as special, rather than the people. So instead of *we are special,* consideration should be given to the fact that it is the work, the challenging work carried out by Defence people, that is special. It is the kind of work, the environmental domains of work and the potential risk and stress of the work that requires the individual Defence member to have certain kinds of attributes and dispositions, skills and knowledge. If it is the work which is identified as special, then the message from the organisation would be an inclusive one, about encouraging people to identify with the work of the organisation, and, through the values and the officially-endorsed messages, offer all Australians the opportunity to imagine themselves as the right kind of person for the job, as 'ordinary Australians who tackle extraordinary situations'.[52]

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52   Army Values Statement 'introduction': see www.defencejob.gov.au/army/Lifestyle/traditionsand Values.aspx

Defence icons

In this section, the discussion moves to the analysis of hero stories that are used to exemplify the ideal values of the organisation. This is important, because stories of exemplary people, or role models, align members of a community into groups of shared dispositions and shared endeavours. These stories which serve to bond people into groups are of a particular kind of genre known as *Exemplum* (de Silva Joyce and Feez 2012, p. 171). They feature heritage and heroes who model the ideals and identities of the organisation. As explained in Chapter 2, 12 of these stories were selected from across the organisation to demonstrate the fact that the genre of Exemplum is employed across the organisation to iconise particular ideal identities.

The Buck Rogers example in Chapter 2 is mapped onto the iconisation triangle in Figure 4.1. This shows how the values of Loyalty, Courage and Teamwork are modelled by Buck Rogers, whose actions at sea and attributes of selflessness and calm are specified and then generalised as the ideal behaviours and attributes of the Defence leader. The ADF uses the icon as a mechanism to inspire and model effective leaders in the ADF way of leadership. This is the four-step process of iconisation as described in Chapter 2.

C

the ADF way of leadership

endorse   generalise

V   **H**

..are modelled by..

Loyalty, Courage, Teamwork   PO 'Buck' Rogers

timeless / generic ⟷ historical / specific
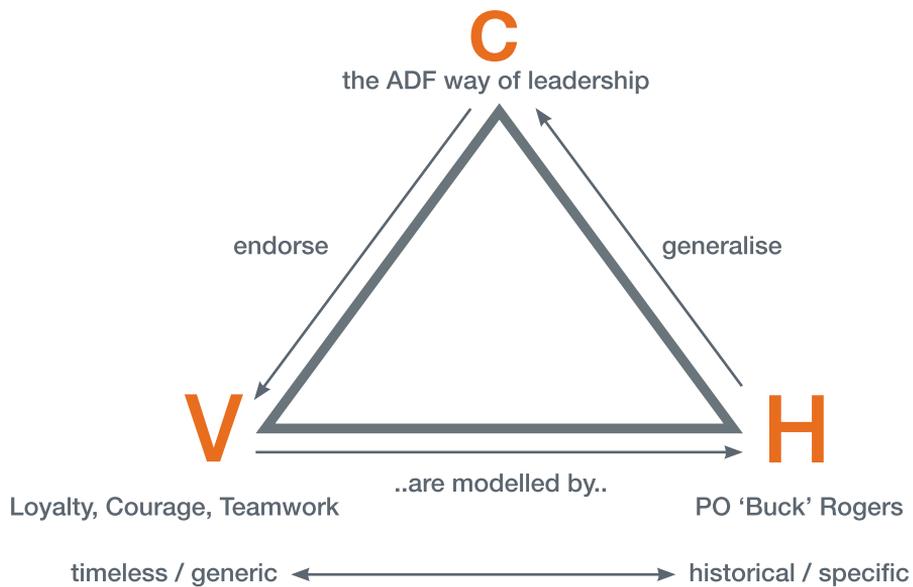
Figure 4.1–Iconisation triangle (adapted from Tann 2009) and Buck Rogers hero story

This pattern of iconisation is also observable in the list of stories in Table 4.16 below. The articles are recent examples of iconisation taken from a range of sites in the organisation over recent years. The complete, annotated texts are provided at Appendix B.

Article	Source	Service	Iconisation	
1	*Defence Magazine*, No. 7 2012, p. 10	Army	Hero	**Corporal Scott Smith** Killed in action, Afghanistan October 2012
			Values	Selflessness, Honesty, Dedication
			Community	**… of the best junior NCOs … of our best soldiers**
2	*Defence Magazine*, No. 7 2012, p. 11	Army	Hero	**Corporal Daniel Keighran** Victoria Cross recipient
			Values	Valour, Gallantry, Devotion to duty, Dedication, Humility and Mateship
			Community	**… of esteemed Australians revered for their courage in combat**
3	ANZAC Day speech to Australian Masters Rowing Championships by Vice Admiral Peter Jones, 25 April 2013	Army	Hero	**Captain Percy Herbert Cherry** Victoria Cross recipient in WW1 and rower
			Values	Bravery, Determination and Leadership
			Community	**… of rowers who become heroes**
4	General Sir John Hackett Memorial Lecture by Lieutenant General David Hurley, Vice Chief of the Defence Force, 11 November 2010	Army	Hero	**General Sir John Hackett** Australian born, British General of the 1940s
			Values	Leadership, Gallantry, Cleverness and Service - 'the essence of service'
			Community	**… of the Profession of Arms and military leadership**
5	'Heroic actions recognised and crew honoured', *Navy News*, 14 March 2013, p. 3	Navy	Hero	**HMAS *Yarra IV*** Sunk by Japanese force in WW2
			Values	Gallantry and Valour
			Community	**…of heroes to the Navy**

Article	Source	Service	Iconisation	
6	'Tragic loss of gunnie', *Air Force News*, 25 April 2013	Air Force	Hero	**Wing Commander Ray Forryan** Killed in cycling road accident
			Values	Loyalty, Integrity and Professionalism
			Community	**… of respected engineers and the wider Air Force**
7	Australian Defence Doctrine Publication 00.6 *Leadership*, 2007	Navy	Hero	**Chief Petty Officer Buck Rogers** Killed in the collision of HMAS *Melbourne* and HMAS *Voyager*
			Values	Loyalty, Courage and Teamwork
			Community	**… of ADF Way of Leadership**
8	Australian Defence Doctrine Publication 00.6 *Leadership*, 2007	Air Force	Hero	**Petty Officer Middleton** Killed in action over the English Channel in 1942
			Value	Courage
			Community	**… of courageous officers**
9	Australian Army Land Warfare Doctrine LWD 0-2-2 *Character*, 2005	Army	Hero	**the Australian soldier**
			Values	Loyalty, Courage, Service, Independence and Mateship
			Community	**… of soldiers in the ANZAC tradition**
10	Australian Army Land Warfare Doctrine LWD 0-2-2 *Character*, 2005	Army	Hero	**Lieutenant Reginald Saunders** The first indigenous Australian to obtain a commission in 1944
			Values	Hardiness, Determination and Resourcefulness
			Community	**… of hardened soldiers**
11	*Navy News*, 30 January 2014	Defence	Hero	**Dr Andrew Amiet** Defence Science and Technology Organisation
			Values	Achievement in Defence Science
			Community	**… of APS staff contributing to capability**
12	Australian Air Publication 1000-H, *The Australian experience of Air Power*, p. 75	Air Force	Hero	**Flight Lieutenant Bill Newton** Shot down by Japanese over PNG, captured and later executed
			Values	Courage, Devotion to duty
			Community	**… of Victoria Cross recipients**

Table 4.16–Iconisation through Defence hero stories

Arising from this analysis are a number of interesting characteristics. First, the grey highlighted rows indicate icons of tenacity, that is, values such as Courage, Resilience, Loyalty and so on. These values of tenacity indicate that the organisation, regardless of the Service, seems to value attributes of tenacity more highly than other types of attributes, such as capacity or propriety. Further, of the icons of tenacity, the most common icons are those that exemplify courage (for example, Articles 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 12). This suggests that the value of Courage is more celebrated than any of the other values of the tenacity type. It is important to note that this is just a small snapshot of written material in Defence falling under the genre of Exemplum; however, given the stark contrast between the iconisation of tenacity, as opposed to other kinds of values, it is reasonable to expect that this pattern would continue to be observed in a larger corpus of Exempla.

Second, apart from the APS member in Article 11, the icons are all military members. Notably, none are women. Furthermore, except for the ATSI Officer in Article 10, all these male icons are Anglo-Australian. None of the other males are from culturally or linguistically-diverse backgrounds. Furthermore, it seems that heroes do not need to be deceased: they can be living icons as well (for example, Articles 2 and 11).

Thirdly, icons do not need to only perform acts in battle to be worthy of iconisation, other acts by noble people can be worthy of iconisation. For example, they can be a good strategist or thinker (Article 4), an engineer who is respected (Article 6), a soldier who is Aboriginal (Article 10) and a public servant who is achieving improvements in Defence (Article 11). In other words, the system of iconisation can be exploited to establish icons of any description and this extends beyond men to men and women, beyond individuals to groups of people, such as the ANZACs (Article 9) and to objects such as ships (Article 5). Of course, this process is not isolated to Defence and is exploited by authors of any kind wanting to construct icons. For example, it occurs throughout Chris Masters' 2012 book entitled *Uncommon Soldier*, a book about the ADF in Afghanistan. Just one example of very many from the book is included in Table 4.17.

Hero	**Lance Corporal Simon**
Characteristic	Softly spoken, thoughtful, paid attention to learning Pashto, developing medical skills, able to switch from the soft humanitarian task to kinetic combat roles within seconds.
Values	Gallantry and Initiative
Community	**… of soldiers with skills shaped to the new battle space, the *strategic corporal***

Table 4.17–Iconisation by journalist Chris Masters (in *Uncommon Soldier* 2012, pp. 313 and 320)

In summary, the linguistic strategy of iconisation is employed by Defence as part of its language practice. The organisation recognises the potency of upholding particular people as heroes. It knows that heroes serve as models of the desired characteristics of the people in Defence and that Service personnel will view these heroes as their heroes, as people with characteristics that individual members can aspire to. Defence knows that these heroes are instrumental in creating identities for Service personnel to rally around and celebrate at various events such as ANZAC Day, or during specific commemorations at other times of the year. What is important to note is that this language practice has been normalised across the organisation. No-one sets out to set this up or make it happen, it has become a natural part of Defence language use. It is part of the habitus of a knower code keen to inculcate its personnel in order to achieve the fundamental inputs to capability.

Iconisation can enable or resist social inclusion. This is because it can iconise either a limited kind of hero or conversely, iconise many different kinds. Without doing a detailed quantitative count of the kinds of heroes most commonly inscribed in Defence texts, it is already evident from the snapshot in Table 4.16 that the kind of icon Defence upholds and rallies its people around is limited to the dominant group. It is typically a hero in uniform from a white Anglo-Australian background, who performs acts of bravery in battle and models the values of courage and sacrifice.

If Defence wants to *represent the community it serves*, then Defence heroes need to resonate with the broader Australian community. The category of hero needs to broaden to include more of *the community it serves*. For example, there is a need for more women, more first Australians and newer Australians, and more military and civilian professionals who are working to support, as well as engage in combat. These may include people who follow various religions, who are of various sexual orientation, and who may live with various kinds of disability.

The good news is that, a cursory look at the archives in the Australian War Memorial produces heroic figures who do not fit the typical features of the dominant group. For example, there are ATSI women and men who have served with distinction in both wars and CALD soldiers who have received medals for distinguished conduct as well as the Military Cross. There is also evidence that there have been ATSI serving families with not just one member but siblings and subsequent generations. In short, there are heroes with diverse backgrounds in Australia's war history who have not been acknowledged. Were these members to be included in Exemplum stories, recruits from diverse backgrounds would be better able to identify with the organisation and, importantly, believe that Defence is indeed socially inclusive and capable of integrating diversity. There are unsung heroes and heroines who are there, ready to be appropriated for the task of further diversifying the workforce of Defence.

Coincidentally, the UK government is also addressing this issue of diverse heroes. The British civil service will be including the contributions of soldiers from across the British Empire in their First World War 1 commemorations in order 'to promote "community cohesion" and link younger generations of ethnic Britons today to the war fought by their forefathers' (Watson 2014). This provides the opportunity for the younger generations of CALD background parents to rally around historic figures who they recognise as being like them.

A recent example of iconisation in *Army News* (18 July 2013) uses the strategy of iconisation to represent Army from the perspective of ATSI culture. Sergeant Angel-Hands has used his cultural paradigm of kinship and dreaming to explain the bonds that are built through military service, as presented in Example 4.1 below. The values of respect, service and unconditional assistance are modelled by the kinship of the ANZAC dreaming story which is generalised as a sense of family. This kind of intercultural translation represents an important approach to diversity and provides explanations and perspectives from the point of view of the other.

Example 4.1 *Army News*, 18 July 2013

> … I have come to see that Army has much in common with my culture. For instance, kinship is a profound principle that is at the heart of my culture.
>
> Army for me has its own kinship. It is called the ANZAC spirit and associated mateship. The Anzac spirit for me means the bonds that, through acts of service, such as a sense of shared experience, mutual respect for each other and unconditional assistance in time of need, draw everyone together, which all amounts to a sense of family.
>
> All soldiers have a kinship with the Army. There is close kinship within their units and with the soldiers in a section. When I look at this, for me it is the same as having a kinship with my country and a closer kinship with my tribe and with my immediate family.
>
> I have also noticed in the Army there exists a link between soldiers past and present. This link is much like a 'dreaming'. The Army passes on knowledge and cultural values through stories of past and present acts, like the stories of the ANZACs at Gallipolli – stories which drive us to be better than who we were when we joined."
>
> Sergeant John Angel-Hands, Force Support Unit Clerk, 1 Combat
> Engineer Regiment

By broadening the kinds of heroes it holds up for emulation, Defence could expect to attract a wider range of recruits and, more importantly, retain a wider range of members. While the recruiting websites and Service homepages are doing a good job at visualising diversity, this visibility needs to be backed up with substantive examples in the doctrine, histories, media and policies of the organisation. As previously mentioned, the *Pathway to Change* strategy (Defence Committee 2012) inadvertently excludes. The characterisation of Defence members as 'icons of Australian society' is iconised in Section 2 (ibid, p. 8) of the document. It does this by stating that service to the country exemplifies the Australian values of 'nobility, integrity and duty', thereby 'reflecting … the best of the Australian character'. The passage upholds Australian Defence personnel as exemplars of the Australian character, going so far as to describe them as 'icons'. However, in this process, the iconisation strategy is used to exclude, when we find out who serves as ADF personnel.

> Often, family members serve together, or continue the tradition in successive generations. The partners and children of serving personnel become part of the community as well, and form their own close ties. In this way the Defence culture extends and influences wider community perceptions of what Defence stands for and what is good and right (ibid).

This statement tells the *wider community* that Defence is an organisation populated by its own kind of intergenerational members, rather than an organisation that welcomes all kinds into the fold. It *stands for* and suggests that *what is right and good* is being from a Defence family. By saying only this, the passage implies closed membership. Being exclusive was probably not the intention of the authors but, nonetheless, this is what it implies.

To counter this kind of inadvertent but systemic exclusivity, it is important that the organisation exemplifies more values than just those values related to tenacity, such as courage, and at the same time creates new kinds of heroes. In an inculcated culture such as Defence, values have a serious role to play in the formation of identity in military members. The effective inculcation of a potentially diverse demographic is at stake.

Conclusion

To conclude, in terms of naturalised identities, the Values Statements indicate five kinds of ideals. For the organisation as a whole, the PLICIT values construct the ideal member as capable and ethical. This is an inclusive ideal identity in the sense that it encapsulates both the knowledge and knower code principles of authority and status operating in the organisation. Both expertise and inculcated attributes are essential for the work of Defence as the government department responsible for defending Australia and its national interests. Navy and Army have naturalised identities that accord with a knower code. These ideal identities foreground individual, inculcated attributes which serve to build functioning teams in different environmental domains, working collectively to fulfil the mission of winning the war on land and at sea.

For Navy, dispositions of honesty and ethical behaviour are foregrounded, while for Army it is the attributes of moral and physical courage that are valued. Similarly, Air Force selects ethical behaviour as a naturalised ideal, but complements this with capacity, the value that drives excellence in terms of know-how and specialisation. This relates to the environmental domain of air power and the mission of winning through 'air and space effects across sea, land, air, space and cyber space'. The APS as the *enabler* manifests an identity that is both capable but also ethical and accountable. The ideal APS member is both specialised and ethical. When knowledge code principles operate, the potential for greater diversity exists.

In concert with the ideal identities, the Values Statements of each of the Services use grammar to express their identities in a number of different ways, with some more inclusive than others. The Values Statements that enable Defence members to *imagine* themselves as like the ideals are more inclusive. These statements incorporate lived-experience and so make the shift from depersonalised definitions to personalised translations of individual behaviour and they use the first-person pronoun to overtly include everyone. PLICIT, Air Force and Navy Value Statements express their values more inclusively than Army and APS.

Defence propagates these values through the use of Exemplum texts that model ideal behaviours and attributes through heroes and their stories. These stories are generalised as the ideal of the community. The reach of this propagation extends through the 'Raise, Train and Sustain' processes of the uniformed Services, through induction training of the APS and throughout Defence media publications. What is evident from the selection of the iconic stories in this study is the fact that the values are not treated equally. The most valued of the values is that of tenacity and it is iconised through the stories of particular heroes. These heroes are heroes of the dominant group.

This exclusive selection of both personnel and values creates the stereotypical image of Defence, which the organisation is now seeking to change. This image is not conducive to broadening the church of Defence. For Defence to *represent the community it serves*, the values and the heroes need equal treatment both within the training and in the day-to-day operation of the organisation and through media coverage as an important message to the community at large. Values and icons matter in the construction of Defence identities. They are an example of the formal, officially-endorsed texts which perpetuate the current state of Defence culture. Importantly, they are a potential site for language change to further support and underpin other policies of cultural change and inclusion.

CHAPTER 5
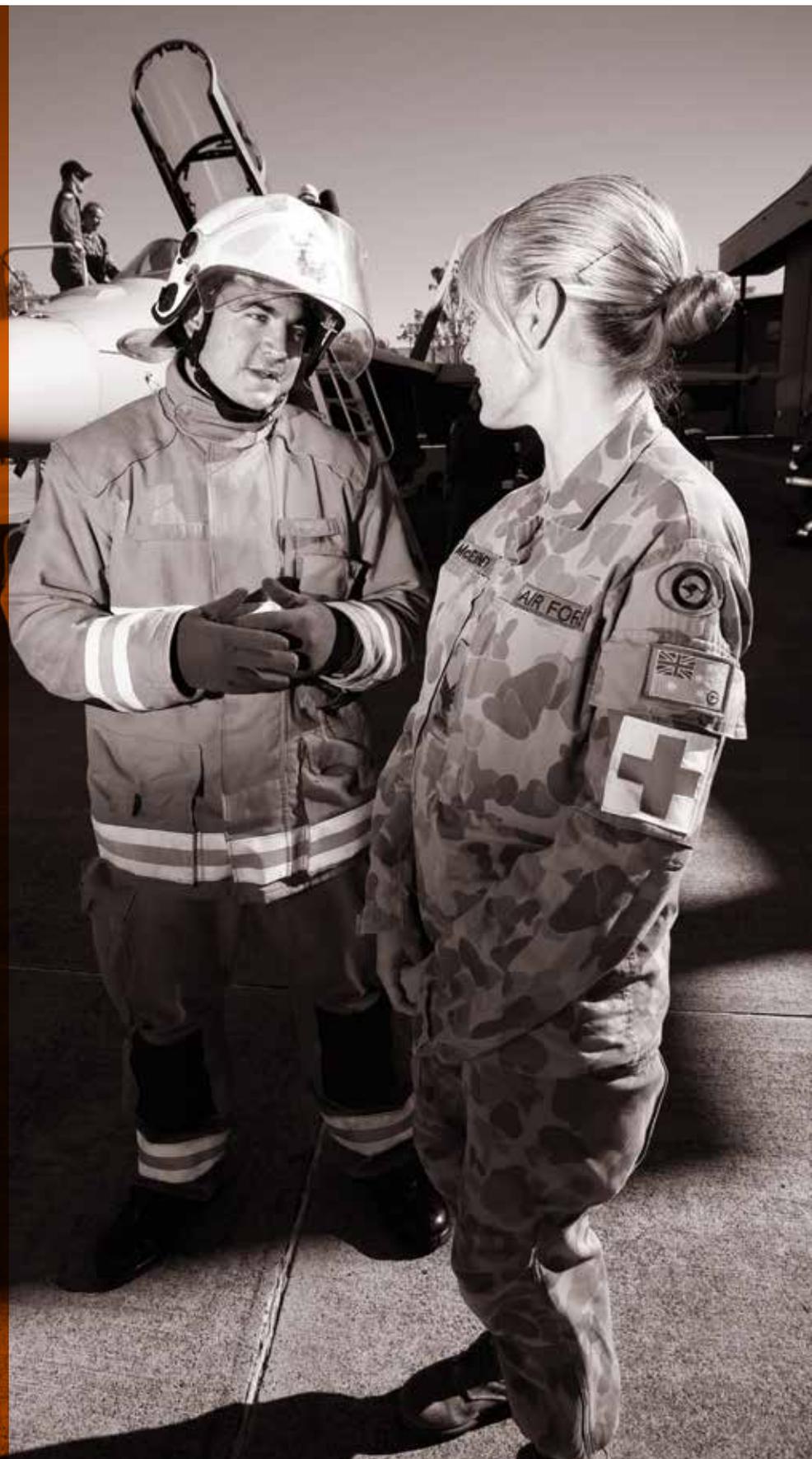
CHAPTER 5

Everyday talk and inclusion

*The group constrains the individual and the group
culture determines a great deal of his humanity.*

(Firth 1957, p. 179)

Introduction

As with the officially-endorsed language of Defence values and icons, the language of everyday talk aligns and bonds people around shared norms which set the standards for acceptance within teams. These shared norms become the basis on which Defence personnel are either included or excluded. In this context, diversity is expressed as *difference* and difference needs to be mitigated to achieve group acceptance. While everyday talk may appear to be light-hearted and humorous, it works to achieve very serious social effects on people's lives. Most importantly, it regulates group behaviour and the social positioning of people within the group (Eggins and Slade 1997) and it can be used to include and, equally, to exclude.

This chapter will address the question of how informal, everyday, on-the-job talk perpetuates exclusion, while maintaining the cultural norms and authority of the dominant group. In particular, it will investigate the kind of talk which is used to marginalise, and will outline some strategies which can be used by group members to overcome and manage marginalising talk. These strategies are provided through the voices of the interviewees who volunteered for the study. Each interviewee represents a voice of someone who identifies as belonging to a diversity group (as defined in Chapter 1) and who has had the experience of being marginalised. Yet these people have adapted and prevailed as long-term members of the four Services. Their voices bring a contemporary, personal account of language use in the Services that illustrates how everyday talk is used to construct and vary the levels of belongingness and group membership within the Defence workplace. Their insights and experiences offer the Defence organisation some opportunities for reflection and for cultural change. The results strongly suggest that junior and senior leadership have important roles to play in the monitoring and management of casual conversation.

The chapter opens with an explanation of the purpose and features of everyday talk. It shows how casual conversation, through humour and banter, can be used to include and exclude, while appearing to be no more than ways of killing time' and 'having a few laughs together' (Eggins and Slade 1997, p. 167). Following on from this, the chapter discusses the nature of the Defence workplace, a workplace dominated by the masculine norms and forms of social interaction of Anglo-Australian men. Within this context, examples of banter experienced by the interviewees are provided to demonstrate how banter is jointly constructed and controlled by the *interactants*—people involved in a conversation.

These examples fall into two categories, the first category enables group acceptance while the second category marginalises. Group acceptance depends on mutual agreement of the proposition which is posited by the instigator of banter, while marginalisation occurs when the proposition is denied. The banter described by the interviewees is presented to exemplify how marginalisation occurs and how it can be challenged and overcome. In addition to banter, the roles played by other linguistic resources such as nicknaming, jokes and technical language in enabling social inclusion are illustrated. These kinds of everyday talk are representative of the socialisation practices of Defence and are important in the construction of effective teams. Being able to participate appropriately provides opportunities for group acceptance.

The chapter concludes with a discussion on how the interviewees have secured a sense of belonging and maintained group acceptance and how they have, over the course of their careers, managed instances of marginalisation when it occurred. Strategies of belonging fall into proactive and reactive strategies, which reflect degrees of workplace happiness and unhappiness respectively. Being accepted and feeling part of the team is critical not only for the individual's happiness but also for the mission of Defence. The everyday talk of the workplace connects what happens in the day-to-day workplace to the endorsed values of the organisation. Everyday talk is the manifestation of the inculcated values and behaviours desired by Defence. What gets inculcated through training is acted out in everyday talk. For example, inculcating personnel into effective teams that display the values of courage, loyalty and teamwork is what gets used as the basis for acceptance and or marginalisation. Similarly, heralding the dominant group as the typical hero tells personnel that good teams are teams of these kinds of people.

What is institutionally highly valued forms the basis and thus the standards of behaviour for social groups and teams within the organisation. Significantly, it is the dominant members who get to set and maintain these standards. The use of and responses to humour in the workplace play out social positioning, not just in the local social group, but also in Defence-wide culture. It is in the connection between the endorsed ideal identities and the social positioning through everyday talk that the systemic nature of discrimination and exclusion can be found. This chapter demonstrates how the team-based nature of work in Defence dictates everyday talk and thus the mechanisms for social inclusion.

Everyday talk

Everyday talk, or casual conversation, is the kind of talk people engage in when they want to connect with each other. As social beings, people like to commune, hang out, *shoot the breeze* and relax together, even in a work environment and this is achieved primarily through talk. When they have a chat with each other, they are taking part in casual conversation. As they take turns in a conversation, they jointly construct and negotiate meanings but, unlike other kinds of conversation, casual conversation usually does not achieve anything pragmatic. For example, it does not result in a purchase, an offer of a job, an appointment or the receipt of information and so on. Rather, it works to bring people closer together or, alternatively, to position them further apart from each other. It may seem aimless and even trivial but it plays a major role in engineering our social relations. In fact, the primary purpose of casual conversation is to negotiate social identity and interpersonal relationships with others (Eggins and

Slade 1997; Holmes 2006). It is about how people feel, how they judge others and about how they appreciate things in both positive and negative ways. There are many examples of these evaluations in the interview data.

The manner in which casual conversation occurs very much depends on how well members of a group know each other. When people know each other really well, their everyday talk tends to be around disagreement. They have such strong social bonds that they can safely negotiate difference through confrontation and disagreement. They engage in arguing and probing both their similarities and differences, while remaining bonded and intimate. However, in situations where the level of intimacy is not so close, the purpose of the casual conversation is more about maintenance of solidarity and consensus (Eggins and Slade 1997). This kind of talk is typically found in places where people are strongly motivated to get along with each other, such as in the workplace. People in the workplace will engage in conversations that build consensus and solidarity and these conversations can take the form of different genres, such as gossip or storytelling. Both forms of casual conversation affirm group affiliations through the exploration of similarity.

Gossiping is the kind of casual conversation where opinions and evaluations about the behaviour of an absent person, usually negative ones, are shared. This strategy serves to confirm the interactants' common affiliation as *insiders* with the absent person as the *outsider*. Storytelling, on the other hand, is a monologic strategy designed not just to entertain but to assert a particular storyteller's higher status compared to others in the group. By affording the storyteller the right to take up most of the talking time, the other group members acknowledge the storyteller's experience and claim to status (Eggins and Slade 1997, p. 16).

Both gossip and storytelling occur in social contexts where people need to get on with each other. As conflict and difference present threats to consensus, negotiating difference involves a degree of risk to consensus and group cohesion. One way by which this risk is mitigated is through the use of humour and people negotiate power relations and solidarity in workplace contexts typically through using humour. Humour allows differences to be presented in a way that does not threaten consensus or the shared values and attitudes of the group. It typically takes the form of banter, teasing and joking. Banter is best described as a friendly form of ridicule or raillery but when banter turns negative, persistent or annoying, it becomes teasing. Joking refers to words or tricks which excite laughter. Banter and joking are typically positive humorous devices, while teasing is intended to be negative in order to socially position people as *other*. This *othering* will occur if the person who is the target is unaware of how to (or chooses not to) counter the tease, as Eggins and Slade (1997) explain:

> Teasing … is targeted at marginal or deviant group members and appears to
> function as a way of conveying to them group values and norms .... The very
> fact of being teased emerges as a test of group solidarity; a marginal member
> must know how to support a tease, or risk increased marginalisation, and
> group members must be willing to engage in a tease or look like outsiders
> themselves (p. 159).

Working alongside the conversational strategy of humour are other conversational strategies that enable involvement and affiliation (Eggins and Slade 1997; Knight 2009). A person's place in a social group is often indicated through the level of their involvement, that is, how friendly and intimate that person is with their workmates. The use of particular semantic (meaning making) practices provides interactants with ways to realise, construct and vary the level of intimacy of the interaction. These language practices of involvement include three kinds: the system of naming or specifically nicknaming group members, using in-group technical language, and swearing. Examples of humour and these other conversational strategies are exemplified by the interviewees from recounted casual conversations that they participated in during the course of their careers in the Defence workplace.

The Defence workplace

As discussed in earlier chapters, the collective mission of Defence requires uniformed members to engage in the high-risk, dangerous work of protection and security. In the wider community, this kind of work typically falls to men. And as expected, this is also the case in Defence. The Defence workplace is a male domain. Further, statistics also show that the workplace is dominated by third-generation Australians, that is, Australians who were born here and whose parents were also born here. Typically, third-generation Australians have identifiably Australian accents and have been socialised in Australian cultural norms. What this means is that the Defence workplace is typically *blokey*, dominated by the social norms of Anglo-Australian men. They work together acting out their collective habitus, assuming that each other knows how to behave like an Aussie bloke, with particular expectations on how everyday talk is conducted. Along with this is the expectation that everyone should behave like the dominant group. After all, the dominant group is in control of the legitimation code and so they can set the standard.

Studies on male everyday talk in Australia and New Zealand have shed light on the nature of this kind of talk. Various studies have demonstrated that the everyday talk of men is usually around workplace activities (Hay 2000; Eggins and Slade 1997; Holmes 2006). Talk is rarely about personal matters, but rather about work and mutual interests, such as sports and movies. Predictably, everyday talk includes humour which is used competitively whereby men 'exchange jocular abuse ... with each contribution attempting to outdo previous contributions' (Hay 1994 in Holmes 2006). The humour tends to hinge on sending up non-standard, social differences ranging from individual characteristics, such as gender and race, to differences in performance, skill sets and knowledge. Male workmates typically develop 'customary, joking relationships' (Norrick 1993, p. 6) which in many ways contribute to the nature of broader Australian culture, as well as that of Defence. A comment by one of the interviewees, Abby, recognises this.

> I think that it [banter] is a fundamental part of Australian culture, not just Defence culture. We have the influence certainly of the English and the Irish and the Scottish I think.
>
> (Abby APS CALD)

Evidence of this joking style has been documented in the male-dominated construction worksites of Sydney, with researchers noting that workplace 'racist performances [graffiti, name calling and racist jokes] are normalised through their prevalence and the extent to which most workers and managers tolerate them' (Dunn et al. 2011, p. 146). This high degree of tolerance, for what might be considered inappropriate talk, is another feature of male everyday talk. Thus in an Australian, male dominated workplace, solidarity and consensus is built around work-related chat and humour involving jovial banter, teasing and jokes.

Turning to Defence, it is reasonable to predict that men in the workplace also practise male forms of everyday talk. However, what sets the Defence context apart from the civilian context is the impact of the military mission on personnel and their everyday talk. As mentioned, the Defence mission, to defend Australia and its national interests, requires teamwork in high-risk situations. Defence training inculcates the importance of the team to mission success. As discussed in Chapter 3, Defence is made up of communities of practice that employ strong, cohesive teams to perform the work of defence. The impact of mission and training on military personnel is summed up by Wolfendale (2007):

> The military personality is developed not just through overt training and education, but through the very nature of the military's function and needs (p. 128).

The team imperative stretches across the organisation, for example, from highly technical teams, made up of specialists as in Air Force, to teams of generalists all performing specific, integrated tasks, as in Army. Members work together in order to achieve mission success, often in stressful, tense and dangerous situations. Military operations are always team based. Building effective, functioning teams hence becomes a means to an end for the military.

Team building is not only achieved through formal training, it is equally achieved through the unofficial processes of everyday talk. Everyday talk simultaneously aligns and positions group members as part of the team and, in some cases, regrettably as outside the team. In an organisation that requires team membership in order to fulfil the mission, finding oneself *othered* is a daunting prospect and not something one would wish for. Team membership is an important part of the job. This applies to both the uniformed members and the APS. While APS members are not deployed as such but rather experience a workplace with significantly less risk to personal safety, they are still working in an organisation dominated by a *blokey* culture and so the same kinds of talk occur. This is demonstrated by the APS interviewees who shared their team experiences. Feeling an intrinsic value and sense of belonging in the team becomes critical to personal and team success. Belongingness is built and maintained through the everyday talk of the workplace which is enveloped by humour. In the Defence workplace, this humour includes teasing, bantering and joking. This is acknowledged in the words of a Navy Chief Petty Officer, saying 'Yes, [I'll banter] a lot, especially if we're forming that working bond with them' (Dylan Navy ATSI).

Humour plays a critical role in the maintenance of belonging by hosing down the marginalising effects of difference. Conflict, tension and contradiction lead to differences which arise between members of groups at work and humour downplays the negative impact of such differences. When power relations are being contested, or the values of the group challenged, humour can provide a cover under which the

challenger can get on with the work of challenging. The cover of humour provides the excuse that *I didn't really mean it, it was just a joke*. It can disguise what really is going on and, thus, people can be sitting and laughing over a cup of tea, while at the same time being socially repositioned and, possibly demoted in the group or even excluded. Consider the situation in Example 5.1 from an APS male of ATSI descent, where he is positioned as someone who takes leave without approval because of his Aboriginality.

Example 5.1

Doug: I was away for the day and the person next to me didn't know where I was -
               Did you go walkabout, Doug? No, I contacted my supervisor.
               Everything was above board.

Researcher: So walkabout implied you took a sickie?

Doug: In an Indigenous context it means you just go away and do what you want.

Researcher: Right so you've just left the workplace?

Doug: Just disappeared.

Researcher: Disappeared without approval? Are you supposed to laugh at that?

Doug: Yep.

Researcher: What's the expectation on you?

Doug: Yeah that was just a joke.

Researcher: So you're offended but they hide behind - it's okay, it's just a joke?

Doug: Yeah it's just a joke.

               (Doug APS ATSI)

However, as everyday talk is a joint enterprise, created and constructed in real time by more than one person, the degrees of belongingness or, conversely, degrees of exclusion are in the control of the interactants. In other words, turn taking and what people do with their turn can make or break someone's place in the group. The choices facing an interactant who is either negotiating a place in the group, or whose place in the group is being contested, are explained by the interviewees of the study. These Defence personnel reflect on their experiences of belongingness and marginalisation and explain how they have countered moves to exclude them in the workplace through control of casual conversation. They provide strategies on how to operate and succeed in a workplace which is male dominated, Anglo-Australian, hetero-normative and able-bodied.

Interacting through banter

Banter was a key characteristic of the everyday talk of the interviewees. In the first instance, 94% of interviewees (30 out of 32) were familiar with the concept of banter, noting that they had participated in bantering events in the workplace. Of these, 23 or 77% stated that they received the bantering well and reciprocated with bantering responses. In other words, they played the game, indicating that they were accepting of banter as a means of social bonding. However, 21 or 66% of these same 30 also had experienced banter that made them feel uncomfortable. For various reasons, they did not accept being the target of banter.[53] Despite the small size of the data set, the interviewees' experiences demonstrate that banter can be enjoyed, yet on occasion be unwanted.

The function of banter in the Australian workplace is to test group membership (Slade 1996). If an interactant passes the test or at least demonstrates how to play the game, they become or remain a part of the group. Membership is achieved and/or maintained when the target of the banter plays correctly. For bantering to result in a successful outcome, the proposition of the initiator's message, which gets negotiated back and forth by the interactants, needs to be agreed to. This agreement signals a supportive move by the other interactant, which is both non-assertive and deferential (Eggins and Slade 1997, p. 206). If the conversational turn-taking during the exchange results in agreement, then alignment is created between the initiator and the target, thereby achieving inclusion. In many cases, the proposition is either absurd or is in some way out of the ordinary. This sets up the potential for humour and subsequent laughter by those involved and registers that the proposition was agreed to. For example, the exchange below in Example 5.2, which is taken from the data, sets up the gendered proposition of multitasking, as the point of difference between men and women. This proposition is then bantered back through a supportive move by the target, Rhonda, by which she achieves group acceptance.

Example 5.2

proposition	exchange	
Proposition posited *Men can't do more than one thing at a time.*	A:	I'm only a simple man. I can't do two things at once, you know. Don't ask me these things.
Proposition agreed *Yes, men can't.*	Rhonda:	Yes, You're right. You're useless. You're a man.
Registering support	A:	laughter

(Rhonda APS Disability)

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53 Target refers to the person who the teasing or banter is directed at. The recipient of the tease is the 'target'.

Similarly, in Example 5.3, interactant A is commenting on her colleague, who is of ATSI heritage, about her having a bad hair day. The proposition that Nicky's hair is frizzy like a Torres Strait Islander's is accepted. Nicky's laughter registers her acceptance of the proposition and the absurdity of her being stereotyped and she achieves group acceptance.

Example 5.3

proposition	exchange
Proposition posited *Your hair is frizzy like a Torres Strait Islanders* (TI).	A: (seeing her friend arriving at work) Mmm, yes, a bit TI today, are you Nicky?
Proposition agreed *Yes, it is.*	Nicky: Yeah, I know. laughing

(Nicky APS ATSI)

In Examples 5.2 and 5.3, the social bonding occurs via acceptance of the proposition. However, acceptance can still be achieved even when the proposition is not mutually agreed on. Acceptance in this case results from a willingness to accept the exchange on the initiator's terms, if not the proposition. In Example 5.4, the target Paul has chosen to interpret gay as meaning *homosexual* rather than as meaning *retarded, bad, unpleasant, lame, dull or boring*.[54] This is a positive and supportive move to make a point about the use of the word *gay* without confrontation. It is a friendly way to point out his dislike of the way the word *gay* is used. Paul has maintained group membership and inclusion, despite negotiating a point of difference, which for him could have resulted in exclusion, as he was really indicating his dislike for homosexuality being equated with negativity. However, he maintains acceptance.

Example 5.4

proposition	exchange
Proposition posited *Something is evaluated negatively.*	A: Oh, that's so gay.
Proposition disavowed *No, it is not.*	Paul: Well, that's not gay, because if it was gay, I would enjoy it.
Registering support	A: laughter

(Paul Air Force LGBTI)

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54   www.urbandictionary.com

The same can be said of Example 5.5 in relation to Eliza's response to one of her soldiers who came to work feeling pretty good. Eliza disagrees by countering the soldier's comment with an absurd response, which draws laughter from the team. It is her friendly way of reminding everyone of who is in charge.

Example 5.5

proposition	exchange	
Proposition posited *I'm handsome.*	Soldier:	I'm a good-looking rooster today.
Proposition disavowed *No, you are not.*	Eliza:	No, your mother and your mirror are lying to you yet again.
Registering support	A:	laughter by the team

(Eliza Army ATSI)

In each of the examples above, the presence of laughter indicates that something that could have been used to socially exclude has been negotiated successfully. The laughter indicates that the point of difference has been navigated and batted out of the way in the drive to achieve social inclusion (Knight 2009). These examples illustrate how the interviewees have played the game successfully. Success in these instances has two components in the sense that the interviewees were firstly able to play the game and achieve inclusion, as well as play the game cooperatively of their own volition.

However, there is another kind of interaction where the interviewees play the game, but not willingly. They engage in it to comply but, if given the choice, they would sooner have not been placed in a position of having to engage in the exchange. In Example 5.6, the target Oliver, very good humouredly, accepts the directive of the security officer, even though he did not appreciate the proposition that the woman's visit is not for a legitimate work reason. However, rather than confront, Oliver plays along by offering a supportive response. He complies with an affirmative answer and smiles in agreement while, at the same time, bringing the exchange to a swift end. Oliver noted in his interview that this was a common strategy of his *I just go along with them, give an answer to keep them happy and say 'Yep'*. Oliver plays the game and achieves acceptance while, at the same time, bringing the exchange to an end.

Example 5.6

proposition	exchange	
Proposition posited *The visit is for reasons other than legitimate work.*	A:	(as the security officer signs in a visitor at the main gate) Make sure she leaves by 7:00pm. laughing
Proposition complied with *Yes I will.*	Nicky:	Yep. smiling

(Oliver Navy CALD)

In contrast, if bantering fails to build inclusive relationships, this is usually because the proposition of the initiator's message, which is negotiated by the interactants, is not agreed to. The proposition is challenged by the target through turn-taking moves which confront. Confrontation is negotiated through a variety of strategies, but underpinning them all is a fundamental disagreement with the proposition of the message. Example 5.7 is an example of a confronting strategy which leaves the exchange unresolved. The initiator is left uncertain as to what went wrong. The initiator is attempting to learn the heritage background of the person, but the target, Agnes, is tired of being singled out as different, so she refuses to respond with the kind of answer that is anticipated. Rather, she chooses to interpret the question literally by providing answers that do not indicate her heritage background and so the exchange never gets resolved.

In this example, Agnes chooses not to affiliate because she is sick of this line of questioning. This is because her difference is always being brought up as a topic of casual conversation. The humour in this exchange arises from the observers of the conversation who are enjoying interactant A's confusion. Agnes successfully positions herself as separate from interactant A. Others are laughing with her at A's expense and so she has bonded with the observers. She has made a point about her dislike of inaccurately-expressed questions about her heritage background. Interactant A experiences feelings of exclusion while Agnes achieves acceptance from those who were observing.

Example 5.7

proposition	exchange	
Proposition posited *Requesting information on heritage background.*	A:	(curious about a colleague's heritage) Where are you from?
Proposition rebounded *No, try again, you're not asking me the right question.*	Agnes:	Dickson [ACT].
Proposition posited *Requesting information on heritage background.*	A:	[But] Where are you from?
Proposition rebounded *No, try again, you're not asking me the right question.*	Agnes:	Sydney.
Proposition posited *Recasting the request for information on heritage background.*	A:	Where are you from before that?
Proposition rebounded *No, try again, you're not asking me the right question*	Agnes:	Cerberus [Navy base].

(Agnes Navy CALD)

Another confronting response is through counter-argument. The following exchange in Example 5.8 is an outright disagreement with the proposition that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are given freebies. Rather than attempt any form of banter, Dylan challenges the proposition with a counter-argument. This results in the initiator backing down, affirming the counter argument and apologising. It is the apology that re-affiliates the interactants. Without the apology, this exchange would have resulted in the exclusion of the initiator.

Example 5.8

proposition	exchange	
Proposition posited *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are given freebies.*	A:	But you get free Toyotas every year. Cheap housing, you know, you get all these things we don't get. I'm going to come back black because you get all this stuff we don't get.
Proposition countered *No, that's not true. I'll provide the counter argument.*	Dylan:	Look, what you're saying is not quite true. I understand why you're saying it, but you've got to realise that what you're saying is not true and if you keep saying it you're going to offend somebody.
Counter proposition affirmed	A:	Oh thank you. I didn't know that.

(Dylan Navy ATSI)

The examples above have illustrated what happens when bantering is used to either include or exclude. The outcome rests on whether or not the proposition of an initiating move is supported or confronted by the target of the exchange. If it is supported, inclusion is the outcome but, if it is confronted, then exclusion may result unless other interactional strategies are employed. Of note is the strategy of agreeing to a proposition in order to be or remain included, even if the target of the banter does not agree with the proposition, as illustrated in Example 5.6.

These supportive and/or confronting moves, which maintain support for the initiator of the banter, are the kind of moves in the turn-taking exchange of conversation that are available for anyone to use, whether the banter is coming from a rank above, at an equal level or below. In fact, it is the target who is in control of the outcome of the banter. Having this kind of control provides the target with the opportunity to ensure that the exchange succeeds for them. Banter is the mechanism for negotiating difference, minimising its effect and enabling inclusion once the difference has been acknowledged and removed. Thus under the guise of humour, social positioning can occur.

However, when the target has authority, such as an APS supervisor or uniformed personnel of higher rank, humour is not necessarily a prerequisite for negotiating the differences. The right to confront and challenge is an intrinsic component of the language of leadership. Confrontation and challenges are expected with or without humour. Example 5.9 is an example of a leadership challenge, which is benign and non-confrontational but which ends the exchange abruptly. The target is an outsider of the group from an Indian background with authority to conduct an audit of Kirk's office. The confrontation is expressed through silence and the initiation of a new request. If Bob had been on friendly, intimate

terms with the auditor, the quip may have been harmless. However, the silence indicates that the auditor did not consider the quip humorous or appropriate. Rather than vocalise this and be verbally assertive, the auditor chose silence. This had the desired effect in the sense that Bob knew immediately that he had overstepped the mark of appropriate workplace behaviour. Despite this breach, the auditor chose to continue on with the audit.

Example 5.9

proposition	exchange	
Initiating request	A:	(while getting a feel for the day to day rhythm in the office, the auditor says to one of the workers) What do you do around the office?
Proposition posited *My work is menial like a black slave's*	Bob:	I'm just the little blackfella around here.
Proposition confronted *Speaker A disengages from the exchange and starts a new, unrelated exchange initiation*	A:	silence
	Kirk:	(talking to the interviewer about this incident) Well it got very quiet all of a sudden and then the Indian fellow, much to his, I suppose however he took it, I can't know his mind, I don't know how he was feeling, he just changed the conversation to some other sort of tact that worked.
	Kirk:	Good one, Bob.

(Kirk APS Disability)

Of course, when personnel find themselves as a target who disagrees with the propositions of a banter exchange, those in positions of authority are free to respond in assertive, confrontational ways with minimum risk to their social position. Example 5.10 illustrates this when a female Lance Corporal reacts strongly to a soldier's vulgarity. It is an assertive challenge designed to detach from and shut down the exchange. The assertive confrontation, combined with her rank succeeds, leaves the soldier certain of his inappropriate behaviour. He was appropriately marginalised by the senior rank to change his behaviour or lose his membership of the group. He chose to comply and maintained acceptance.

Example 5.10

proposition	exchange	
Proposition posited *Eliza is referred to by a sexist vulgarity*	A:	a sexually vulgar expression
	Eliza:	(talking to the interviewer about this incident) We were joking around and I think he got too, not so much familiar, but stepped over the line with vulgarity and I was a lance jack, because it was over the top, I've just turned around and said:
Proposition challenged	Eliza:	Hey, whoa, stop right there. Back it up, we're not going there. You don't speak to me like that. You don't speak to me about that sort of stuff, I refuse to hear it.
Affirmation of challenged proposition.	A:	Okay, no worries.

(Eliza Army ATSI)

Missing the meanings of banter

In the discussion thus far, the conversational responses of the targets of banter have succeeded in successfully enabling or maintaining group membership or else successfully confronting disagreeable propositions they found inappropriate or outside acceptable behavioural norms, while all the time maintaining their social position in the group. These responses demonstrate the high degree of control of the banter exercised by the targets in these examples. By making particular kinds of choices in how to respond to tests of membership, the targets have demonstrated how to stay in control and get the outcome they desire. The targets are enacting empowering moves.

However, as some of the interviewees pointed out, if banter is not understood, then exclusion can occur. As explained earlier in the chapter, joking relationships and jovial banter are features of these workplaces. Essentially, this means that if you are not socialised into this kind of every-day talk, it is hard to participate and even harder to participate successfully, as indeed noted by some of the interviewees. Women and the culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) personnel are not necessarily versed in the ways of banter and, in fact, women can feel picked on and CALD personnel simply do not understand. Even if the intention to marginalise or tease is not there, the targets may not understand this and misunderstandings and accusations of bullying and harassment can occur. In Example 5.11, Agnes explains how a female shipmate of hers felt picked on.

Example 5.11

Researcher: Did you see any examples of where the *paying out* process was happening but somebody took it personally or didn't respond with a payback and how it was managed or what happened to them?

Agnes: Yeah. I know it's happened heaps of time but I can't think of exact – there was this one girl on [Ship Name]. She was from the country. She wasn't a very obnoxious, loud sort of person, she was quite reserved and people would just be joking about things, not even particularly at her, it would just be about anything and she would take offence to it and not even talk about it. She would just go and put herself away from the situation. And I don't think even I realised till much later that she found those sorts of situations confronting.

Researcher: When she didn't know how to …

Agnes: She didn't know how to handle it, yeah. I think much later she said to me she felt picked on. I was quite surprised because I'm going, *Who picked on you?* And she goes, *They would say all of these things*. And I went, *Well, I don't think they were picking on you, they were just having a conversation*. So it's pretty much like if you don't fit into that mould of being able to give – if you keep taking it and you don't know how to give out, then obviously you're going to feel picked on. But if you know how to give out and have the strength of character to do it, then it's lots of fun.

                (Agnes Navy CALD)

Additionally, in Example 5.12, Agnes recalls another woman's experience arising from the fact that the female officer did not understand the banter going on around her:

Example 5.12

Researcher: Did you see this banter happening with people not responding positively and getting upset by it and then not losing – well, losing their role in the group? Did you see that happen?

Agnes: Yes, like my boss. My immediate boss, she lost her role in the group. When we're sitting down in the ward room – first of all, she just wouldn't come and her excuse was always that she has too much work on. And I knew she was working hard but she could have still come in. She could have still come and joined in. But whenever she did join in, somehow she just didn't fit in. When someone was making a joke of something, she didn't know how to respond.

Researcher: Did she have a sense of humour?

Agnes: She did but she – she would fit perfectly in a mothers' group. And I'm not putting mothers' groups down now, because I'm in a mothers' group and I fit in fine. She spoke flowery – *thank you, please, nice*, everything's *lovely*, everything's *nice*, you don't want to be rude, that kind of world. And that works fine in the Navy, too, but not on the ship … maybe she was too gentle but I wasn't rough, either. She just didn't read people.

                (Agnes Navy CALD)

The fact that women may not understand is not surprising, nor is it a reflection on their lack of a sense of humour or their inability to socialise. Rather, it is related to the differences in how men and women relate to each other socially in Australian society. In an all-female group in the workplace, women do not generally tease each other, but rather engage in storytelling and gossip in order to establish and maintain their relationships. Stories share experiences that may be telling or unusual, while gossiping shares values and judgments of what one should or should not do.

None of these types of casual conversation involves banter and this contrasts sharply with the casual conversation of an all-male group. Research shows that 'the most frequently occurring stretch of talk in the all-male group [i]s teasing or sending up' (Eggins and Slade 1997, pp. 264-69). It is thus not surprising that women might not understand male forms of banter. Yet, it is important to understand it and know how to engage with it in the Defence workplace. In Example 5.13, Laurie emphasised the importance of banter in his interview.

Example 5.13

Researcher: Sure. Banter. So tell me ...

Laurie: ... an absolute - I mean if you do not have the ability to take part in and contribute to and be the victim of and handle it well, you probably won't survive in this organisation.

Personnel from culturally and linguistically-diverse backgrounds are in the same situation as women but, in their case, they may not understand banter for a different reason. The conventions of casual conversation in their first language(s) may not include the Aussie form of banter and one of the interviewees posited this as one of the reasons why CALD personnel do not understand it and may feel excluded. In Example 5.14, Abby notes that as a child, she had to learn how to banter after arriving in Australia as an immigrant from Thailand but it did not come naturally.

Example 5.14

Researcher: Was bantering part of your childhood?

Abby: No, not at all.

Researcher: So how did you learn it?

Abby: I learnt through trial and error and probably making mistakes at primary school and high school.

Researcher: Okay, so you learnt it before you got to Defence?

Abby: Yes.

                (Abby APS CALD)

Similarly, in Example 5.15, Rod who is a Chinese-speaking, first-generation Australian recalled his learning curve in Army.

Example 5.15

Researcher: So, did you feel like you understood the cultural process of sending you up, practical jokes, teasing?

Rod: It took a long time, it took a while because I don't think anyone would be familiar with the way Army do its bantering and try to joke with each other. So it took me a long time to figure it out and actually to feel comfortable. Because initially, I would only do it with, I guess, very close friends that I have worked with for a while, and it was a lot harder in a big social group where I've just met a person – to actually banter with him. But I guess once I got used to that, it got better.

Researcher: So can you tell me how you learnt it? What did you do to understand it?

Rod: How I learnt it? I think mostly by observing, by observing how other people do it and trial and error. Sometimes I know in the past there have been instances where I took things literally at face value which didn't help.

(Rod Army CALD)

By not understanding banter, Defence personnel are marked as different. To negotiate this difference and minimise the effect on their place in the group, they need to be able to participate in banter but, if they do not know how, then they cannot minimise their difference. It is a Catch 22 situation and, unfortunately, marginalisation is a possible outcome. Certainly, Agnes's friends in Examples 5.11 and 5.12 felt their marginalisation but did not seem to have any countering strategies other than to remove themselves from the situation.

It is important to understand that it is not just women and CALD personnel who have to manage this. Exclusion through banter can happen to anyone, regardless of gender, background, sexual orientation and so on. What needs to be considered, however, is how to counter this kind of exclusion, which can be characterised as a kind of cultural gap in one's understanding. The gap is a lack of understanding of how the dominant group in Defence use banter in the workplace. From the interviewees' experiences, this gap can be overcome by observation, trial and error and by *having a go*. If not, the end result of misunderstanding can be a sense of isolation and thus a personal decision to remove oneself from the social context.

Nicknaming

Working in concert with banter is the system of nicknaming. This is a significant strategy of inclusion in Defence. Being assigned a nickname indicates group acceptance and suggests inclusion in the Australian mateship culture (Eggins and Slade 1997, p. 147). Regardless of whether the recipient of the nickname condones the name of not, it marks the person as a member of the social group.

Nicknames are derived through a number of strategies. In the first instance, they can be derived from a person's actual name, either first name or surname. Secondly, they can be derived by reference to a non-name-based set of circumstances, where the derivation can be related to something culturally identifiable or not. Non-culturally based nicknames can be infused with either positive or negative evaluations (Poynton 1984). How these evaluations are received by the nicknamed person will depend on the person and the story behind the nickname. If the assignation of the nickname involves an exclusionary experience, then it is unlikely that the nickname will be condoned by the recipient. However, they may not be able to shake off the name and may have to live with it.

When a nickname is name-based, it tends to be immediately recognisable as a diminutive version of the first name or surname of the recipient. Typically, in Australian English, names are truncated with endings like *–y/-ie* as in *Rosy or Aussie*, *–o* as in *Vino* or *–a* as in *Kazza*. These nicknames indicate a level of intimacy, that is, the person is so well known that the formality of the full name can be dispensed with. These kinds of nicknames signal social inclusion and acceptance in the team. Similarly, nicknames derived from a person's name using rhyme or meaning associations are usually positive and inclusive, for example, *Jace the Ace, Harmer*[55] *the Charmer, He-man, Lex Luther, Bing Lee*. Each of the recipients of these names accepted these names and felt included.

Non-name-based nicknames are a little different. These can be liked and accepted, along with the story behind the naming process, or disliked. For example, some of the nicknames liked by their recipients were: *Coco*, which evaluates the recipient as a sophisticated woman; *Morton*, which aligns the recipient with a comedian; and *Fingers*, which distinguishes the recipient in a unique and possibly confronting manner, which the recipient clearly liked. Some nicknames are based on personality: for example, someone with a dry sense of humour might be given the nickname *Dog Biscuit*.

Nicknames disliked by their recipients tended to be unwelcome reminders of difference, which positioned them in a poor light as an outlier. From the recipients' points of view, the negative judgment inscribed in their nicknames follows them into every social encounter. For example, the nickname Xena is an alternative to a recipient's actual name but the recipient felt that the use of this nickname suggested that the real name was too hard to learn and that it was not important enough for her work colleagues to bother trying. The nickname *Shirt Lifter* is a derogative reference to sexual orientation, assigned to the recipient after having an in-depth chat with a workmate, intimating that a man who likes long chats with men is of dubious sexual orientation; while *Spew* suggests the recipient could not keep their liquor down.

While positive nicknames include, nicknames which judge the recipient negatively can serve to exclude. It was interesting to note that a number of the interviewees were aware of the dangers of objecting to a nickname that they did not like, as Laurie points out in Example 5.16.

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55   The full name has been changed to protect the interviewee's identity.

Example 5.16

> But I can't fight that nickname because then if you fight the nickname it's the quickest way to make sure you get the nickname. The only way to get rid of a nickname is to ignore it and make it obvious that it didn't really bother you. Any hint that it bothered you would be a problem.
>
> (Laurie, Air Force LGBTI)

Yet, for the interviewees who had nicknames that they did not like, they were pleased to be able to dispense with the name when they moved to different postings or units. This was the case for both APS and ADF members. In Example 5.17, Nina speaks of this when deciding her current nickname is no longer appropriate.

Example 5.17

> So when I was promoted to Major, I thought, No, we'll ditch that and I moved at the same time and I had a whole bunch of different things going on. I thought this is a good time to make the switch and get away from sort of like, being young and frivolous and so on.
>
> (Nina, Army CALD)

The interview data has illustrated how nicknames can indicate social inclusion even when the recipient might not like the name. Being assigned a nickname which contains a positive evaluation of the recipient or the event from which it was derived affords group acceptance and membership to the recipient. Such a nickname bonds the recipient to the group. Conversely, a negatively-evaluating nickname can perpetually mark a recipient as different or inept, depending on the kind of judgment implied. Living with this kind of *verbal tattoo* constantly reminds the recipient and, more importantly, the rest of the group, of the recipient's difference or shortcomings, which perpetuates an excluding experience.

Technical language

Another linguistic strategy to mark inclusion or exclusion is the use of technicality in the workplace. Technicality refers to the language of specialisation. All workplaces involve technical language, some more than others. It is the language of the field or of a discipline which provides the ability to talk and write about technical and specialised topics. Defence is well known for requiring technicality both in the field of engineering and also in that of the art of war. Technicality by its very nature is excluding. Unless you know the discipline or field of expertise, then the technical terms are quite meaningless to you. Only those trained in the field have access to understanding. Defence uses technicality in a number of particular ways. For example, the use of initialisms[56] and acronyms[57] are commonly over-used.

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56 Initialisms are initial letters of words which are taken to form an abbreviation and the letters are pronounced separately such as DTM (Defence Training Model).

57 Acronyms are abbreviations that are pronounced as words, for example, LOTE TAG /lout tæg/ stands for Languages other than English Training Advisory Group.

This approach to expressing technicality masks the meaning of processes, procedures, concepts and equipment. It becomes necessary to know the field or discipline, not just in terms of the technicality, but also in terms of how it is expressed specifically though numbers, codes, initialisms, abbreviations and so on. It requires a high degree of familiarity with the field before technicality is clearly understood.

The need to be very familiar with the technicality of the defence workplace is a pretext for practical jokes, which are played on novice personnel trying to fit in, who want to become valued team members and get on with the new job. In one sense, the technicality becomes a kind of workplace slang and only those 'in the know' know it. In the workplace of Defence, practical jokes are another test of group membership. In this instance, it is not so much membership of the social group so much as membership of the trade or profession. These are tests of knowledge and common-sense. If you get the joke, or can accept being ridiculed as a result of falling for the joke, then the target of the joke achieves group acceptance. Examples 5.18, 5.19 and 5.20 are some of the numerous examples of practical jokes the interviews described from their working life.

Example 5.18 - Navy

Young sailors are given tasks:
Go and get an A-S-H Receiver. [ashtray]
Go and look for a golden rivet.
Go and get some striped paint.
Go to the stores and get a long wait and a big punch.

Young officers are asked to pipe (make public announcements) ship wide:
Petty Officer Kelvinator, to Fridge Flat.
Dockyard welder, Burny Hands, to the Engine Room.
Leading Seaman, Rick O-Shay, to the Armoury.
C-G-U- Eleven [seagull], *in bound.*

Example 5.19 – Air Force

Go and get a left-handed broom.
Go and get a bottle of K9P. [dog urine]

Example 5.20 – APS

A telephone message from Mr G. Raff [giraffe], *Taronga Park Zoo*

In each of the examples above, the target needs to identify when the request contains a level of absurdity, that is, they need to distinguish between actual technicality and fiction. If they do not pick up on the absurdity, they end up requesting an item or performing a task. Upon realisation, the required response is self-effacement: seeing the funny side, and laughing at themselves. This kind of response results in inclusion and acceptance on the basis of being a good sport. In Example 5.21, Paul sums this up.

Example 5.21

> I've always sort of felt like the group and banter are part of being in Defence, the whole thick skin thing. When it's your turn to basically cop the flak from everybody, you have to be able to laugh at yourself and whatever you've done, like you might make a mistake or do something stupid and you're the butt of the jokes for a week. It's just the way it is and it's the way people joke about the situation and all of that. And everything moves on eventually.
>
> (Paul, Air Force LGBTI)

Being able to cope with a practical joke is important in order to earn group membership. If this kind of social behaviour is unfamiliar, then it is likely that the outcome will be exclusion. There is a requirement to laugh it off. Getting upset or angered will most likely contribute to being marginalised.

Swearing

Finally, while swearing is a part of everyday talk in the Defence workplace, it does, of course, have the potential to offend people. In Example 5.22, Sue makes this point.

Example 5.22

> *You've been talking to your Navy mates again, haven't you?* says my partner when I get home, because the language set has completely changed and I'll have slipped into more swearing and I'll have slipped into just being a lot more casual in conversation than would occur elsewhere, and sometimes the tone of my voice changes.
>
> (Sue, Navy LGBTI)

However, swearing has a number of functions that may serve to enable the work of Defence rather than hinder it, even though the possibility of offence is high. Its role has a lot to do with working in risky situations with dangerous equipment under pressure. These functions were observed in the workplace and via the interviews. In the first instance, swearing can grab a person's attention. It alerts people to something that needs to be attended to. It usually signals urgency. By opening a conversational exchange with Fuck! the other interactants know immediately that they need to attend. They know to stop and listen or respond.

Swearing is also used to intensify an action. For example, in the heat of a stressful military exercise, which relied entirely on various modes of communication equipment that made it hard to hear, the chief engineer asserted his authority and shouted to the personnel *There is too much fucking noise! What is sometimes seldom heard is often wonderful.* He succeeded in immediately quietening the room. When things need to happen urgently, swearing has a role to play but the important issue here is to use swearing for the appropriate purpose rather than to insult and exclude.

Team membership and social inclusion

Having described the nature of the everyday talk through the voices of the interviewees, we can see how the Defence workplace relies on male forms of social bonding and group membership. Apart from recounting their successful engagement with banter, interviewees were asked to share their feelings of inclusion through a series of questions concerned with their feelings of belonging and equally of not belonging. The interviewees were asked to provide reasons for why they feel that they belong, on the one hand, or alternatively why they may feel marginalised. The interviewees did not necessarily just give one answer with a number giving multiple responses. The responses were coded into themes of belonging or not belonging and the results are listed in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 from most frequent to least frequent response. These responses demonstrate that everyday talk plays a role in social inclusion.

	Reasons for belonging	# of respondents /30
1	Interesting work	9
2	Have a sense of acceptance and respect	9
3	Feeling part of the team	5
4	Feeling a sense of familiarity with Defence	5
5	Finding my type	4
6	Feeling a sense of family	4
7	Feeling a general sense of belonging	4

Table 5.1–Interviewee reasons for a sense of belonging

The most frequent reasons for feelings of belonging related to two experiences. First, interviewees who feel part of the organisation enjoy the kind of work they do: they find it interesting. The other most frequent response was the feeling of acceptance and respect from others.

	Reasons for NOT belonging	# of respondents /30
1	Being different	13
2	Being the target of jokes, banter, and teasing	7
3	A lack of leadership direction or support	5
4	A lack of understanding by others	4
5	Not understanding banter	2
6	Being perceived as a threat	2
7	Bullying	1
8	Being a reservist	1
9	Being unimportant	1

Table 5.2–Interviewee reasons for a sense of NOT belonging

The most frequent reason for feelings of not belonging is the feeling of being different. This is followed by being the target of unwanted banter. Following this is a reason relating to lack of support and direction from leadership. This relates to supervisors and senior ranks not intervening when it may have been appropriate. Taking reasons one and two together, it could be argued that these respondents may not have been linguistically skilled enough to minimise their difference, or may not have known how to minimise difference through the resources of casual conversation and humour. Whatever marked them as different was not successfully negotiated and minimised through talk. Sadly, given reason three, this possible state of affairs is not necessarily recognised or managed satisfactorily by leadership.

Of note was what the interviewees had to say about what they believed would assist them in gaining acceptance and belonging more effectively. The responses were of two types. Type 1 included proactive, empowering responses, with the respondent wanting the opportunity to change and learn. Type 2 consisted of a reactive, disempowering response, with the respondent feeling unable to change the current situation of exclusion. Type 1 responses are listed in Table 5.3 and Type 2 in Table 5.4.

	Type 1 Proactive strategies of belonging	# of respondents /30
1	Learn to banter – be wary, witty and laugh at oneself	8
2	Learn to do the job well, to gain acceptance	7
3	Learn to be assertive and have good interpersonal skills	6
4	Be adaptive and learn from mistakes	5
5	Be professional at work	4
6	Be resilient	4
7	Be self aware	1
8	Be credible	1

Table 5.3–Interviewee proactive strategies of belonging

The three most common proactive strategies that interviewees believed could help them was for them to learn how to banter and, in so doing, be wary, witty and able to laugh at themselves; to learn how to do their job well and to pull their weight to gain acceptance and to learn to be assertive with good interpersonal skills.

	Type 2 Reactive strategies of belonging	# of respondents /30
1	Be *like the boys* rather than be me	8
2	Play the game – suck it up, learn to ignore what you don't like	7
3	Band together for support	6
4	Be *grey* – blend into the crowd	5
5	Be loyal to your mate or your team first – go with the majority	4
6	Play the gender card, *bat your eyelids*	4
7	Post out of the unit	1

Table 5.4–Interviewee reactive strategies of belonging

The reactive strategies reflect the experiences of people who are trying to cope, rather than trying to develop. These strategies demonstrate a degree of personal sacrifice on the part of the respondents, particularly when considering the two most frequent responses. Sacrificing your true self to *be like the boys* and *playing the game* at your own expense are strategies that are unsustainable. Eventually, these kinds of strategies will give rise to varying kinds of psychological stress. Looked at from this perspective, it may be that the proactive strategies are the strategies of people who are happily working in a Defence career, while the reactive strategies are those of people who may not necessarily be happy with their career choice.

Finally, the interviewees offered strategies for countering marginalisation. Again there were two of types; strategies by the target of marginalisation and strategies by others who may be witness to marginalising behaviour or talk. They are provided in Tables 5.5 and 5.6.

	Countering strategies by targets	# of respondents /30
1	Stand up and call the bad behaviour	15
2	Take control of your life and your choices	8
3	Stand up and pay back with a smile	7
4	Do your homework, back yourself and confront	7
5	Ignore the perpetrator	4
6	Inform either your first or second level supervisor	1
7	Make a formal complaint	1

Table 5.5–Interviewee strategies for countering marginalisation by target

The three most frequent strategies by the target are about taking control, confronting the perpetrator and reaching a resolution without official intervention. Reason 3–*Stand up and pay back with a smile*– refers to banter. Essentially, the interviewees who made this recommendation find themselves the target of banter. To counter being targeted, they engage in the banter to shift the target of banter away from themselves and onto the instigator. These strategies are mostly informal, being dealt with away from management and supervisors.

	Countering strategies by others	# of respondents /30
1	Advocate for the marginalised person	6
2	Contact Fairness and Resolution for mediation and advice	3
3	Post the marginalised person out of the unit	3
4	Explain banter and redirect the interaction	2
5	Bring the marginalised person into the situation or conversation	2
6	Provide role models	1
7	Request/Do a Quick Assessment	1
8	Implement cultural competency training	1

Table 5.6–Interviewee strategies for countering marginalisation by others

Looking at the strategies for countering marginalisation by others, the responses are more official than the strategies by the targets. However, the most frequent response was to advocate for the marginalised person, to stand up for them and offer support.

At this point in the discussion, it could be interpreted that the minority needs to adapt in order to achieve social integration, indirectly suggesting that the majority has no need to change. This is not the intention of the discussion. Rather, the discussion shows how Defence personnel from diverse backgrounds have demonstrated their intercultural strategies of inclusion. Intercultural skills are clearly valuable skills to have when difference is at stake. Importantly, intercultural skills need to be skills which *everyone* can call on in the workplace, regardless of minority or majority status. The socialisation practices of Defence are not fixed. They can be adapted and changed. As Defence becomes more diverse, we can expect other kinds of socialisation such as those of women and those of people used to conversing with CALD groups and so on to become more naturalised. This change will occur through demographic change provided it is led by leadership, instituted by policy changes and backed up by education and training.

Interculturality is a leadership issue. Some of the interviewees felt that one of the reasons for their feelings of *not* belonging (see Table 5.2) was a lack of leadership direction and support. According to their interviews, in some cases, leaders were in fact the people who excluded and, in other cases, leaders had turned a blind eye to what was happening. This is an issue for senior leadership in the sense that junior leaders, who may not be equipped to monitor and manage banter, need development opportunities to provide an understanding of how everyday talk can enable and or resist social inclusion. It is up to senior leadership to direct this kind of development for junior leaders. Junior

leaders need to have an understanding of how banter operates, and be equipped to positively impact the language use of the day-to-day in Defence. They need to monitor, model and, where appropriate, encourage banter which includes, and discourage banter which has a negative impact on peoples' work experiences and excludes. With training, junior leaders would be equipped to identify, monitor and manage inappropriate banter.

Conclusion

Given the nature of Defence work, the team is important. Teams matter, as does team socialisation in the training of Defence personnel. Defence teams are strongly classified and framed. The kind of team and how it is controlled is critical to mission success. The teams are controlled through rank in the knower code of the ADF and through supervisors in the knowledge code of the APS. The ADF teams are more strongly classified and framed than the APS teams due to the level of risk at work. However, Defence teams, regardless of whether they are APS or ADF teams, are controlled through the dominant, Anglo-Australian male form of social bonding. This typically involves banter, teasing, jokes and nicknames, which relate to work performance and individual characteristics and/or behaviour, in the everyday talk within teams. Being able to engage appropriately in this male form of socialisation can make or break team membership.

The interviewees' experiences of this form of socialisation provide strategies to secure acceptance and inclusion. In the first instance, it is really important to manage social difference, regardless of the kind of difference. In order to do this, control of humour and banter are important, as they are the acknowledged mechanisms for minimising difference. Secondly, feelings of belongingness are achieved when work is enjoyable and personnel know that they have group acceptance and respect. The interviewees' experiences have taught them that difference can be mitigated through work performance, as well as through banter. The interviewees stressed that doing the job well and being able to banter earns respect from and acceptance by the team. Thirdly, the interviewees understood that they have to take a degree of responsibility themselves in order to gain group acceptance. It is not just about the behaviour of others. As such, they provide proactive strategies which they have applied in order to better adapt to the norms. These include educating themselves on how to banter, how to do their job better, how to be assertive in positive ways, how to adapt and learn from mistakes, how to be more professional through the control of emotions and how to be resilient.

However, interviewees who appear to *cope* rather than *enjoy* their careers in Defence have strategies that are reactive, rather than proactive. Implicit in their reactive responses is a degree of fatalism, in other words, *it is how it is and since I can't change it, I'll just play the game and suck it up*. In a sense, they accept the *habitus*, even if they struggle with it. Their strategies are to self-sacrifice, to tolerate what they do not like, to do their best to blend in, to be the *grey* woman or man, to go with the majority. For some women, it seems, they use their gender to appeal to men in power through flirtation, described as *batting your eyelids* by the interviewees. Underlying these strategies is a fear of the workplace and in Example 5.23, Wil makes the point well.

Example 5.23

> Well you have to conform, it's about surviving in an organisation and to do that you have to conform. So basically you wear that emotional impact, I suppose, and that you have to be very guarded in your views, and you're never allowed to actually express or carry out actions which would normally be natural for yourself in the aim of trying to fit in with the organisation.

> (Wil Army LGBTI)

The casual conversation analysis of the interviewee recounts of every day talk at work have demonstrated that banter can be used to include, provided that the targets of banter agree to play along and engage with the propositions on the instigator's terms. Targets can agree or disagree by shifting the target of banter back onto the instigator and both moves result in acceptance. Banter is also potentially available to exclude. This occurs when the target does not participate, either because they do not agree with the proposition, or simply do not understand what banter is and how is operates. This set of circumstances can lead to exclusion, whether by intention or by accident.

There are implications here for the instigators and targets of banter and, importantly, for Defence leadership. Instigators need to be sensitive to how the target reacts. If the target's reaction suggests hesitation or confusion, which could possibly relate to an inability or a lack of desire to participate, then the instigator should recast the interaction to avoid potential exclusion. To continue when such a reaction occurs would move the interaction out of the realm of jovial banter and into the realm of teasing. Persistent and unwanted teasing can have serious effects on individual lives and bring about formal complaints of bullying and harassment in the workplace.

In addition, targets need to know how to be in control of the direction of banter. In many ways, the direction depends on the kind of turn-taking moves that the target makes. At any point in the exchange, the target can bring the interaction to a conclusion that can ensure inclusion and acceptance, provided they know how to do this. This is due to the nature of dialogue as a joint construction. Both interactants have a role in determining the direction of the exchange. Knowing how to do it though is critical. People who have not been raised in the Anglo-Australian male forms of socialisation will not necessarily have the skills and knowledge required to perform banter successfully.

Importantly, the interviewees recognised the need to learn how to banter. This was the most frequent proactive strategy of belonging. They wanted to learn how to do it in order to succeed socially. It would seem far more productive, and psychologically healthy, to teach the socialisation practices of Defence, rather than have those who experience marginalisation adapt to fear of the workplace by self-sacrifice.

At this point in the discussion, the question to consider is whether the socialisation practices of Defence should remain practices which are dominated by the Anglo-Australian male. When considered from the perspective of diversity, this practice is intrinsically exclusive. It is the practice of a select group of people who dominate the organisation through sheer numbers and historical tradition. If Defence wants to increase diversity and embrace social inclusion, then perpetuating such an exclusive

form of socialisation, which impacts directly on the team and therefore on mission success, is part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

There seems to be two ways to approach this issue. First, there is the approach which would set out to change the culture so that teams in Defence do not depend on banter for social bonding, and second, there is the approach which would set out to teach non-Anglo-Australian personnel how to banter to achieve team acceptance. However, without the presence of 'critical mass', the former approach would be difficult to achieve and take a long period of time. In contrast, the latter approach places an unfair burden on the minority groups within Defence to do all the changing and adapting. This would be inequitable. Nonetheless, we know from this study that personnel from the range of diversity groups have and continue to do the work of social adaptation.

The interviewees have demonstrated how, as outliers, they have adapted and found ways to belong. But this does not address the systemic, dominating mode of socialisation that excludes those who do not participate (for whatever reason). In my opinion, an approach to this difficult issue lies more in education and training than in demographic manipulation. It is difficult to know even with policy interventions whether Defence will attract significantly more personnel from the various diversity groups given the nature of the work and the risks involved. Rather, an alternative approach would be education and training for *all* personnel which is designed to build awareness of the socialisation practices in the team-based workplace of Defence. This could ensure that personnel who choose to use banter would do so more mindfully and respectfully in a manner which embraces inclusion. In a workplace context which relies on 'mindful banter', non-participants of banter would not be excluded. This would also negate the excuse of 'it was only a joke' when complaints are made.

Finally, there are implications here for senior leadership. Senior leaders need to model and champion inclusive language practices. Such language practices would need to be instituted through policy changes and also backed up by education and training particularly for junior leaders. Junior leaders, who interact everyday with their teams and who typically lead teams, need to be able to effectively model, identify, monitor and manage inappropriate talk.

This chapter has demonstrated that everyday talk matters and that the dominant Anglo-Australian male form of conversation includes banter as a mechanism for achieving group acceptance. This is an important part of day-to-day life in Defence, which is dominated by a knower code. Its strongly classified and framed social relations achieve the mission through team-based work. In this context, team acceptance is necessary for mission success and being different is potentially damaging for team cohesion. Team members who are different have to work to achieve group acceptance. If personnel do not know how to secure membership through everyday talk, diversity and social inclusion across the organisation is at stake. The onus is on the organisation to recognise this and remediate through supervision, management and training.

Chapter 6, the next and final chapter, concludes with a summary of the results of the study and makes recommendations for *fixing the talk*.

CHAPTER 6
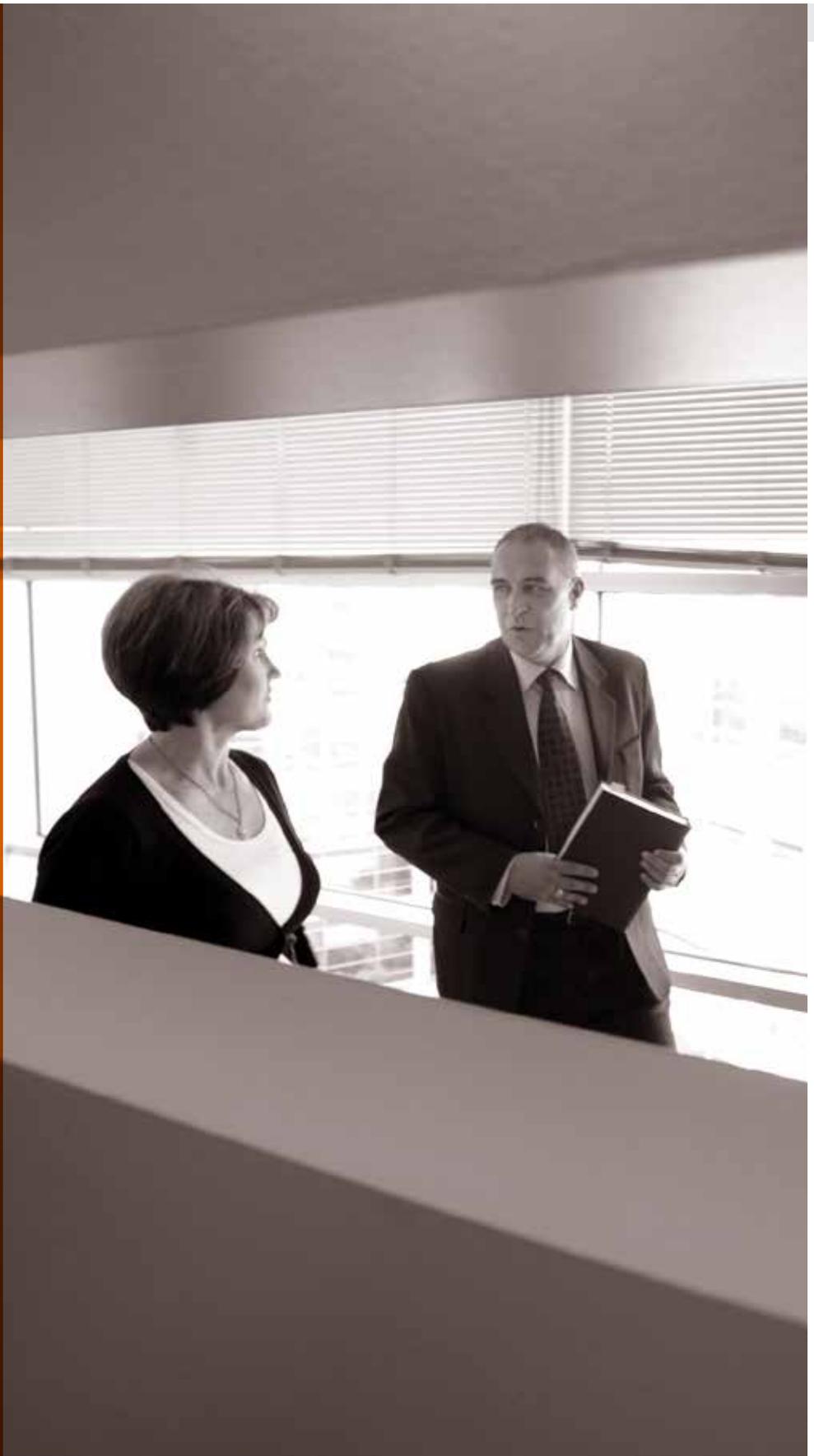
CHAPTER 6

Towards social inclusion

We are trusted to defend, proven to deliver, respectful always."

(Defence Committee 2012, p. 8)

The issue of diversity

The issue facing Defence is that the organisation does not have a demographic profile that is representative of the community it serves. This is a problem for at least two reasons. To retain the confidence and trust of the Australian people, Defence needs to be representative of the diverse population of Australia. Yet, it is an Anglo-Australian, male-dominated organisation. Secondly, diversity is now considered a capability issue, as Defence is no longer sustainable by this homogenous group alone.

While numerous reports and reviews (Broderick 2011 and 2012; Earley 2011; Hamilton 2011; Patterson 2011; McGregor 2011; Piper 2012) have recommended a range of organisational and cultural interventions to address this issue and to bring about lasting change in the organisation, none have specifically addressed the role language plays in maintaining and perpetuating cultural norms. This report has argued that unless language change occurs in tandem with other policy changes, sustainable cultural change will not occur.

The arguments put forward for language change are situated in the claim that language is a form of social behaviour, an integral part of culture, and functions to realise our representations of the world and our social relationships. What we say is how we construct the physical and social worlds in which we live. In this sense, the language practices of Defence construct and perpetuate the current state of Defence culture. The current state is operationalised predominantly by a knower code underpinned by principles of legitimation, which value rank and particular kinds of values and attributes for mission success. The values of the organisation are expressed through language and these values are modelled through stories functioning to construct icons around which the organisation rallies and bonds its personnel. The values and icons are controlled by leadership, and function to maintain a set of exclusive ideals and preferred people, thereby constructing the ideal Defence identity of Anglo-Australian men in uniform, performing acts of courage on the battlefield.

Working alongside the written, formal, officially-endorsed language practices are the informal language practices characteristic of the everyday talk of Defence personnel at work. These informal practices are the casual conversations of Defence members that align and bond people around shared values, attributes and norms, which set the standard for team membership. The dominant group controls and regulates group behaviour and the social positioning of people within the team. The Anglo-Australian male form of casual conversation dominates the conversations in teams. Implicit within these formal and informal language practices are mechanisms that thwart diversity and greater social inclusion. For this reason, cultural change needs language change in order to bring about lasting change.

Discussion of results

ADF and APS cultures

This report has provided evidence for these arguments through both cultural and linguistic analyses of current practices. From a cultural perspective, the report applied LCT to a description of the APS and the ADF and the three uniformed Services of Navy, Army and Air Force. This description demonstrated that in broad terms, the APS manifests a knowledge code while the ADF manifests a knower code. Within the ADF, the Air Force and the Navy includes knowledge code principles in the sense that specialisation is valued alongside rank and hierarchy; however, they are manifestly knower codes, along with Army.

The APS and ADF descriptions demonstrated that by their very nature, knowledge code cultures, such as the APS, are intrinsically more inclusive than knower code cultures. With more emphasis on specialisation and expertise (*what you know*) than on attributes that demonstrate suitability for military life, the knowledge code of the APS is more responsive to diversity. As long as you have the appropriate qualifications, skills and experience, and hold Australian citizenship, you can be anyone from anywhere. On the other hand, the knower codes of the ADF are more strongly classified and framed along the social relations axis, which results in legitimation on the basis of dispositions, rank and function, that is, *who you are*. This principle thus constrains membership, limiting and excluding as an inherent consequence. A person's right to authority and power is based on the premise *do as I say because I am who I am*.

However, this premise is a necessary part of Defence culture in order to enable rapid deployment and rapid response in the high-risk, dangerous situations of defence and security. Without it, obedience and discipline would be difficult to maintain and the team could fracture, with failure of the mission as a possible outcome. Given the size of the ADF (70% of the organisation) and the influence of ex-uniformed personnel (25%) in the APS population, the knower code is the dominant code in Defence.

Navy, Army and Air Force

The report has described the differences between the various knower codes of the Navy, Army and Air Force. Their differences lie in their respective orientations to social relations and epistemic relations, as described in the LCT analysis. Specifically, they form different kinds of teams to achieve their respective missions. These kinds of teams result from the differences in the environmental domains in which they operate, the instruments of war that they use, and the level of classification and framing of the work that they do.

In LCT terms, Navy has *doctrinal* and *situational* orientations to knowledge, and *cultivated* and *social* orientations to relations between people; Army has a *doctrinal* orientation to knowledge and, like Navy, *cultivated* and *social* orientations to people; while Air Force has *doctrinal* and *situational* orientations to knowledge, and *cultivated* and *trained* orientations to relations between people. In contrast, the APS has a *situational* orientation to knowledge and a *trained* orientation to relations between people. See Table 3.3.

Translating this theoretical description into the actual habitus of the three uniformed Services, the different teams have the following general configurations. **Navy** has two different teams operating in the maritime domain–the damage control team and the trade/professional team. The damage control team operates using standard operating procedures which are motivated by prescribed procedural protocols, while the trade/professional teams operate using context-based, problem-solving approaches. The social relations of the two kinds of teams are organised into strict hierarchical relationships, due to the need for teams to cooperate in high-risk, dangerous situations.

Army has warrior teams of varying sizes, operating in the land domain, which uses standard operating procedures motivated by prescribed procedural protocols. The social relations of the team are strongly classified and framed as hierarchical relationships due to the need for cooperation in high-risk, dangerous situations. **Air Force** has two teams, operating as aircrew and support crew, both of which are motivated by standard operating procedures and context-based, problem-solving approaches. The social relations within the teams are hierarchical but with a deference to specialisation and expertise. Comparing the teams of three Services to the **APS**, APS teams use context-based, problem-solving approaches to work much like Air Force and enact social relations which defer to specialisation and expertise.

Accommodating diversity

These differences in orientation within the Services, particularly in terms of social relations, are the reasons why the four Services are not always harmonious in joint working contexts, and why misunderstandings and miscommunications can occur. To take just one example, the knowledge code of the APS requires personnel to negotiate their personal relationships with each other in order to maintain social harmony. They do this through the use of polite written and spoken language. In contrast, knower codes of the ADF rely on rank to negotiate relations. Apart from the use of salutations of rank, the written and spoken language of the ADF is direct, with minimal polite language. Consequently, APS often find ADF communications confronting and potentially offensive and ADF find APS communications vague and flowery.

The four Services in Defence work in an intercultural context. It is a context where people of different Service cultures, motivated by different codes, meet the unexpected, where their habitus is not shared by others and intercultural skills are required for harmonious work relationships. Examples of everyday intercultural tensions between APS and ADF were listed in Chapter 3. Intercultural skills such as tolerance for ambiguity, behavioural flexibility, communicative awareness, knowledge discovery and respect for otherness become important. Being able to identify these tensions, understand why they exist, and learn to take steps to address them, as they arise at work, will contribute to building a more informed, inclusive and productive workforce.

The report has demonstrated that codes matter, when it comes to diversity and social inclusion. As explained, knowledge codes manage diversity more seamlessly than knower codes. However, the knower codes of the ADF could also accommodate diversity more easily as well. They can do this by overtly valuing the kinds of cultivated attributes that suit the military life and mission. All three uniformed Services orientate collectively around the *cultivated* orientation on the social relations axis, that is,

around values and behaviours that are inculcated. So, while the knower codes are more exclusive than the knowledge code, they do not have to be so exclusive. By concentrating on the development of values and behaviours, the ADF can produce a workforce made up of diverse people who are all able to meet capability requirements regardless of their gender, race, sexual orientation, religion, disability and so on. Hence recruitment, training and retention need not be based on anything other than demonstrated adherence to the expected standards, values and behaviours for mission success.

For this to become a reality, the language practices of Defence must construct and support the shift away from homogeneity to heterogeneity. The study has shown that the language practices of the organisation conspire to maintain and perpetuate the current homogenous state.

Ideal attributes

The naturalised, formal language practices used by leadership to construct the kinds of ideals most preferred by the organisation in pursuit of its mission are promulgated in the Values Statements:

- The ideal sailor is ethical and honest.

- The ideal soldier is ethical and brave.

- The ideal airman/woman is ethical and capable.

- The ideal civilian is ethical, honest and capable.

- The ideal Defence person is ethical and capable, as expressed through the PLICIT values.

The Values Statements of Navy and Army foreground attributes and dispositions that are knower code based, relating to meanings such as veracity, tenacity and propriety. In contrast, the Air Force and the APS include knowledge code attributes to ensure that knowledge and skills, that is, meanings of capacity are considered, as well as individual attributes. This has the effect of emphasising specialisation, as instrumental in determining who has authority and access to status. In addition, the grammatical analysis drew attention to how language choice can impact on expressions of social inclusion. The inclusion of people as *actors* in the lived-experience descriptions of these values through the use of pronouns is the grammatical means for expressing the values in a personal, socially-inclusive fashion. On this basis, PLICIT, Air Force and Navy values are more personal and thus express inclusion more than Army and APS.

What is not construed as a value is as important as what is. Using appraisal analysis, the study has shown that none of the Values Statements foreground meanings of normality: that is, meanings related to how special or unique individuals are, possessing personal attributes that set them apart from the crowd. This indicates that the ideal identities of Defence are more about the group, the team and the qualities that individuals need to have in order to conform and ensure team success, rather than about individual uniqueness or difference. All the Services function through teams. The values support this both by the omission of meanings of normality and by naming teamwork as a value. Air Force, PLICIT and Army explicitly name the value of Teamwork.

The slogan, *We are trusted to defend, proven to deliver, respectful always*, demonstrates the cultural intent of the *Pathway to Change* strategy. However, respect, as a named value, is not foregrounded

consistently across the five Values Statements of the organisation. Defence needs to recognise what values are shared, what values are missing and what values are specific to each individual Service in order to demonstrate the collective commitment that the Pathway to Change strategy represents.

The ideal identity

The notion of icon and the linguistic strategy of iconisation are employed by Defence as part of its formal language practice. The organisation uses the potency of icons to uphold particular people as heroes. The heroes serve as models of the desired characteristics of the people that the organisation wants to develop. Defence knows that its people view these heroes as their heroes, as people with characteristics that they can aspire to. Defence knows that these heroes are instrumental in creating identities for Service personnel to rally around and celebrate at special times. Icons are part of the habitus of Defence. The study has demonstrated through icon analysis that Defence upholds only a limited number of values and one kind of hero as possessing the desired characteristics of the people the organisation wants to develop. The kind of icon that Defence upholds and rallies its people around is typically in uniform, male, from an Anglo-Australian background, performs acts of bravery in battle and models the values of Courage and Sacrifice.

The preferred person represents the kind of person in the dominant group within the organisation thus excluding women, people of other races and backgrounds, and civilians. Further, the values of Courage and Bravery, that is, meanings of tenacity, exclude other values which have intrinsic meanings of propriety, veracity and capacity. The message being sent through these icons of the organisation is that Defence selects only one kind of person to uphold and herald. If Defence wants to *represent the community it serves*, then Defence heroes need to resonant with the diverse Australian community. The category of hero needs to be broadened. For example, there is a need for more women, more first Australians and newer Australians, and more military and civilian professionals who are working to support, as well as engage in combat and other roles in support of combat.

To counter this kind of systemic exclusivity, it is important that the organisation exemplifies more values than just those values related to tenacity such as Courage and, at the same time, creates new kinds of heroes. In an inculcated knower code culture such as Defence, values have a serious role to play in the formation of the military member's identity.   Effective inculcation of a potentially diverse demographic is at stake.

Being special

Yet despite the emphasis on conformity for individual service personnel, the organisation as a whole overtly positions itself as special by evaluating itself using meanings of normality, such as the motto *we are icons of Australian society* (Defence Committee 2012, p. 8). Icons were originally representations of sacred personages and so, by analogy, the icons statement invokes the meaning that the Australian Defence member is venerable, like a sacred person. This is a strong statement which overtly states that Defence members are special. Further, it also serves to indirectly indicate that only special kinds of people can join this exclusive organisation. This risks the current desire of Defence to *represent the community it serves*.

Rather than perpetuate this construct of specialness, Defence can shift the construal of specialness away from people to the kind of work that people do. It is the work which is special. The message by the organisation could then encourage people to identify with the work of the organisation and, through the values and the officially-endorsed messages, offer all Australians the opportunity to imagine themselves as the right kind of person for the job, as *ordinary Australians who tackle extraordinary situations*.[58]

Everyday talk and inclusion

Finally, this study has demonstrated that everyday talk in Defence also aligns and bonds people in teams. Given the nature of Defence work, team socialisation is important and is achieved through talk. Defence teams, regardless of whether they are in APS or ADF, are controlled through the social bonding of the dominant group, typically involving banter, teasing, jokes and nicknames around topics which relate to work performance, individual characteristics and/or behaviour. Being able to engage appropriately using this form of socialisation can make or break one's chance of acceptance by the team.

The interview data of the volunteers from the different diversity groups demonstrates how they have adapted to banter and the other forms of male conversation, offering strategies to secure acceptance and inclusion by the team. The most common reason for feeling excluded relates to being different. For whatever reason, difference is a risk to team acceptance. It has to be managed in everyday talk and, in order to do this, control of humour and banter are important as they are the mechanisms for minimising difference. The casual conversation analysis of the interviewees' everyday talk at work demonstrated that banter can be used to include, provided targets of banter agree to play along and engage with the propositions, on the instigator's terms.

Targets can agree by accepting the posited propositions or disagree by shifting the target of banter back onto the instigator. Both moves result in acceptance. However, banter can also exclude. This occurs when the target does not participate, either because they do not agree with the proposition, or simply do not understand what banter is and how it operates. Whether by intention or by accident, this set of circumstances can lead to exclusion. An important feature of banter is that the direction of the banter can be controlled by the interactants. It is a jointly constructed exchange that can take varying directions depending on how the interactants choose to respond. This provides opportunities for targets to take control to avoid exclusion, provided they know how.

The joint construction of banter has implications for both instigators and targets of banter. Instigators need to be sensitive to a target's reaction. If the target's reaction suggests hesitation or confusion, then the instigator should recast the interaction to avoid potential exclusion. To continue, when such a reaction is received, moves the interaction out of the realm of positive interaction and into the realm of teasing. Persistent and unwanted teasing can have serious effects on individual lives and bring about formal complaints of bullying and harassment in the workplace.

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58   Army Values Statement 'introduction': see www.defencejob.gov.au/army/Lifestyle/traditionsand Values.aspx

Similarly, targets need to know how to take control of the direction of banter. The outcome of banter depends on the kind of turn-taking moves by the target. At any point in the exchange, the target can bring the interaction to a conclusion, provided they know how. Knowing how to do it, however, is critical. People who have not been raised in the Anglo-Australian, male culture will not necessarily have the skills and knowledge required to perform banter successfully.

The interviewees talked about their feelings of belonging and painted a picture of how they have managed their *difference* throughout their Defence careers. Firstly, job satisfaction and secondly, gaining group acceptance and respect are what they strive for and so they have learnt to mitigate difference through work performance and through banter. They understand that they are equally responsible for gaining group acceptance, because it is not just about the behaviour of others. As such, they provided proactive strategies of belonging which include educating themselves on how:

- to banter

- to do their job better

- to be assertive in positive ways

- to adapt and learn from mistakes

- to be more professional through the control of emotions, and

- to be resilient.

In contrast to these proactive, adaptive strategies, interviewees also shared reactive strategies that relate more to coping rather than to integrating. In a sense, these reactive responses show that some personnel accept the habitus, even if they fear it. These strategies include:

- self-sacrifice

- tolerating what they don't like

- doing their best to blend it, to be the grey man or woman

- going along with the majority, and

- for women, using their gender to appeal to men in power through flirtation or *batting their eyelids*

Importantly, to succeed socially, the interviewees want to learn how to banter. It would seem far more productive and psychologically healthy to teach the socialisation practices of Defence rather than have those, who experience marginalisation, adapt by self-sacrifice and fear of the workplace. The Dining In night is a recognised, formal event in Defence for banter. It is the appropriate place in the curriculum for teaching how banter works. See Appendix C for an example of formalised banter written for and performed at a Dining In night. Banter has a recognised role in the traditions of Defence and teaching the traditions presents an opportunity to teach the formal and the informal modes of banter.

In conjunction with providing learning opportunities, there is also a leadership opportunity situated here for those at the coalface. Junior and senior non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and officers up to O4 rank are typically the supervisors and sub-unit commanders of the everyday work of teams. These members have a key role to play in modelling inclusive banter and in identifying banter that is unwanted and thus potentially negatively impacting on a person. NCOs and commissioned officers need to be trained to reflect on their own practice, and to identify, monitor and manage unwanted banter in order to avoid social isolation and exclusion in their teams. They can also act as counsel and support for members who clearly are not familiar with this form of social bonding.

The language socialisation practices of Defence are not fixed. If Defence wants to increase diversity and embrace social inclusion, then perpetuating such an exclusive form of socialisation, which impacts directly on the team membership needs to be questioned. The more the population of Defence diversifies, the more likely alternative kinds of socialisation could be introduced in the workplace. However, without a critical mass to drive alternative socialisation practices, it is unlikely that the hegemony of Anglo-Australian male dominance will shift in the near future. Yet it is intrinsically unfair on the minority groups within Defence to do all the changing and adapting. This is the paradox facing Defence leadership. Do leadership just wait patiently for a critical mass to drive changes in socialisation while expecting minorities to adapt, or should intercultural education and training be instituted to raise awareness of the dos and don'ts of banter, offering all personnel an opportunity to learn ways of being socially inclusive?

Recommendations

The language socialisation practices of Defence can be changed. The change can occur slowly over time through demographic change or more quickly through intervention which is led by leadership, instituted by policy and backed up by education and training. The following recommendations will contribute to such an intervention. They are divided into four types: recommendations for decision makers; recommendations for policy; recommendations for education and training; and recommendations for further research. These recommendations align with the *Pathway to Change* levers of <u>Leadership and accountability</u>, <u>Values and behaviours</u> , <u>Right from the start</u>, <u>Practical measures</u>, and <u>Structure and support</u> (Defence Committee 2012, p. 7)

1. Recommendations for decision makers

That Defence senior leadership:

1.1	Endorses the ideal attributes while at the same time endorses and supports the broadening of the ideal identity of Defence to be more inclusive of the diversity of Defence people.
1.2	Directs the further development of the five Values Statements of Defence to ensure that they are expressed as inclusively as possible using appropriate grammar.
1.3	Directs that performance agreements include narratives on 'living the values', rather than just 'tick the box' options, in order to foreground and provide opportunities for the individual and their supervisor to reflect on and strive to emulate the ideal attributes expected of Defence people.
1.4	Directs Defence media to report in a more balanced manner on Defence personnel who model Defence values. The desired values and behaviours of Defence personnel should be modelled by personnel from across the diversity of Defence demography in order to construct diverse identities which speak to a broader range of Defence people and the broader community at large. Defence media includes Defence Magazine, Navy, Army and Air Force News, websites and promotional materials. Media stories which endorse ideal values and behaviours as exemplars should be a regular feature in Services' News.
1.5	Calls for and sponsors an organisation-wide discovery of 'unsung heroes' in order to broaden the ideal identity and provide diverse heroes for a diverse organisation.
1.6	Partners with the Australian War Memorial in order to include heroic figures from diverse backgrounds as part of their permanent displays but also to be part of the World War I commemorations.
1.7	Endorses the need to codify in policy Defence's position on language use, both written and *spoken*, that marginalises and excludes.
1.8	Endorses intercultural education and training in order to raise awareness of i) the impact of the knowledge and knower codes on interpersonal relations across the organisation, and ii) the unconscious bias of the dominant Anglo-Australian socialisation practices of everyday talk that exist in Defence that can be used to exclude on the basis of difference.
1.9	Directs appropriate future research on language use in Defence.

2. Recommendations for policy

That policy writers:

2.1	Produce a Defence Language Policy which outlines Defence's position on inclusive language use both in written and spoken modes and which links language use to performance and leadership expectations. As part of the policy, include a *Leader's Language Code* which sets out the responsibilities of leaders to model and champion inclusive language practices; to identify language practices which lead to marginalisation, exclusion, bullying and harassment; to monitor everyday talk in the workplace; and to manage unacceptable language that isolates and marginalises.
2.2	In order to support a Defence language policy, revise the Defence Writing Manual to provide models and examples of best practice in both written *and* spoken modes.
2.3	Review and where necessary revise key documents across the Services that incorporate the Values Statements and iconic figures to inculcate Defence personnel in order to broaden Defence identities by including different kinds of heroes, modelling all the values. Key documents include doctrine such as such as *Character* (Australian Army 2005), *Leadership* (Department of Defence 2007a), the *Workplace Relations Manual* (Department of Defence 2010c) and the *Core Capability Framework* (Department of Defence 2011c), as well as training and induction materials produced by joint, single-Service and civilian units..
2.4	Review and where necessary revise Equity and Inclusion policy to raise awareness of the normalising propensity of knower codes to exclude. The revision needs to include clear statements on what are acceptable criteria to exclude and what are not. This could be built around the slogan, *Fit for Purpose, Right for Team*. Acceptable attributes, dispositions and specialisations which can be appropriately used to exclude could be foregrounded, and awareness of unacceptable attributes, such as social categories like gender, race, religion and sexual orientation, could be raised and warned against.

3. Recommendations for education and training

That educators and trainers:

3.1	Introduce intercultural education and training for joint, single-Service and civilian programs, tailored to each specific classification and rank, which builds understanding between the ADF and APS and explains how *difference* can be managed and even be recast as a positive trait rather than as a reason to exclude. For the organisation as a whole, Equity and Inclusion induction training should include scenarios of inclusive and exclusive casual conversation and banter to raise awareness of how it operates unconsciously in the day-to-day workplace. Tailored courses could be developed as blended learning units offered through Defence Learning Branch or as a combination of face-to-face and online learning depending on the target group.
3.2	The interculturality curricula should be centrally designed and developed to ensure uniformity of message regardless of the mode of delivery.
3.3	The interculturality curricula should raise awareness of the kinds of casual conversation that operate in the Defence workplace in order to identify when talk is used to marginalise and exclude.
3.4	In leadership promotion courses, NCO/SNCOs and junior officers should be trained in the identification, monitoring and management of marginalising talk, and encouraged to be mentors of inclusive talk, including banter.

4. Recommendations for further research

4.1	The LCT descriptions of the four Services in this study are general descriptions that consider each Service as a whole. A complementary perspective would be to describe each Service from the point of view of their respective parts, based on role, function and context. This would provide a more fine-grained understanding of each Service by recognising the effect of function and context on different parts of each Service.
4.2	The casual conversations which were analysed in this study relied on *recounted* rather than *recorded* data. To confirm our understanding of the operation of banter in Defence, authentic conversations taken from the day-to-day workplace of Defence should be gathered and researched.
4.3	In addition, researching how authentic casual conversation positions people as either members of a group or as outliers is very important in understanding the role unconscious bias plays in perpetuating and maintaining cultural norms. Having this kind of understanding may assist in the Defence recruiting interview process. This is because there is an apparent internal barrier to benefiting from a more diverse recruitment effort within Defence Force Recruiting. This barrier relates to *talk* in Defence interviews which position prospective recruits who are not from the demographic of the dominant group as outliers, thereby setting up an unconscious selection bias. By researching the language used in the defence interviews by Defence personnel, it will be possible to identify how language is used to perpetuate and maintain unconscious bias in recruiting.
4.4	During the conduct of the interviews of the study, it was concluded that women who are enjoying their careers and who have achieved success through promotion, whether they are in the APS or the ADF, are good at bantering. They are comfortably socialised into the male forms of casual conversation. A study on the everyday talk of senior women in Defence could confirm if this is indeed a feature of success. This knowledge may contribute to facilitating the successful integration of more women in the organisation.
4.5	While the scope of this study was not about the spoken language of leadership, the different legitimation codes exert different influences on leadership. For this reason, the language of leadership as it operates in the legitimation codes of Defence needs investigation to understand how good leadership is realised linguistically in both codes.
4.6	And finally, with the work of Defence relying heavily on teams, and knowing, from the results of this study, that everyday talk is instrumental in effective teams, there are benefits to be had by better understanding the language of teamwork. Defence is well versed in the practices of teamwork but is much less aware of the language of teams. A study looking at how language supports and/ or undermines effective teamwork would provide Defence with valuable information to assist in the continuous improvement of capability.

Importantly, change can occur slowly over time through demographic change or more quickly through intervention which is led by leadership, instituted by policy and backed up by education and training. In my opinion, this is the preferred approach. With an understanding of how language is used to exclude and thereby perpetuate the current state of homogeneity, language strategies that counter exclusion can be developed. The expectation is that if Defence adopts inclusive language strategies, it will begin to appeal to the wider, more diverse Australian community.

Attracting and retaining a more diverse workforce will enable Defence to be more inclusive and thus become a stronger and more adaptive organisation with enhanced capability, given that deployments are immersed in other cultures and other places. The results of this study can be used to underpin future policy, and education and training, in relation to intercultural awareness and communication. Diversity as a force multiplier can thus begin to bring benefits to Defence. It is worth the organisational effort to 'fight the good fight' of *battling with words*. If nothing else, it will add substance to the cultural intent in the *Pathway to Change* strategy which is that Defence is *trusted to defend, proven to deliver and respectful always*.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A–INTERVIEW PLAN AND PROMPT SHEET

Interview Plan

1. Welcome the interviewee and engage in a bit of casual conversation about their day/ the weather etc to establish rapport.

2. Thank them for their participation and check the paperwork (consent form etc)

3. Clarify/confirm their understanding of the purpose of the interview and their rights

4. Ask them to tell me about why they joined the ADF. (Elicit information about what attracted them to a career in the ADO, what appealed to them about the people and or the job)

5. Ask them to talk about their sense of belonging in Defence. (Do they feel part of the organisation? Have they ever felt like they didn't belong? Ask them to give examples)

6. Ask them how they have adapted to life in Defence both socially and professionally. (Has it been just about the kind of work or have they had to adapt in other ways – kinds of relationships, kinds of language? Ask them to give examples, particularly how everyday talk in the workplace has or has not contributed to their sense of belonging and affiliation).

Prompt Sheet

Prompts to think about before the interview.

In your time in the ADO, can you recount examples of casual conversations which

1. Supported your feelings of belonging to the unit/group/team etc? Can you give examples?

2. Or undermined your feelings of belonging? Can you give examples?

3. Do you have nick name? What is it and how did you get it?

4. Is banter/humour part of your working life?

5. Do you initiate banter with your work mates or colleagues? Do you think you are good at initiating banter? If yes, why? If no, why?

6. When you banter, what are you trying to do socially?

7. How do you respond to banter? Do you enjoy it? Or find it uncomfortable? Why?

8. In your experience, how has humour or banter been used to make you feel part of the group? Can you give examples?

9. In your experience, how has humour or banter been used to make you feel outside the group, that is, no longer accepted by the group as a member. Can you recount examples?

10. If you have experienced banter which excludes you, how do you counter this exclusion? Do you have counter-marginalising strategies which enable you to return to being a member of the group? How have you adapted?

APPENDIX B—ANNOTATED HERO TEXTS

The following 12 stories are examples of iconisation. They iconise particular people who exemplify certain values and behaviours. These people are used as examples of ideal behaviour for a particular community. The colours indicate the values, the hero and the community which are constructed in each of the stories: **red** for values, **blue** for hero and **green** for community. The text which is highlighted by grey recounts either the events, characteristics and/or provides the biography of the hero.

1.   *Defence Magazine*, No. 7, 2012 p. 10

Defence mourns soldier killed in action in Afghanistan

CORPORAL Scott Smith, killed in action in Afghanistan in October, was farewelled at a moving funeral in South Australia's Barossa Valley on November 8.

The Commanding Officer of the Special Operations Engineer Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Scott Corrigan, paid homage to the fallen soldier.

"This young man was made of something special; he made a huge impression on everyone in the unit from the outset," Lieutenant Colonel Corrigan said.

"**Our best soldiers** always give the bit extra; they are selfless and put themselves in harm's way to protect others. **Scott** was **one of the very best**."

Corporal Smith, from the Special Operations Engineer Regiment based at Holsworthy Barracks in Sydney, was killed by an IED [improvised explosive device] on October 21 during a mission in northern Helmand province.

The Chief of Joint Operations, Lieutenant General Ash Power, said **Corporal Smith** was part of a small team tasked with clearing a suspected insurgent compound when the incident occurred.

"The compound was quickly assessed to be an IED factory and the commander on the ground made the decision to extract his personnel due to the high risk the area posed," Lieutenant General Power said.

"During the withdrawal from the compound an improvised explosive device detonated, killing **Corporal Smith** instantly."

Lieutenant General Power said the buildings within the compound were subsequently destroyed by precision ground fire from supporting International Security Assistance Force units.

Corporal Smith was born in the Barossa Valley in 1988. He joined the Army in February 2006 and, after initial employment training, was posted to the 1st Combat Engineer Regiment in Darwin. In 2008, **Corporal Smith** was posted to the then-Incident Response Regiment as a search operator.

He was regarded as an **exceptional** soldier who possessed all the qualities and charisma of a **great junior leader**.

He was described by his unit as a **genuine, honest and dedicated member** who was "probably **one of the best junior NCOs**" the unit had seen.

His family released a statement after his death describing him as "the loveable character that held the family together". **Corporal Smith** is survived by his partner Liv, his parents Katrina Paterson and Murray Smith, and sister Roxanne.

2. *Defence Magazine*, No. 7, 2012, p. 11

Soldier awarded Victoria Cross

Corporal Daniel Keighran was invested as the recipient of Australia's 99th Victoria Cross by Governor-General Quentin Bryce during a ceremony at Government House in Canberra on November 1.

His citation reads: "For the most conspicuous acts of **gallantry** and extreme **devotion to duty** in action in circumstances of great peril at Derapet, Uruzgan province, Afghanistan, as part of the Mentoring Task Force One on Operation Slipper" on August 24, 2010.

At the time, **Corporal Keighran** was a member of the 6th Battalion, The Royal Australian Regiment, which was deployed to Afghanistan with Mentoring Task Force One.

Corporal Keighran is the third recipient of the Victoria Cross for Australia, which in 1991 replaced the British or Imperial Victoria Cross awarded to 96 Australians. He is the first member of the Royal Australian Regiment to receive the country's highest military honour.

He said he was surprised and honoured to receive the award.

"This is a very unexpected and humbling experience and I don't think it has really sunk in yet," **Corporal Keighran** said.

"I am very proud of the boys from Delta Company, 6RAR, and how they performed that day. This award is as much for their efforts as it is for mine."

"I would also like to acknowledge my family, friends and especially my wife Kathryn. They have been very supportive throughout my service and deployments and I would like to recognise and thank them."

Chief of the Defence Force General David Hurley congratulated **Corporal Keighran**.

"**Corporal Keighran** acted with exceptional clarity and composure that spread to those soldiers around him, giving them confidence to operate effectively in an extremely stressful and dangerous situation," General Hurley said. "His actions identified and suppressed enemy firing points and turned the fight in our favour.

"**Corporal Keighran** joins **an esteemed group of Australians revered for their courage in combat**. The official citation will show that "his **valour** is in keeping with the **finest traditions of the Australian Army and the ADF**," but perhaps the greatest honour comes from one of his comrades who said 'I would fight to serve with **Corporal Keighran** in the future'."

Chief of Army Lieutenant General David Morrison commented on the enduring **humility**, **dedication** and **mateship** demonstrated by **Corporal Keighran**.

"**Corporal Keighran** has shown tremendous **humility** and has continually recognised that his actions were undertaken as part of a team," Lieutenant General Morrison said.

"His **dedication** to his mates and to the operation saw him repeatedly put himself in harm's way that day. He epitomises **'Duty First'**, the motto of the Royal Australian Regiment.

"The **valour** of his actions and those of the other members of his patrol are **exemplars of the very best in Australian soldiering.**"

3. ANZAC Day speech to the Australian Masters Rowing championships by Vice Admiral Peter Jones, 25 April 2013

Anzac Day

Like many of you I was involved in the Anzac Day commemorations. I gave a speech at the Australian Masters Rowing Championships. In that I told the story of **a rower who served in World War I**. You may find his story of interest and inspiration. He was **Percy Herbert Cherry**.

Born in Drysdale, Victoria Percy's family moved when he was young to Cradoc, Tasmania. As a young boy he became an expert apple picker and skilled marksman. He was also a popular member of the Franklin Rowing Club, south of Hobart. As a 20 year old he enlisted in the AIF in 1915 and by September of that year he was a Company Sergeant Major enduring the hardships and peril at Gallipoli . Three days before his Battalion's withdrawal from Gallipoli, **Cherry** was injured by bomb shrapnel to his head. After he recovered from his wounds he then saw service on the Western Front. Commanding the Company's 1st machine gun battery at Pozieres, **Cherry** found himself exchanging shots with a German officer in a neighbouring machine gun position. Both rising, **Cherry** was wounded in the neck before wounding the German in return. The dying German officer gave **Cherry** a package of letters to mail to his family, which **Cherry** promised to do. Handing over the letters, the German officer's last words were "And so it ends." Promoted to Captain in 1917, **Percy Cherry** led an attack on a German position near the village of Warlencourt. Rushing two machine gun posts, he captured one single-handedly and was himself wounded. For this action, **Percy Cherry** was awarded the Military Cross.

On 27 March 1917, Cherry's Battalion was tasked with the capture of the village of Lagnicourt. The official report of the action reads, "After all the officers of his company had become casualties (**Captain Cherry**) carried on with care and determination, in the face of fierce opposition, and cleared the village of the enemy. He sent frequent reports of progress made, and when held up for some time by an enemy strong point he organised machine gun and bomb parties and captured the position. His leadership, coolness and bravery set a wonderful example to his men. Having cleared the village, he took charge of the situation and beat off the most resolute and heavy counter-attacks made by the enemy. Wounded about 6.30 a.m., he refused to leave his post, and there remained, encouraging all to hold out at all costs, until, about 4.30 p.m., this very **gallant** officer was killed by an enemy shell." For his **most conspicuous bravery, determination and leadership** the 22 year old **Percy Cherry** was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross. He is buried with his fallen comrades at Buissy in France but his Victoria Cross can be seen in the Hall of Valour at the Australian War Memorial.

4. Lieutenant General David Hurley (2010) *'This is the happy warrior, this is 'He that every man at arms would wish to be'* speech delivered at the General Sir John Hackett Memorial Lecture, The Great Hall, King's College, London 11 November, 2010

Sir John Hackett, GCB, CBE, DSO and Bar, MC, was born in Perth, Western Australia, in 1910. Hackett was educated at Geelong Grammar School, Victoria, after which he studied painting at the Central School of Art in London before attending New College, Oxford, where he read both Greats and Modern History…….

Generally – if sometimes grudgingly – acknowledged as the cleverest soldier of his generation, **John Hackett** combined **intellectual attainments** of a very high order with a fine record of **leadership and gallantry in action** stretching back to campaigns conducted before the Second World War. To quote Roy Fullick, "A superb fighting soldier he first saw action with the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force in the 1941 Syrian campaign and then fought with his own regiment, ……….

In his post-war career he rose to become one of the most charismatic and respected senior NATO commanders, held in esteem by the top generals of the West German, French and American armies. Small in stature though he was, …………

He retired from the Army into academic life, which he proceeded thoroughly to enjoy. In retirement for the second time, from the principalship of King's College, London, he continued to be one of the most influential geopolitical thinkers in the Western world. His book '*The Third World War*' (1978), written in collaboration with others, was an astute – and hugely engaging – speculation on the probable causes and courses of a third 20th-century global military cataclysm, and became a runaway best-seller.

…………..

'**Shan Hackett** was indeed a **great soldier**, an **able administrator** and **a thorough and lucid scholar**. So have others been, though few all three. But he had two unique gifts: the imagination to see, in things and people, potential that no one else could see; and a generous irresistible enthusiasm to realise that potential, to get things done, that transcended expectation, convention, even possibility.'

………….

I can do no better to conclude this brief section on the wide and enduring influence of **General Hackett** than to quote Russell Parkin: "As with so much of his writing, [his] words distil the **essence of service** that lies at the heart of our profession, as well as encapsulating **the mental, moral and physical demands that it makes on the men and women who serve their nation in uniform**. Indeed, Hackett's profound understanding that the military life was both active and reflective in equal parts has left a lasting imprint on the curricula of military academies and staff colleges throughout the Western world, as they undertake their educational mission of producing **officers who possess the qualities of intellect and character that are so essential to our profession**."

….

To produce military leaders with these qualities and characteristics we will need to build on General Hackett's legacy. He has laid the foundation stone and set the direction. In the pantheon of Australians who have left our shores to develop, thrive and achieve world wide fame in their profession, **General Sir John Hackett** is without peer in the military world.

'This is the happy Warrior, this is He

That every Man at arms would wish to be.'

5. *Navy News*, **14 March, 2013, p. 3**

'Heroic actions recognized and crew honoured'.

Michael Brooke

The crew of HMAS *Yarra IV* has welcomed an announcement by the Australian Government that the mine hunter's namesake ship **HMAS *Yarra II*** will received a Unit Citation for **Gallantry**, in recognition of her heroic actions in World War II.

CO Yarra IV Lieutenant Commander Brendan O'Hara said the award honoured the extreme **gallantry** shown by the **crew of *Yarra II*** in 1942.

"We are all extremely proud of our ship's heritage and will continue to honour the crew of *Yarra II* through our close support of the Yarra Association," he said.

Defence Parliamentary Secretary David Feeney announced on March 3 that *Yarra II* would be awarded a Unit Citation for **Gallantry** based on her actions off Singapore on February 5, 1942, and in the Indian Ocean on March 4 that year.

This citation followed Senator's Feeney's acceptance of the recommendation from the recent Inquiry into Unresolved Recognition for Past Acts of Naval and Military Gallantry and Valour.

Yarra II was sunk in March 1942 when she confronted a vastly superior Japanese force. Only 13 or her 151 crew members survived.

Delivering the Ode at a memorial service in Newport, Victoria, to mark the 71st anniversary of the loss of *Yarra II*, Chief of Navy Vice Admiral Ray Griggs said the crew would never be forgotten.

"The crew have been, are, and will forever be **heroes to the Navy**," he said. "They are worthy of our profound respect, of our deepest gratitude and our enduring remembrance."

Vice Admiral Griggs said the actions of *Yarra II* on February 5 and March 4, 1942, were truly outstanding.

"It was a **brave** ship and **a courageous ship's company** and I think it's wonderful that that recognition comes on the eve of the 71st anniversary of her sinking," he said.

6. *Air Force News*, 25 April 2013

'Tragic loss of gunnie'

Air Force lost a distinguished and dedicated gunnie on March 28 when **Wing Commander Ray Forryan** was tragically hit by a car while travelling home from work on his bicycle.

Wing Commander Forryan of Headquarters Surveillance and Response Group (HQSRG), was farewelled by family, friends and colleagues in a private funeral in Newcastle on April 9.

He was 39.

Originally from Victoria, **Wing Commander Forryan** began his Air Force career at ADFA in 1991, graduating with a Bachelor of Engineering and qualifying as an armament officer.

His first posting as a flying officer was to 492SQN at RAAF Base Edinburgh, which is where he began his long association with Air Force's Maritime Patrol capability. As the last gunnie to be posted into 492SQN before the squadron's disbandment, he was responsible for the maintenance and loading of explosive ordnance for the AP-3C Orion and the mentoring and management of armament technicians form 92 Wing.

After numerous weapons-related courses, and postings to the Maritime Patrol Logistics Management Squadron and the Director General Technical Airworthiness, Wing Commander Forryan's skills and experience as an armament engineer led to him being selected fro the Advanced Systems Engineering Course at RAF Cranwell in the United Kingdom in 2003.

Graduating with a Master of Science from the Loughborough University of Technology, he was awarded the internally prestigious Worshipful Company of Armourers and Brasiers' Academic Prize for his achievement on the course.

On return to Australia, **Wing Commander Forryan** (then a squadron leader) served as the Senior Design Engineer at the Joint Electronic Warfare Operational Support Unit at Edinburgh, followed by positions where he supported and developed acquisition and project development proposals for standoff weapons for Air Force's Maritime Patrol capability.

Wing Commander Forryan was posted to the US as the Deputy Project Manager for the P-8 Poseidon Maritime Patrol Aircraft Project in 2009, and after attending the Australian Command and Staff College in 2012, was posted on promotion to HQSRG as the principal officer for technical capability.

Chief of Staff HQSRG, Group Captain Peter Davies said **Wing Commander Forryan** made an immediate impact in his new role at HQSRG.

"Ray's personal style and dedication imbued a sense of purpose in his team of engineers and technicians", Group Captain Davies said.

"He developed an instant rapport with his team and a positive mentoring effect on his staff and peers was apparent".

"As with all of his pursuits, Ray's endeavours as a gunnie were characterised by his **loyalty, integrity and professionalism**".

"These qualities ensure Ray will be remembered as a much **respected member of both the engineering and wider Air Force communities**".

Wing Commander Forryan is survived by his wife Naomi and sons Lachland and Isaac.

7.   Department of Defence 2007, *Australian Defence Doctrine Publication 0.06 Leadership 2007*, **pp. 3-6**

Excerpt from Leadership Training Model - Chapter 3

3.7   As a result of our military history, the ADF has developed a way of leadership that focuses as much on the characteristics of those that are being led as it does on the attributes of the leader. '**The ADF Way' of leadership** is …

3.8   '**The ADF Way**' also implies that we value and encourage the resourcefulness of subordinates in allowing them to achieve the means … ……………………………..Values also play a vital role in the '**ADF Way' of leadership**. Previous influence and inculcated values will guide an individual or a group when they are separated from their normal leader or confronted with an unfamiliar situation.

HISTORICAL EXAMPLE—LOYALTY, COURAGE and TEAMWORK

Chief Petty Officer 'Buck' Rogers was a living example of Defence values. On the night he died, the aircraft carrier HMAS MELBOURNE and the destroyer HMAS VOYAGER were conducting exercises off the New South Wales south coast. In the late evening VOYAGER crossed in front of MELBOURNE and the two ships hit, with MELBOURNE smashing the destroyer in half. **Rogers** was one of more than 50 men trapped in darkness in a compartment of the sinking forward section. He took control and tried to bring calm in the disastrous situation. He probably realized that not all would be able to get through a small escape hatch and that he, being a large man, had no chance at all. 'He was more intent on getting the younger chaps out first', said a survivor. The forward section finally sank about ten minutes after the impact. **Rogers** was heard leading his remaining doomed shipmates in a prayer and a hymn during their final moments.

From *50 Australians*, **Australian War Memorial**

8.   Australian Defence Doctrine Publication 00.6 2007, pp. 3-5

HISTORICAL EXAMPLE—COURAGE

Pilot Officer Middleton's Stirling bomber had taken part in the attack on Turin on 29 November 1942. 'Flying through heavy flak, Middleton had just identified the target when a shell burst in the cockpit wounding him and his copilot. Middleton slumped in his seat. The Stirling plunged towards the ground, its wings and fuselage continually hit by shrapnel. As the co-pilot pulled the aircraft out of the dive only seconds from impact, Middleton regained consciousness. He took control, resumed the bombing run and successfully attacked the target.....

Despite his dreadful injuries—his right eye had been shot away, leaving the socket and bone completely exposed, and his lower body was severely lacerated—Middleton remained at the controls and ordered the copilot to go and have his wounds dressed. The crew considered flying to North Africa to avoid the return climb over the Alps, but Middleton was determined to get his men back to England...

Once the Alps had been crossed and the plains of France reached, the crew could have baled out but Middleton was determined to keep his men out of German hands...

At last the French coast came into view. Middleton instructed his crew to bail out and asked for his own parachute to be passed to him. In retrospect, his wireless operator believed that this was no more than a gesture to reassure us, as Middleton must have known he was 'too far gone' to get out.

Against all the odds, the Stirling made it across the channel. As it reached the English coast five of the crew bailed out and two stayed on board to help their mortally wounded captain. Middleton then turned the Stirling back over the Channel in an attempt to ditch, but crashed into the sea.

As the wireless operator later reflected;

During the return home there were many opportunities for us to abandon the aircraft over France, and for Middleton to live. But he preferred that we, his crew, and the aircraft of which he was the captain, should not fall into enemy hands. **That was the kind of man he was**.'

From '*The Royal Australian Air Force*' by Alan Stephens

9. **Australian Army 2005** *Australian Army Land Warfare Doctrine LWD 0-2-2 2005, Character*, pp.1-19

The Australian Army's ethos is based on **service** – to the nation, the Army, the unit and to mates – and the maintenance of **high ethical and professional standard**s. The emphasis on service before self requires **the Army's soldiers** to have a range of personal qualities, including discipline, respect and professionalism. The Army's service ethos is characterised by the willingness of **the Australian soldier** to achieve the nation's military objectives by the controlled use, or the threat, of lethal and non-lethal force. **The ANZAC tradition is built on the sacrifice of those who put service to their country before their own personal safety and the love of their family**. It is a tradition forged in battle and sustained in the Army's approach to soldiering. It is a tradition of **courage** under extreme hardship and danger, a fierce spirit of **independence**, and the willing sharing of difficulties and opportunity among mates. **Mateship** embraces **loyalty** to leaders, subordinates and comrades, and is the foundation that bonds successful teams. It is the Army's ethos of **service** that shapes the beliefs, ideals and standards that characterise and motivate **Australian soldiers**.

10. Australian Army 2005, *Australian Army Land Warfare Doctrine LWD 0-2-2 2005, Character*, pp. 2-23

Hardiness

51. **Soldiers on the battlefield** will often experience fatigue and discomfort. The effective commanders will seek to give their soldiers sufficient rest and relief from hardship when and where possible; however, the soldier needs to draw on the qualities of **hardiness, determination and resourcefulness** to endure the privations of combat. An **unselfish and caring attitude** to other members of the team helps to ease the burden and maintain morale. **Lieutenant Reginald Saunders** 2nd/7th Battalion displayed **hardiness** and **determination** after the Allied defeat in Crete. **Saunders** escaped and lived on the run for 11 months, concealing himself in caves and searching for food at night. He wore the same set of clothes from 30 June 1941 until his escape from the island on 7 May 1942.

   The pressure was tremendous. Each night the Germans were horribly close but too exhausted to close in on us. They would sleep until daylight, and we'd have to move as hard as we could in the dark to put some distance between them and us. On almost no food and no sleep, it wasn't easy. For two days, we ate no food of any kind … As we waited above Sphakia, a few of the lucky ones caught chickens and ate them raw … entrails and all … for the last couple of days we were without water… At times we were almost running to keep up with the battalion. Every one of us knew that it was a race against time, as it had been in Greece, and that anyone who stopped has had it.

52. After his escape from Crete, **Saunders** rejoined his battalion in New Guinea and was later wounded in action.

11. *Navy News*, 30 January 2014

'Achievement on the radar'

Leading Seaman Helen Frank

The designer of a new stealth material, **Andrew Amiet**, has been awarded the 2013 Minister's Award for **Achievement** in Defence Science.

Dr. Amiet began working on radar absorbing material (RAM) when he joined DSTO in 1990.

Radar absorbers were initially produced to reduce the radar signature of surface ships, but have now been redesigned for use on submarines.

Dr Amiet said that each RAM was designed specifically for the platform type and radar frequency range required.

"The latest design was for the Collins-class submarines, but other materials have been designed and fitted to guided-missile frigates and aircraft, " **Dr. Amiet** said.

"We have developed lightweight flexible absorbers for large areal coverage, fiberglass absorbers for structural applications as well as the solid rubber-based flexible tiles for submarine use."

The award was presented by Assistant Defence Minister Stuart Robert who congratulated **Dr. Amiet** for developing new solutions and techniques that have resulted in better stealth technology for Australia.

"Dr Amiet's achievement is a fine examples of the **brilliant scientific minds that make a significant contribution to Defence capability**," Mr. Robert said.

"He has aided the survivability of current ADF vehicles and vessels and contributed to through-life cost savings and reductions in maintenance requirement."

Dr Amiet said while it was a great honour to receive the award, he wanted to acknowledge the work of his colleagues.

"It must be remembered that I was part of a team that helped design, test, manufacture and ultimately fit this material to the submarine," he said.

"It is satisfying to be able to support the ADF in their work by providing an Australian-made product, which enhances their capability in the field."

Dr Amiet and his team will now continue to further develop the submarine RAM in preparation for the SEA 1000 Project.

"We are also investigating the use of meta-materials to produce absorbers that can be switched on or off when required, or dynamically change their absorption frequency to that of the incoming radar source," he said.

"Large scale weatherproof active prototypes showing high performance over multiple frequency bands have already been demonstrated in the laboratory."

The Minister's Award for Achievement in Defence Science has been awarded annually since 1988 and recognises **outstanding and original contributions** capable of enhancing Australia's defence effectiveness and efficiency.

12. Royal Australian Air Force 2007 *Australian Air Publication 1000-H, The Australian Experience of Air Power*, p. 75

Newton, VC

Flight Lieutenant Bill Newton's **great courage** and **devotion to duty** had earned him a recommendation for the Victoria Cross even before his last flight. In March 1943, he was flying Boston bombers with No 22 Squadron, RAAF, in raids against the Lae-Salamaua area.

On 16 March, Newton's aircraft was struck by anti-aircraft fire, while dive-bombing and strafing targets in Salamaua. He flew his crippled aircraft nearly 300 kilometres back to base at Port Moresby. Two days later, flying with crewmen Flight Sergeant Lyon and Sergeant Eastwood, he returned to Salamaua, targeting a storage building. He succeeded in destroying it but Newton's Boston was again hit. Witnesses saw the blazing aircraft ditch in the sea, and two airmen were seen to swim to shore.

The fates of **Newton** and his crew remained unknown for over six months. Eastwood had not escaped the sinking aircraft. **Newton** and Lyon were captured and interrogated by the Japanese before, as later revealed by the captured diary of a Japanese soldier, **Newton** was beheaded and Lyon bayoneted to death. **Newton** is the only **member of a RAAF unit to be awarded the Victoria Cross**.

APPENDIX C–DINING IN NIGHT, A SCRIPT OF FORMAL BANTER

Mr. Vice (Get Mr. Vice's attention
after I give you the Ok)

Officer Cadet Smith, 14 Division. Mr. Vice I am aware,
as we all are, of Chief of Air Force's directive regarding
banter at Dining-In Nights, but I was hoping, with
your permission that we could commence with the
proceedings now between our entrees and our main
meals?

Mr. Vice, Officer Cadets Brown and Smith
A poem we have that's true,
The punishment for our defendant,
We'll leave it up to you,

Ladies and gentlemen,
Strap in for a tale,
Of happiness, heartbreak
And an almighty epic fail

Stand up Mr. John 'Flash' Whyte!
You notorious 3rd year hound,
Twas upon ground defence training,
That you negligently fired that round,

Mid-Winter did us RAAFies,
Think was the perfect time,
To complete our warry training
Harder than SAS and Commandos combined,

Seven days of field did ensue,
Without an incident to speak,
Until the ammunition was returned,
And you ruined everyone's week,

So adamant you were,
That your method was right,
Ejecting round by cocking,
Instead of the teachings from the flight,

A bold claim you did make,
That you could eject 30 rounds for fun,
You ejected 29,
And thought the job was done,

"I guarantee the chamber is cleared",
You claimed to your mate,
Even though he did insist,
That you were tempting fate,

Catch, fire, catch,
The weapon went with a bang,
Oh how you looked the fool,
When everyone's laughter rang

Your put the weapon down,
With a stunned look on your face,
Reminded everyone in the flight,
Of a similar occurrence from Helen Grace,

Ladies and Gentlemen,
As far as you can see,
The antics of Mr. Whyte,
Are to quite an extreme degree,

A higher standard as expected,
Of your RAAF Officer Cadet,
As we are the reflection of perfection,
People will never forget,

So Mr. Vice, ladies and gents,
The ball is in your possession,
What you think this man deserves,
Is entirely at your discretion,

This RAAFSAS helmet,
So he'll never forget what's been ejected?
Or this body armour and glasses,
So this man is always protected?

Mr. Vice as you can see,
He has belittled our beloved blue,
And we gift you this decision,
Do what you have to do.

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Lieutenant Vishal Bhakoo

Lieutenant Joseph McKay

Lieutenant Adam Powell

Lieutenant Dave Roberts

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Warrant Officer Paul Hurst

Warrant Officer Hugh Johnson

Chief Petty Officer Rochelle Henderson

Chaplain John Tett

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Battling with Words - a battle of communicating new messages of acceptance and empathy in an organisation that desires cultural change.

The Australian Department of Defence is responsible for the security and defence of Australia - a diverse nation of multicultural and multilingual people. Yet, the demographic makeup of Defence does not reflect the demography of the Australian community which it serves. Compared to the wider community, Defence is an Anglo-Australian, male-dominated organisation. This profile is no longer sustainable particularly if the Australian community is to have trust and confidence in the organsiation and if future capability is to be enhanced. A major challenge for Defence is to create a workplace culture that shifts the institution away from an exclusive, homogeneous culture to an inclusive heterogeneous one.

This report investigates the role language plays in perpetuating cultural norms and offers recommendations for changing language usage, arguing that unless the language practices of the institution change in concert with other social inclusion policy changes, it will be difficult for leadership to 'walk the talk' of change. It demonstrates how language and culture are inextricably linked.

If Defence wants to increase diversity, then it needs to turn its attention to the role language plays formally and informally to both include and exclude so that it can create a Department of Defence characterised by the highest possible degree of sustainable diversity and social inclusion, and ultimately the greatest capability.

http://www.defence.gov.au/adc/publications/Commanders_Papers.html