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*Keywords:* women in armed forces, "Segal model" of factors multicollinearity, lack of men, national security, "Jenny effect", women generals

## FACTORS OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ARMED FORCES<sup>1</sup>

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*Without peace, development is impossible, and without development, peace is not achievable, but without women, neither peace nor development is possible.*<sup>2</sup>

*Abstract.* In the text are presented factors that contribute to women's participation in the armed forces. History shows that women in earlier centuries also were active in the armies. But after the end of the armed conflicts they were regularly excluded from military service and military professional privileges, what also happened during the twentieth century, after the First and Second World War and the national liberation wars. Not before the last quarter of the twentieth century began the professional integration of women into the armed forces. The main factor was the lack of men willing and able for military service, but also the current processes of increased social equalization of gender relations. In the text is presented the so-called, "Segal model" of multicollinear impact indicating the existence of multiple independent factors influencing the circumstances of women's participation in the armed forces. In this text, most attention is paid to military factors, including references to national security, the impact of recently-led wars, international military alliances and changes in military technology. Military transformation, evident over the past decade through the armed forces of NATO member states, inevitably involve the transformation of the military nature of women's participation. Such transformation, accelerated by the wars in Iraq (and Afghanistan), include changes to the hiring of female staff and their deployment. Today there is increasingly expressed the view that women have a "right to uniform", as the right to equal professional access, treatment and promotion in any field. Examples of successful military careers of prominent women in the armies of the world's major military powers, especially the recently promoted women in the highest general rank orders, were also highlighted in the text as models of strong influence to young women's decision to join the army.

*Keywords:* women in armed forces, "Segal model" of multicollinear impact, lack of men, national security, NATO member states, "Jenny effect", women generals.

### INTRODUCTION

Whenever the issue of compulsory military service is raised publicly, usually all presented arguments, those for, as well as those against, focus upon only male recruits, e.g. what are the military's requirements of them, whether the needs are met by adequate readiness and interest of young men to serve, and whether they have a general interest in a professional military career. Such debates usually ignore the situation of women's participation in the armed forces. Therefore it is necessary, beside the issue of male military engagement, to

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<sup>2</sup> Chowdhury K. Anwarul (Ambassador), 2017, If We Are Serious About Peace & Development, We Must Take Women Seriously, *Indepth News*, March 26.

raise the question of factors that contribute to the growing presence of women in the armed forces of a country, or act in the opposite direction, by reducing it.

Around the world women played a more active and visible role in the military than before. Over the past three decades, advanced countries have utilized female labor force in the armed forces. Advocates assert that equal opportunities should be given to women serving in the military while skeptics worry that the presence of women in the military may hinder the efficiency of an organization they deem more appropriate for men. However, what is clear is that the skeptics' argument has been gradually losing its legitimacy.<sup>3</sup> Women in the armed forces of the world are no longer merely a temporary change. "Today, what was once a band of brothers has truly become a band of brothers and sisters."<sup>4</sup> Although women still have unequal status, and in spite of cases of professional segregation and cultural discrimination, women are no longer peripheral in the military organization, nor are they only passive observers of events within it. Internal organizational policies that discourage negative behavior against women in the military, such as discrimination, sexual harassment, humiliation, and deliberately hindering promotion, have not been empirically proven to be of essential importance for the success or failure of the process of integration of military women. But, to the contrary, more general social acceptance of women as soldiers may increase the attractiveness of military service to both women and men. To this also contribute positive and successful examples of women's military careers, and now the decades-long presence of women in modern armed forces of the world.

### HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Although armed forces are undoubtedly male-dominated organizations the world over,<sup>5</sup> historical facts indicate that the presence of women, both in terms of the traditional female military companion and women uniformed to varying degrees who participated with weapons in military campaigns, was commonplace throughout history. Regarding female military companions, their presence on the battlefields in large numbers and for centuries is to be considered highly important. It is known that in the period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, "flocks" of women regularly followed traditional military camps and provided various services to troops, mostly in terms of logistics, which were of vital importance for all armies. Most of these military companions, were not, as is sometimes disparagingly assumed "just prostitutes", even though some undoubtedly were. These were, however, significantly outnumbered by other categories and professions, for example, women who were mothers, sisters, wives, fiancées, daughters, or widows of soldiers, as well as women who worked various jobs that army needed, for example, cooks, healers, nurses, laundresses, seamstresses, couriers, scouts, spies who gathered variety of information, servants, but also not uncommon were armed and uniformed female soldiers. As a rule, these women originated from lower social strata, so that their engagement in the army, like for their male counterparts, was for them their source of existence.

There are also many documented cases (probably even more which have gone undocumented), that during the eighteenth century (in the United States during the War on independence) women sporadically managed to escape the attention of recruitment commissions, and, disguised as men, took up uniforms and weapons to participate in combat. However, after 1865, this practice was (at least in the US), put to an end thanks to the introduction of regular medical checks, performed by qualified doctors.<sup>6</sup>

Whether because of increasing militarization of supportive service that provided the necessary logistical assistance, or because of the introduction of the railways as a primary means of military transport, it became increasingly impossible for military units to freely transport the informal female companions of military camps, so this practice gradually declined. As a result, armed units become more exclusively male than ever before. The end of Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century brought about with it the elimination of the final remnants of traditional women's military companion services, but also the complete exclusion of women from

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<sup>3</sup> Hong Doo-Seung, 2002, Women in the South Korean Military, SAGE Publication (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi), *Current Sociology*, Vol. 50(5): 729–743.

<sup>4</sup> At her retirement ceremony in 2012, Ann Dunwoody (the first woman to serve as a four-star general in both the Army and the U.S. armed forces) said, "Over the last 38 years I have had the opportunity to witness women soldiers jump out of airplanes, hike 10 miles, lead men and women, even under the toughest circumstances," she said. "And over the last 11 years I've had the honor to serve with many of the 250,000 women who have deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan on battlefields where there are no clear lines, battlefields where every man and woman had to be a rifleman first. And today, women are in combat, that is just a reality. Thousands of women have been decorated for valor and 146 have given their lives. Today, what was once a band of brothers has truly become a band of brothers and sisters." Veterans Day 2016, Seven Famous Women Veterans, *Military.com*.

<sup>5</sup> Gustavsen Elin, 2013, Equal treatment or equal opportunity? Male attitudes towards women in the Norwegian and US armed forces, *Acta Sociologica* Vol. 56 (4): 361–374.

<sup>6</sup> Van Creveld, Martin, 2000, The Great Illusion: Women in the Military, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29 (2): 429–442.

all military and logistic uniformed roles. Armies became more professional and bureaucratic, and therefore, exclusively male in their composition.<sup>7</sup>

The introduction of new types of relationships between women and armed forces, different from the preceding female military companion with its origins in the medieval period, arose. A milestone in this regard was Florence Nightingale with her troupe of nurses. These women, who were motivated primarily by patriotic and humanitarian feelings, came from the upper middle classes, and their presence in the wars of the mid-nineteenth century opened the door for the progressive institutionalization of medical and logistical supportive roles of women in armed forces during the two World Wars of the twentieth century.

### ***DE FACTO EXCLUSION OF WOMEN AND CULTURAL AMNESIA***<sup>8</sup>

In the grand world wars of the twentieth century the systematic participation of women in both support and fighters roles was evident, with the latter being prominent primarily in revolutions, and liberation and partisan movements. During the two World Wars, women neither systematically carried weapons nor participated in combat operations, with exceptions mainly in the Soviet Red Army (and some other minor cases). But in all cases, and regardless of the roles women occupied, at the end of the war, they were expected to give up their military status (and also the related military privileges) and return to their traditional domestic roles. The new role of women in the armed forces during the World Wars was obviously only intended to be of limited duration. At the end of conflicts, in most countries their presence remains minimal. The prevailing rule was social exclusion and omission of women former soldiers. Women everywhere were generally immediately demobilized following the end of a conflict, but unlike other countries where some of them remain still in times of peace and rest in the armed forces with a special status, the presence of women in the Armed Forces USSR became irrelevant.<sup>9</sup>

In the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Italy and France, many women participated in the various resistance movements. In these roles, they were exposed to the same dangers and hardships of war as men, survived all difficulties faced by men, and were often killed alongside men. But when it came to opening fire on the invaders or piloting aircraft, women were still left on the periphery. They were rarely involved in actual firefights with enemy forces on the front lines due to, among other things, weapon shortages, with weapons therefore being firstly administered to men.<sup>10</sup>

Parallel to the demobilization of women after the end of wars and their deprivation of the rights and privileges afforded to veterans, the process of developing a specific cultural amnesia, deliberate ignorance, contributed to the almost total oblivion of women's participation in wars. This has persisted until a new situation in the form of a threat to national security has arisen. Then the history repeats itself yet again, and possibilities for women in the armed forces are re-opened. More precisely, when armed forces need women, memories of their previous military participation and involvement in the armed forces, their heroic deeds and heroic characters are again evoked, in order to show that in every army woman can effectively perform duties across many different positions.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, the participation of women in the army began to be suppressed, restricted and minimized from the first moment of gender integration in the military, and when it became clear that women had the capacity to meet the criteria required for all military duties.<sup>12</sup> Historical study of women's military participation, however, shows that they have been systematically excluded from combat operations in times of war, or participated in them only in exceptional circumstances. And when they were involved, their participation has become invisible to history, and therefore non-existent.<sup>13</sup> This partial blindness of military historians to the role of women has also been justified by the dominant methodological approach of military historiography, which usually focuses upon battles. As McDonald puts it: "Most of the written history is just endless presentation of wars, conquests and revolutions, driven battles and signed treaties, military and political tactics, great leaders, heroes and

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<sup>7</sup> Carreiras Helena, 2004, "Women in the military, a global overview; Gender and military, A comparative study of the participation of women in the armed forces", Figure 1.1.

<sup>8</sup> Segal Wechsler Mady, 1995, *Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future*, Sage Publications, Inc. *Gender and Society*, Vol. 9 (6): 757-775.

<sup>9</sup> Herbert Melissa, 1998, *Camouflage Isn't Only for Combat: Gender, Sexuality, and Women in the Military*, New York University Press, New York - London.

<sup>10</sup> Van Creveld Martin, op.cit.

<sup>11</sup> Carreiras, op.cit. Chapter I.

<sup>12</sup> Harrell C. Margaret, Miller L. Laura, 1996, *New Opportunities for Military Women Effects Upon Readiness, Cohesion, and Morale*, Santa Monica: Rand.

<sup>13</sup> Carreiras, op. cit. Conclusion.

enemies. In this history, women rarely figure.”<sup>14</sup> Also a factor has been, of course, as in current times, irrational rivalries emanating from men unwilling to face the fact of women’s ability to perform military tasks with a success rate and level of professionalism equal to the average male soldier. Therefore, it is important to analyze the factors that contribute to realisation in practice of increased women’s interest for military service, as it is to analyze examples of successful female military careerists.

Before the abolition of a compulsory conscription system, armed forces were considered a part of the traditional European male gender identity. During the first three quarters of the twentieth century, with rare exceptions, all soldiers were men, and most men undertook military service. As almost all young men in the first three quarters of the twentieth century had to serve at least some sort of military service, the basic military training was deemed a specific male rite of passage, as is also sometimes the case in the present day. Although the primary objectives of the basic training were to transform civilians into soldiers, a secondary – but no less important – military aim was to transform boys into men. Therefore, many continue to see the military as an important way, and perhaps the most effective way, for achieving the maturity of a man.<sup>15</sup>

## CAUSES AND CONDITIONS OF WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN THE ARMED FORCES OF MODERN TIMES

Women throughout the world have today begun to function as integrated members of modern armed forces, previously exclusively male domains, only since the 1970s, but not before. This process of gender military transformation might be seen as even deeper than the introduction of nuclear weapons, mostly because there still are some skeptics who predicted potential danger to national defense as a result.<sup>16</sup> Since the seventies, women have begun to enter armed forces with full military, professional status, begun to receive identical or similar training to men, have been integrated into military education and granted access to a growing number of army positions, with the result that the historical pattern of masculine exclusivity of the armed forces has been significantly challenged.

There is always present a genuine desire of women to be professional soldiers, much higher than circumstances in the past allowed.<sup>17</sup> Those whose dreams are realized testify on this wish,<sup>18</sup> evidenced also by the willingness of women professional soldiers to withstand all military efforts, often combined with rejection of the male community to accept them. Therefore, all mentioned factors, are in fact those that allow the realization of these always existing, strong aspiration of women to be soldiers.

A large number of causes and conditions are involved in determining the nature and extent of women's military participation. Strong interaction effects between these independent variables creates the situation known in statistical terms as “multicollinearity”.<sup>19</sup> Carreiras identifies what she named as the “Segal’s model” of factors affecting women’s participation in the military. According to this model, participation of women in military is affected by the three groups of factors, Military, Social (structural) and Cultural factors. Military comprises national security situation, military technology, military accession policies. Social includes demographic patterns, labor force characteristics (women’s labor force participation and occupational sex segregation), economic factors and family structure. Cultural includes social construction of gender and family, social values about gender and family public discourse regarding gender values.<sup>20</sup>

But among all of them, the military's need for personnel was identified as the strongest driving force behind expansion of women's military roles through history and across nations. Cultural values supporting gender equality also contribute and seem likely to have increased influence in the future. When there are shortages of qualified men, especially during times of national emergency, most nations have increased (and will increase) women's military roles.<sup>21</sup> Expanding economy framework also is seen as providing impetus for

<sup>14</sup> MacDonald Sharon, Holden Pat, Ardener Shirley, eds. 1988, *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross Cultural and Historical Perspectives*. Madison, WI: Univ. Wis. Press.

<sup>15</sup> Lahelma Elina, 2000, “Going into the army: A gendered step in transition to adulthood”, *Young* Vol. 8 (4): 2.

<sup>16</sup> Hong Doo-Seung, op. cit.

<sup>17</sup> Pettersson Lena, Persson Alma, Berggren W.Anders, 2008, “Changing Gender Relations: Women Officers’ Experiences un the Swedish Armed Forces”, Uppsala University, Sweden, *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, Vol 29 (2): 212.

<sup>18</sup> The first USA woman general Ann Dunwoody said: “From the very first day that I put my uniform on, right up until this morning, I know there is nothing I would have rather done with my life,” she said. Veterans Day, 2016, Seven Famous Women Veterans, *Military.com*.

<sup>19</sup> Multicollinearity exists whenever two or more of the predictors in a regression model are moderately or highly correlated. PennState, Eberly College of science, 2017, What is Multicollinearity?

<sup>20</sup> Carreiras, op. cit. Figure 1.1.

<sup>21</sup> Segal Mady Wechsler, 1995, “Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future”, *Gender and Society*, Vol. 9 (6): 757-775. Published by: Sage Publications, Inc

women to join the military service. What in economic terms increases the interest of men in a military career proportionally reduces the space available for the realization of women's professional military aspirations.<sup>22</sup> High unemployment rates (especially among young men) are associated with a ready supply of men to serve in the armed forces and relatively low opportunities for women in the military. Periods of low male unemployment, especially with volunteer militaries, sometimes lead to expanded military roles for women (and women more motivated to join, especially if they are relatively disadvantaged in the civilian economy).<sup>23</sup>

*Military factors.* Together with social and cultural as peacetime factors, an important, if not decisive, role is played by threats to national security. When there is a high level of insecurity, there is increased military involvement, and therefore the number of military positions available to women increase also. Whenever a society is faced with survival risks, women take up arms and become fighters, with their participation being not only welcomed, but also actively solicited. This happened throughout the entirely twentieth century: the two World Wars, revolutionary movements, national liberation wars, during regime changes, and in different situations of border vulnerability and conflicts with decidedly superior enemy forces. In this sense, the World Wars of the twentieth century were the turning point for the significant entry of women into military formations. As another turning moment, the Persian Gulf war should by all means be mentioned. Namely, had we not had the experience of the war in the Persian Gulf,<sup>24</sup> with public attention to women's successful combat performance, there would be more pressure even to reduce women's military roles. Indeed, the Gulf War increased political pressure to remove many barriers to women in combat.<sup>25</sup>

However, experience has shown that even in societies with low threats to national security, but with egalitarian cultural values that support gender equality, women's military participation increases, as is the case for example, with Canada, Sweden and the Republic of South Africa,<sup>26</sup> where a "women's right to uniform", is implemented in increasingly secure and complete ways. It is important to mention that examples of good practice can also be drawn from other, regional countries, especially those of, to Serbia similar mentality and traditions, e.g. Spain, Italy and Greece.

*International factors.* There is also the substantial role and impact of international organizations to consider, such as the UN through its peacekeeping missions, composed of more and more women; military alliances, e.g. the NATO countries, where women also have increasingly more significant and more numerous military roles. All of these examples show that international combat readiness does not decline when women enter armed forces. That is why their role is becoming larger-scale and more visible, as is the latest example of the British abolition of the prohibition of women fighting on the front line.

It is also necessary to mention the effects of good practice models based on comparative law regulations in other countries, such as the latest lifting of the ban on women's involvement in frontline combats in the British Army. Women soldiers in the UK will eventually enter the tanks and armored regiments on the front line, and in the next three years will gradually enter into all other detachments. At the moment, women in the British infantry can operate on the front lines, but not in direct contact with the opposing forces. The decision was made after research on the physical ability of women to be engaged in infantry combat on the frontline, strictly ensuring that the quality of the British armed forces will continue to be of the highest class, as it has always been. The abolition of this prohibition is a major breakthrough that will allow the armed forces to utilize all the skills and talents of women, and thus enable them to carry out any military duties.<sup>27</sup>

The newly designed small hand weapons flooded into the "new war" sites of Asia, Africa, Middle East and Latin American. Therefore, the last but not the least, among the international factors, (also belonging to the changes in military technology), is to be mentioned the current international innovations in hand weapons design, resulting in smaller and lighter, yet more lethal small arms. It largely obviated the ever present discourses about whether women were biologically unsuited for combat while these small arms are easily and efficiently used even by children.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Duncanson Claire, Woodward Rachel, 2016, Regendering the military: Theorizing women's military participation, *Security Dialogue* 2016, 47(1): 3-21.

<sup>23</sup> Segal, op. cit. 761.

<sup>24</sup> The Gulf War (2 August 1990 – 28 February 1991), codenamed as "Operation Desert Shield", also is known as the First Iraque War or the Kuwait War.

<sup>25</sup> Many of the 250,000 American women have been deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan on battlefields where there are no clear lines, battlefields where every man and woman had to be a rifleman first. Therefore, today, women are in combat, that is just a reality. Linehan Adam, 2016, Meet The Highest Ranking Female General In US History, *Task and purpose*, 16. May.

<sup>26</sup> Heineken Lindy, 2002, "Affirming Gender Equality: The Challenges Facing the South African Armed Forces", SAGE Publications, (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi), *Current Sociology*, 50 (5): 715-728.

<sup>27</sup> Beta, Tanjug, 2016, British army lifts the ban for women to fight on the frontline, *Blic*, 8. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Moran H. Mary, 2010, "Gender, Militarism, and Peace-Building: Projects of the Postconflict Moment", *The Annual Review of Anthropology* 39:261-74.

## WOMEN'S (MOVEMENTS) STANDPOINTS

As for women, wearing a military uniform is simply sometimes considered only as one of numerous possible life options while for young men, going into the army is seen as a transition to adulthood. The transition was also regarded as a question of honor, or as a challenge: 'finding out who's man enough'. For young men this challenge is a normal, taken-for-granted step in the transition. For young women, army can also be a challenge; but for them it is not the same challenge, but rather something that makes them different from other young women. It is not necessary life transition, but an option, only open to them if they fit the male norm of fitness and endurance.<sup>29</sup>

The feminist movement is not unified and does not by no means plays a factor supporting greater involvement of women in the armed forces. Pacifist feminists believe that women are, by their psychological constitution, essentially oriented toward giving and sustaining life, peace, with care and concern for others, so women allegedly are all in conflict with the military profession. For example, the feminist pacifist attitude of Virginia Woolf demanded gender equality not through enabling women to participate in fighting, but by releasing men of military obligations.<sup>30</sup> It follows that pacifists, in principle, oppose the army and are surprised that some women, despite what they considered an essentialist "real woman's nature", still want to serve in the armed forces. That's probably why those women in the feminist and peace movements still are frequently branded as politically naive, weak, and even falsely patriotic.<sup>31</sup> In contrast, although anti-militarist, radical feminists put forward a completely opposite opinion and support involvement of women in the military, arguing that specific characteristics of women contribute to changing the nature of war and the armed forces, and that there is an insiders ability of women in the military to influence security policy and, more importantly, the entire atmosphere of war.<sup>32</sup>

Very similar women's interest in structural social and organizational changes may also be evidenced when analyzing women's reasons to join non-state armed groups. When compared the reasons what make a person choose to support or fight for a non-state armed group (NSAG), there are significant differences between men and women. Men join such groups when having feelings of frustration, exclusion, and/or relative deprivation a grievance centered on political, economic, ethnic, and/or religious factors, plus, when there is a perceived personal benefit—like power, money, or loot. Meaning, men decide to join because of "grievance" or/and "greed". Women are significantly more likely than men to be found in leftist groups with an ideology focused on political and economic redistribution, and they are also active in the vast majority of all groups that advocate for women's rights, but in both cases, they prefer support (noncombat) roles.<sup>33</sup>

The question is, then, whether women have the right to be part of the armed forces, or to put it differently, is there a women's right to a military career, uniform, and all the associated attributes/privileges of this profession? In addition to assuming the affirmative answer of feminist movements, it must be noted that women have not yet become an equal part of the armed forces, a typically and traditionally male institution. But the longer the presence of women in the armed forces, the better the access of the new generations of female soldiers is facilitated, and their aspirations in terms of professional military careers are increasingly being taken seriously. The fact that women can reach the tops of some professions strongly motivates and encourages young women to opt for such fields of work, thus becoming one of the key factors of increased female participation in the armed forces of a country.

## THE PEAK OF SUCCESS - WOMEN GENERALS

In the US military, there are now more than 60 women generals, but recently there the first female US officer achieved a four-star general rank. There are women generals present in the structures of the armies of Israel, Nigeria, Pakistan, United Kingdom, Algeria, the Philippines, France, Croatia, and more. Below are some brief biographies of groundbreaking female generals around the world.

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<sup>29</sup> Lahelma, op. cit. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Heinecken op. cit. 715–728.

<sup>31</sup> "When we think about the definition of a patriot, we generally think of a man, often a soldier who defends his homeland, most especially his women and children, from dangerous outsiders". Tickner J. Ann, 1992, *Gender in International Relations, Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapter I: Engendered Insecurities: Feminist Perspectives on International Relations.

<sup>32</sup> Goldman L. Nancy, 1982, *Female Soldier: Combatants or Non-Combatants? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, Greenwood Press, Westport.

<sup>33</sup> Henshaw Alexis, 2016, Revisiting Rebellion: Why Women Participate in Armed Conflict, *Political Violence*, 22. August, Center for Security Studies – Zurich.

*Canada.*<sup>34</sup> At the end of June 2016, 47-year-old Colonel Jenny Carignan (after whom is coined the so-called *Jenny Effect* – the impact factor of individual examples of successful military career women) was upgraded to the rank of brigadier-general (one-star general), thus earning also the title of Chief of Staff of Army Operations. Although there are other Canadian women generals, they had thus far been advanced from non-combat roles, such as medicine, logistics, combat support, intelligence and administration. Carignan is the first woman in Canada who attained her rank from a combat role, having served in areas of the world with the most intense violence, which is a curiosity of its kind, because women in Canada were prohibited from participating in combat operations until 1989. Carignan grew up in a Quebec mining town, in a family where the jobs had never being divided along gender-specific lines. Throughout her youth at the farm of her parents, she handled a chainsaw, worked with a bulldozer, drove heavy off-road vehicles, camped in the mountains and handled firearms just as well as three of her brothers. Afterwards she acquired military education for the profession of combat engineer – which comprised frontline duties such as clearing minefields, demolitions, and raising various buildings and structures.

*United States of America.*<sup>35</sup> Lori Robinson, an aviation general, took over the command of the North Commands of the United States Air Force on 13<sup>th</sup> May 2016, becoming thus the first highest rank female officer in the military history of the United States, leading the unified command of combat units. Northern Command (NORTHCOM) is responsible for the defense of the US homeland and surrounding countries. Also, under her command is the North American Airspace Defense (NORAD). As the commander of NORTHCOM, Robinson is the highest ranking general in charge of the overall supervision of military activities in North America. Between June 2012 and October 2014, she has advanced in service as Deputy Commander of the Central Command of the Air Force of the United States with two stars, the commander of the Pacific Air Forces in the service of a four-star general, which is the position with which she became the first woman four stars commander of combat forces.

Not to be forgotten is the fact that now-retired General Ann Dunwoody “smashed” in 2008 the so-called, “brass ceiling” when then-President George W. Bush appointed her as head of the command for the purchase of material (equipment) for the US Army, making her the first four-star woman officer.<sup>36</sup>

*United Kingdom.* The British Army also began promotion of women to its highest military ranks. In 2012, Elaine West was promoted to become the highest rank that a woman had ever had in the British Army, when she became Vice-Marshall of the Royal Air Force.<sup>37</sup> Brigadier Suzanne Ridge (52) was promoted to general-major in September 2015, after twenty-three years of military service, thus becoming the highest-ranking woman ever in the military. With this promotion, she will be the new Director General Army Legal Services in charge of a team of 130 lawyers. Her promotion came at a time when the British Army was deciding whether, for the first time, to open up frontline combat roles to women.

Women were not allowed till 2016 to participate in combat units in the field where the primary role is to “get near and kill the enemy”. This policy means that women were till recently forbidden from entering into the infantry battalions, armoured regiments and the Royal Marines. However, Michael Fallon, former Secretary of Defense, said that he hoped the ban would soon be overturned if this historical change would not damage the efficiency and morale of combat units.

*Croatia.*<sup>38</sup> With the promotion of Gordana Garašić,<sup>39</sup> the Croatian armed forces entered the growing club of states whose militaries have female generals. Gordana Garašić became, in May 2015, the first ever female general in the history of Croatian army. She attended specialist courses and seminars in the US, the UK, Austria, Czech Republic and Belgium, in order to acquire specialist military knowledge, as well as the knowledge of legal aspects of participation in peacekeeping missions and operations. She served in the Chief Office of Staff<sup>40</sup> and Head of the Division Operations before 2004.<sup>41</sup> In the period from 2004 to 2008 she served

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<sup>34</sup> Kembel Megan, 2016, Meet the world’s first female combat general, *Maclean’s*, June 3.

<sup>35</sup> Linehan Adam, 2016, Meet The Highest Ranking Female General In US History, *Task and purpose*, 16. May.

The appointment of Robinson to one of the highest positions in the US Army was a result of her being the most capable officer, said the former Minister of Defense, Ash Carter, who attended the promotion ceremony at Peterson Air Force Base in Colorado. He then expressed the hope that the excellence she possesses would be a real inspiration for all women to become involved in the US Armed Forces. Now Robinson is the highest ranking female member of the armed forces in the history of the United States. While women have earlier reached the rank of four-star general - including Admiral Michelle Howard, who currently serves as Deputy Chief of Naval Operations - none reached such a high position as that of a commander of joint combat forces, as NORTHCOM is.

<sup>36</sup> “From the very first day that I put my uniform on, right up until this morning, I know there is nothing I would have rather done with my life,” she said. Veterans Day, 2016, Seven Famous Women Veterans, *Military.com*.

<sup>37</sup> Farmer Ben, 2015, British Army appoints first female general, *Telegraph*, 6 July.

<sup>38</sup> Žabec Krešimir, 2015, First of General in the history of HV, *Female power*, 29. May.

<sup>39</sup> First Croatian generalica was born 25 May 1970 in Zagreb. At the Faculty of Law, graduated in 1994 and started working at the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Department for citizenship.

<sup>40</sup> Head of the Cabinet chief of staff.

as a military adviser to the Military Representation of the Republic of Croatia to NATO. At that time, in 2006, she also passed the bar exam. She was, for the first time in 2010, appointed to the mission in Afghanistan, where she served as head of the Department of Personnel Administration in the Regional Command North, and then as legal advisor of the RCN<sup>42</sup> commander. Gordana Garašić was the first person in the Armed Forces with such a high rank who played such an active role in the NATO peacekeeping operation.<sup>43</sup> After returning to Europe, she worked as an assistant advisor to the Secretary for Defense until 2012, when she was sent to the Dwight D. Eisenhower School for National Security and Resource Strategy, part of the National Defense University, where she obtained a masters degree as one of the legally prescribed prerequisites for future promotion to the rank of general.

#### **“JENNY EFFECT” - SUCCESSFUL INDIVIDUAL CASES OF WOMEN’S MILITARY CAREERS<sup>44</sup>**

The term “Jenny Effect” comes from the Canadian Armed Forces, and is taken to mean an increase in the number of women interested in professional military education and later military service under the influence of success stories of previous generations of women officers. Examples of women who have reached the highest ranks of generals in the armed forces of their countries provide inspiration and models of behavior for today’s young women, and play a decisive factor in them deciding on a military career, but also by their very existence send the message that women can reach the highest ranks within the military profession. Otherwise, in the Canadian army, women comprise only 2.4% of regular professional combat armed forces, compared with 14.8% of their total presence in composition of the army.

It is believed that this “Jenny Effect” is responsible for a change of statistics in the Canadian army, by increasing the involvement of women in combat armed forces, to which Colonel Jenny Carignan acted primarily through her personal example, as a mother of four children – by defying stereotypes. Women joining the Royal War College jumped from 10 to 25 percent between 2013 and 2015, at that time Colonel Carignan met with the girls who were interested in military studies and their mothers at open doors days, and made numerous appearances in the media in Quebec. She informed them, among other things, that now the students were trained in correct sexual behavior. Carignan herself was a decisive factor in that part of military training being established, which is another component of the “Jenny Effect”, and bears proof that the army became a more friendly environment designed for women. Carignan has, for example, recently pointed out to her colleagues that the current military education teaches males what is not acceptable in communication with women soldiers, but does not offer any alternative. Therefore, in September 2016, the Royal War College reintroduced ballroom dancing lessons, as an elegant form of military professional cooperation of both sexes.

#### **CONCLUSION**

There is always a desire of women to be professional soldiers, therefore, all the aforementioned factors, are just those that allow the realization of the always existing, strong aspiration of women to be soldiers, in the current politically and socially changed world. The armed forces have to be socially representative. The military is an organization that exercises and manages violence legitimately, so their presence should be morally accepted and supported by the people.<sup>45</sup> But still, given the traditionally masculine nature of the military institution, it is one of the last bastions of male domination and there still are forces resistant to gender integration. Also the increasing number of military women causes somewhere public resistance because it challenges notions of masculinity and femininity. Therefore, the more egalitarian the social values about gender, the greater women's representation in the military. On the other side, cultures that support traditional divisions of labor based on gender will tend to exclude women from the military or limit their roles substantially. As social values have become more egalitarian in societies, women's military roles have expanded.<sup>46</sup>

Today there is increasingly expressed the view that women have a “right to uniform”, as the right to equal professional treatment in any field. Often it is the attitude that women inside can change the character of

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<sup>41</sup> Head of operations in progress.

<sup>42</sup> The Royal College of Nursing (RCN) Defence Nursing Forum (DNF) is the largest professional organisation for defence nurses in the UK. The RCN had significant roles in recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

<sup>43</sup> On her second deployment to Afghanistan in 2014, she served as counselor at the headquarters of Peace Support Operations of the ISAF mission. She has worked with the Afghan authorities, the United Nations Mission to Afghanistan, NGOs and other organizations responsible for women’s rights. She has organized trainings and support in working with the local authorities to integrate a gender perspective in all aspects of life and work of the Afghan government and society.

<sup>44</sup> Kembel, op. cit.

<sup>45</sup> Hong, op. cit. 729.

<sup>46</sup> Segal, op. cit. 770.



the armed forces is acceptable even by women of pacifist orientation. It can be concluded that for women's participation in the armed forces, the army must be perceived by the political elite, but also by the general population, as transformed, to be more harmonized to the needs of women (or to what should be women's needs). Otherwise, women must be modified and be perceived as changed, in ways that make them eligible for military service and the development of a military career. The meeting of both transformative processes, somewhere at the "halfway point", perhaps, might be a winning formula. Engagement of all parties in the process of inclusion of women in the armed forces is important for society as a whole, especially for its further equalization of general gender relations and the expansion of professional opportunities for women in all working domains. Namely, women in uniform from one side, and the army (whose salary they earn, whose uniforms they wear, performing their military duties), from the other, both contribute to better inclusion of women in the armed forces.

Finally, it is more and more clear that men are themselves also insecure partly because of the exclusionary, gendered way their own security has been defined. That's why overcoming gender inequalities in military is necessary, "not only for the security of women but also for the realization of a type of security that does not rely on characteristics associated with the hegemonic masculinity that has produced a kind of security that can be a threat to men's security also."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Tickner, op. cit. Chapter V: Toward a Nongendered Perspective on Global Security.

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