ACCULTURATION & PURPLEWASHING IN THE SPANISH ARMY

A study of token women

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

More than thirty years of women's participation in the Spanish Army and many legislative and formal changes geared towards mitigating the effects of sexism, have not altered the eternal relationship between patriarchy and militarism, a binomial that remains, to this day, unquestionable.

The situation facing women within the Armed Forces, far from representing a milestone in the feminist demands for equality of access to areas of power in the public sphere hitherto denied to women, is in fact a further example of patriarchal domination and militarist logic. The behaviours and mechanisms derived from this domination are reproduced and perpetuated, despite superfluous changes, because of the performative capacity of patriarchy.

The Army has followed a strategy of purplewashing that aims to instrumentalise women in order to transmit a false image of equality and modernity in the Armed Forces.

Proof of that is the acculturation that military women are subjected to. The Army, as the maximum exponent of militarism, exercises violence both within and outside its ranks. The dominant masculine group is at an advantage, which leads the women to take on the behaviour patterns of men in order to integrate themselves. This process turns them into *token women* and it forces them into a difficult balance between their identity as a minority group and their desire to integrate themselves into an institution that they have chosen to form a part of.

The interviews conducted with twelve military women have enabled us to confirm that military women are immersed in a constant process of acculturation, and assess the level of awareness that they themselves have of this process.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is still somewhat surprising to see women occupying positions of power, and more so if we speak of high ranking positions within the Army. We have the example of Patricia Ortega, who, in July 2019, received the red sash, distinguishing her as the first female Army General. It was covered in all the national communications media. "It is a first and important step for her own professionalism and achievement, and an example for all the women in our armies and in the Civil Guard" said Vice President Carmen Calvo of the rise of General Ortega. In her speech she said that they were "very proud of a woman's promotion, because when one woman advances, all women advance" and she added that "the momentum of women gives the measure of a democracy that is advancing in the only possible direction" that of equal opportunities. (EFE, 2019)

The Ministry of Defence celebrated another woman in a position of responsibility, to add to the set of female Defence Ministers Spain has had in recent governments (Carme Chacón, 2008-2011, María Dolores de Cospedal, 2016-2018, Margarita Robles, 2018-present). Indeed, the enrolment of women into the Spanish Army has been a glowing success, an exemplary process in which everyone wins: women, who have conquered spaces that were hitherto denied to them, and men, who have feminised the image of the Armed Forces.

In the celebration of the 30th Anniversary of the incorporation of women into the Army, Dolores de Cospedal stated that that fact was worthy of being "held up as one of the three great pillars of the modernisation of the Armed Forces in a democratic Spain" (Ministry of Defence, 2018). The Army is now complete, it is modern, competitive and receives international recognition.

Nevertheless, the number of women forming part of the armed forces, since they first began to enlist in 1988, has never reached 13% of the total troops (Bagur, 2016:10). Taking these percentages into account, 31 years after their admission, the careers of women such as Colonel Ortega seem even more exceptional. If there is such willingness to include women in the Armed Forces, what is going on? What is it about the army that fails to attract women?

The starting hypothesis of this study is that not only has the inclusion of women in the Armed Forces not resulted in the feminisation of the institution, as claimed by the Army and the Ministry of Defence, but that it requires a masculinisation of the women who take part. This masculinisation is produced through a process of acculturation by the majority group, in this case military men, of the minority group, made up of women. As a consequence, the women adopt the behaviours and core values of masculinity, as well as collaborating in the perpetuation of the organisational culture of the army itself.

At a more general level, this study aims to critique the ideological foundations of military organisation: militarism and patriarchy. Seen as universal categories, both respond to the same modes of functioning: they operate as structures, using verticality, naturalisation and the dyadic confrontation of reality through a conceptualisation of power as domination.

2. METHODOLOGY

Bearing in mind the object of study here, it was considered appropriate to use a qualitative methodology, in the knowledge that "the qualitative researcher can probably demonstrate that his or her interpretations and conclusions have a plausible foundation, but can never present definitive proof" (Roca, 2010: 12). This is because this research prioritises looking into the point of view of the interviewee, and her personal experience, rather than presenting statistical results. In the words of Roca:

"We are faced with criteria for control of truth and the reliability of observations, although such control is not quantifiable and we cannot establish a clear line between error and truth. It is therefore not a case of finding the only valid description, the only one that adequately represents the socio-cultural reality, but rather that our description be meticulous, plausible and consistent."

Data was collected using two techniques: on the one hand, from written sources, as reflected in the bibliography, and on the other, through semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The advantage of these is that more information can be obtained than through questionnaires or structured interviews.

A basic outline for the interviews was created, with questions split into five thematic blocks (prior links to the army; defining basic concepts around gender; military culture and values; sexual violence; and opinions about the place of women in the army). These five sections relate to the categories that we aimed to analyse (purplewashing, token women, acculturation, the relationship between patriarchy and hierarchy, models of feminism, naturalisation of gender roles and access to the public sphere). In semi-structured interviews, the order of the closed questions and the way they are asked may vary, in order to better adapt them to the person being interviewed. Disadvantages of this include the fact that this type of interview may be susceptible to bias on the part of the interviewer, they do not allow for anonymity for interviewees, and they require a large amount of time to be invested.

In addition, to complement the data collected in the interviews, a small questionnaire was completed, with questions about some of the personal circumstances of the women interviewed: age, rank, time served, family unit, level of studies. This data is useful for interpreting the responses they gave.

Based on the above, a total of twelve interviews were carried out with military women: five in person, in their city of residence, and the other seven via video call, owing to the difficulties presented by geographical distance from the interviewers. In both cases, the interviews were audio recorded with the signed consent of the interviewee, and were later transcribed for analysis.

In terms of the sample, it is worth pointing out that, thanks to the intermediation of the AUME, all twelve women voluntarily offered to take part in the study, and they received no payment for their participation.

This last point is not inconsequential, as the majority of military women we approached declined to take part in the interviews, for fear of suffering repercussions at work, despite knowing that their participation would be anonymous. Some women who had initially agreed to take part changed their minds when it came to setting a date and ultimately decided not to do so.

These circumstances made it impossible to select a sample of interviewees based on geographic criteria, rank or distribution among the three armed forces, as was initially intended.

Other difficulties that hampered the research included the impenetrability of the army, which makes it complicated to establish contacts with military personnel, low levels of awareness among the women interviewed of basic concepts in the field of gender which made it difficult for them to respond to some of the questions, and finally the geographic distances which meant that some of the interviews could not be conducted in person, meaning that the researchers could not control the neutrality of the interview space, or create a climate of calm and trust.

The narration of this report has been structured around two main chapters: Purplewashing and Acculturation, both of which combine theoretical approaches to the concepts used to frame the questions asked in the interviews, and a section with conclusions that specifically highlights the need to present alternatives to patriarchy and militarism.

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3. PURPLEWASHING

When we ask ourselves about the possible acculturation of military women, we do it with the idea that the Army, by definition, is a militarist and patriarchal institution. Line Bareiro, lawyer, political scientist and specialist in human rights argues that:

> "Patriarchy is one of the systems of domination, in which riches, power, culture, etc., are concentrated in masculine hands. The most traditional dimension of our patriarchy consists of considering the embodiment of legitimate power to be society's warrior class. The warrior hero is the natural holder of power. This warrior caste is the one that holds decision-making power, the attributes of masculinity. Power is masculine; and the man who is 100% man, is the warrior man." (MOC, Paraguay).

The relationship between patriarchy and militarism is older than it seems. The alliances established between the two ideologies have created an archetype of opposition, in which the masculine is associated with power, the public sphere and war, and the feminine with obedience, the private sphere and the victimisation of our bodies.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the connections between militarism and patriarchy, two structures that function in a similar way, based on a conceptualisation of power as domination. For this, we propose a theoretical approach to power understood as *power over,* with the aim of understanding its performative logic and offering a framework for the symbolic and structural violence inherent in the Armed Forces, which is reflected both inside and outside that institution. The final goal is to test one of the real effects of this alliance between patriarchy and militarism, the strategy of Purplewashing.

Some of the results obtained during the interviews are used for this, as they provide information about the symbolic gendered universe that the interviewees come from, and whether their situation as military women causes them any kind of discursive discomfort.

3.1. UNDERSTANDING POWER *OVER*

Understanding power as domination is one of the many possible ways to conceptualise it. Trying to understand the different meanings of power and the debates and theories that have emerged around this concept, is beyond the scope of this study. However, it was considered important to clarify some concepts in order to help understand the genesis of power as domination. We took as the basis for this, the classifications of power made by Amy Allen (2000) as part of a critical feminist analysis of power, its nature and conceptualisations. Allen differentiates between three ways of understanding power. She identifies what she calls *power over,* understood as a resource, *power over* understood as domination, and *power for*

conceptualised as empowerment (De la Fuente, 2013: 25-30). In her extensive writings, Allen also introduces a fourth perspective on power which she defines as *power with,* based on solidarity between individuals. In terms of Allen's classifications, special attention is paid here to *power over*, and its division into power as a resource and power as domination.

A) POWER *OVER* OR POWER UNDERSTOOD AS A RESOURCE: LIBERAL FEMINISM

Liberal feminism conceives of power as a resource to be distributed, or rather, redistributed, between men and women. Epistemologically it is characterised by an individual theoretical perspective, which is to say that it is individuals who maintain power, and by a recognition of power as a social and political problem that should be dealt with in the public sphere. Two of the most influential authors in the theoretical articulation of liberal feminism were John Stuart Mill and John Rawls.

For Mill, liberty for the maximum number of individuals translates to an advantage for society as a whole. He speaks of the greatest number of people and thus directly includes women. His defence of individual liberty, the existence of a unique human nature, and a belief in social progress opened the door for many feminists to call for a space in the public sphere, traditionally denied to women. In fact, Mill was explicitly committed to the movement for women's suffrage, and he dealt with the woman question in his writings:

> "The aim of this essay is to explain (…) that the principle that regulates existing social relations between the two sexes, the subordination of one sex by the other, is bad, as and of itself, and today constitutes one of the principal impediments to human perfection; and that it should be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, that does not permit power or privilege on one side nor the incapacitation of the other" (De la Fuente, 2013: 37).

Rawls (1971) presented power as a fundamental social resource and one of his principal concerns was to guarantee the fairest distribution of it. That is why he conceived of power as a social and political problem of the first order and always related it to the public sphere. Thus, political liberalism created an ideal conceptual framework for the development of calls for equal distribution of power as a resource (Allen, 2005).

For the liberal feminists, *power over* is exercised as a result of the existence of unjust laws, sustained by prejudice, and the exclusion of women from the public sphere. This unequal distribution of power is to be corrected through education and through obtaining civil and political rights. (De la Fuente, 2013: 46) This concept of feminism has seeped into Western democracies. There is an obvious political connection, and the demands of liberal feminism have been taken up, to a certain extent, by quite a number of political programmes. The struggle for equality has been understood as a struggle for rights and access to areas of economic, political and military power, access to which has hitherto been restricted for women.

Critiques of liberal feminism came from the hands of those who saw how, even after obtaining the rights that until now had been denied, access to real equality remained complicated and has not yet been fully achieved. Power has another, darker and less visible face, a face that operates through domination and the naturalisation of oppressive structures. In this sense, Bourdieu warns that masculine domination is a form of dominion that permeates throughout society, operating in the darkness, on the body, and characterised by the hidden constant of sexual domination "so strong are the factors which, beyond simple blindness, incline people to ignore those constants (such as the legitimate pride of a feminist movement that is led to stress the advances won by its struggles)." (Bourdieu, 2000: 103).

B) POWER *OVER* OR POWER UNDERSTOOD AS DOMINATION: A CRITIQUE OF PATRIARCHY

Max Weber, in his writings on power, differentiated between *power,* as something generic and indeterminate, that one person imposes on another person even against their will, and *domination,* understood as a specific type of power: "a relationship of power-obedience in which the power-holder must be able to count on the obedience of others to exist". This means that the power relationship created can be chaotic and unpredictable and may or may not be imposed without the presence of a stable structure. On the other hand, the relationship established in the case of domination is a structure, built upon the expectation of obedience (Weber, 2012: 13-14). This distinction between power and domination opens the door to conceptualising *power over* from a different point of view, as a domination that requires a structure and is conceived as something more dynamic, as ability, action, capacity, relationship or potentiality. From this point of view, the redistribution of power between men and women is not possible, given that power is not a resource, it is a relationship. The problem is that this relationship is established in a way that is unjust and illegitimate (Allen, 2005)

The vision of *power over* as domination is one of the most extended and accepted in feminist literature, among schools of thought that do not always see

eye to eye on other matters, such as radical feminism, Marxist feminism, intersectional theories, post-structuralism or analytical feminism. All agree that oppression is structural and has an individual dimension: "Each individual man oppresses each individual woman he relates to, given that he exercises control over her sexual liberty, exploits her invisible labour, devalues her through his behaviour and his language" (De la Fuente, 2013: 52). For these authors, the slogan "the personal is political" encompasses this idea of power as domination and the need to denounce the relationship between the public and private spheres, as these should not be treated as two distinct universes, but as part of a single reality.

One of the most important authors, who played a founding role in the formulation of theories of women as dominated subjects, is Simone de Beauvoir. In her conception of phenomenological feminism, Beauvoir explains how subordination is established through a question of the perception of the other. In *The Second Sex* she presents the evident that hides this every day subordination:

> "A man would never set out to write a book on the peculiar situation of the human male. (…) In actuality the relation of the two sexes is not quite like that of two electrical poles, for man represents both the positive and the neutral (…) whereas woman represents only the negative, defined by limiting criteria, without reciprocity. (…) Thus humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him (…) She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute – she is the Other" (Beauvoir, 1949: 1-5)

The opposition between the feminine and the masculine finds its reflection and its continuity in sexual division of labour and it extends into all spheres of reality.

> "It falls to men, who belong on the side of all things external, official, public, straight, high and discontinuous (…) not to mention murder or war (…) women, by contrast, being on the side of things that are internal (…) are assigned all domestic labour, in other words the tasks that are private and hidden, even invisible or shameful (…) and especially the dirtiest, most monotonous and menial tasks." (Bourdieu, 2000: 45).

Power over acts as domination through the structure of **patriarchy**. The Spanish Royal Academy Dictionary still defines patriarchy as "primitive social organisation in which authority is exercised by a male head of each family, with this power extending even to distant relatives of the same lineage" (RAE, 2019). However, feminist critique has broadened the understanding of patriarchy to the point where it has become a complex concept and it is the object of much debate. We can say that, in general terms, patriarchy can be defined as:

> "A system of sexual and political social relationships based on different public and private institutions and on the inter-class and intra-gender solidarity created by men, who as a social group, individually and collectively, oppress women both individually and collectively, appropriating their productive and reproductive force, their bodies and their products, be that peacefully or through the use of violence" (Fontenla, 2008)

Although this research deals specifically with women, it is worth noting that men are not exempt from the structures of power, nor from the effects of domination, control and violence. They too are "prisoners, and insidiously victims, of the dominant representation." (Bourdieu, 2000: 67). There is much evidence of that in the many studies that have been undertaken since the 1980s into masculinity and particularly hegemonic masculinity.

3.2 PATRIARCHY AND MILITARISM

Militarism and patriarchy go together perfectly, they mutually complement each other and feed into each other. Both ideologies share the same vision of *power over* understood as domination, which is why both operate using structures and establishing an oppositional "otherness" that must be dominated or eliminated. The nature of the mechanisms of domination and the use of violence in any of its forms, guarantees the success and the perpetuation over time of patriarchal and militarized societies.

Militarism has been defined as "a set of values, attitudes and actions based on the centrality of violence and armed force as a form of dissuasion, elimination and punishment against what is represented or perceived as an enemy or a threat" (Camps-Ferrer, 2016: 35). Analysing the functioning of patriarchy and militarism, many authors have identified the connections established between the two.

According to Miralles (2016: 7), patriarchy functions as a **structure** that exercises power as domination over women in all its possible forms, both in the public and the private spheres. Militarism is supported by this structure and penetrates its culture of war into societies, widening the breach of sexual difference. Thus, patriarchy generates the identities that war needs to perpetuate itself and militarism reinforces the monopoly men have over the public sphere and the legitimate use of violence.

Patriarchy and militarism base their principles on a **dyadic relationship** between "One" and "Otherness".

Both perpetuate binomials set in opposition to each other, they promote them and they feed their reciprocal existential relationship. The one is, because the other is. They mutually require this relationship to be able to continue, and it is always vertical, that is to say, a form of **hierarchy** (Longoni, 2007). If in patriarchy the opposing binomials are articulated around gender in its accepted binary form (man/woman), in militarism it is the concepts of "friend or foe" that compose the dyad. This vision of the enemy as an antagonistic entity is understood to be a fictitious construction based on a distorted and stereotyped image of "the other". It generates hostile discourses and behaviour based on distrust and fear (Camps-Ferrer, 2018: 32). The enemy does not always take the same form, and can change depending on the context and the moment, but any kind of enemy is characterised by their dehumanization and the need to annihilate them (Miralles, 2016: 15).

In order to be understood as **totalising concepts,** patriarchy and militarism endeavour to appear natural. The naturalisation of their structures hides their true character as socially arbitrary historical constructions (Schongut, 2012: 37-40). However, domination is not a natural process, it does not just occur. It is intentionally imposed, and it does this implicitly and with subterfuge. Masculine domination is exercised in "essentially symbolic ways, a violence that often remains invisible to its victims, even in its most explicit moments" (Bourdieu, 2000: 11-12).

In fact, much of the success of domination lies in individual self-censorship, and the voluntary self-imposition of coercive rules. The silence and the effectiveness of structures of oppression is reaffirmed each time a woman censors herself and ratifies the domination. Women often blame themselves for their oppression. The constant and public exposure to "everything that can happen for being a woman" can also generate conscious or unconscious self-defence mechanisms, that encourage self-isolation (Osborne, 2009: 256). Self-censorship also appears as the need to accept submissive behaviours, or when women define themselves as their own worst enemies, as though a rival must be defined by their gender. When the mechanisms of invisibilisation and naturalisation fail and the dominated begin to question their subordination, the violence ceases to be symbolic and reaffirms itself in a very direct way (Schongut, 2012: 31).

Militarism and patriarchy have always made shared use of violence and resorted to force to impose their logic (Hernández, 2003). That these processes are irreconcilable does not mean that they do not have traces of violence impressed upon them. Although it could seem that the violence exercised at different levels forms part of the same phenomena: without the application of all of them, domination would be neither possible nor effective. The relationship with violence merges into what Cynthia Cockburn calls a "continuum of violence", where violence ceases to be isolated but is connected together into layers of a single phenomenon (Miralles, 2019: 21). Armed conflicts and everything that stems from them, and the everyday violence against women, be it in the public or private sphere, are intimately related and form part of the same reality of domination (Hernández, 2008; Holgado, 2003).

The Army, as the maximum exponent of militarism, not only legitimises and eulogises externalised violence, against the enemy, but it also exercises violence within its own structures and against its own members. Sexual violence within the Armed Forces is just one of the most visible examples, but we must not forget that although this violence has come to light since the incorporation of women into the ranks, sexual assault is not limited to those of female gender. For harassment to take place, you just need an aggressor and a harassed person, regardless of their sex (Osborne, 2009: 256).

3.3 WHEN PATRIARCHY AND MILITARISM WORK TOWARDS THE SAME GOAL: PURPLEWASHING

One of the striking questions with regard to the Army is the effort made to publicise the participation of women in the organisation. Women Ministers and Generals, new official bodies, measures and laws against harassment. It seems that in recent years, women have become one of the main objectives for the Armed Forces.

Many Armies have enrolled women, for many reasons, but, and the Spanish case is no exception, not all those reasons are pro-equality or come from the need to conquer spaces where access has been hitherto "prohibited".

In the case of Spain, after joining the European Union, European Community equality policies began to be applied, with the implementation of the first Equal Opportunities for Women Plan (PIOM by its Spanish initials) (1988-1999) and, among many other issues, it addressed the Armed Forces, decreeing that women could enlist. (Martínez and Quintana, 1999: 98) Despite the general guidelines set by the Plan, the effective incorporation of Women into the Army met with considerable resistance. In fact, the full participation of women in the Army was not legislated for until the passing of Law 17/1999 of the 8th May dealing with

the Regime for Military Personnel. It took 11 years for women to be accepted into the Armed Forces and for that to become effective in all squads. In addition to regulatory delays, it should be noted that the context in which women were finally accepted into the military institutions included the end of obligatory military service, Spain's entry into NATO, and the need to professionalise and modernise an army inherited from Franco (Bagur, 2016: 4)

Everything suggests that the principal motive for the inclusion of women in the Army had little or nothing to do with working towards equal opportunities. The use of purplewashing throughout recruitment strategies is constant; the instrumentalisation of feminist struggles in order to legitimise policies and marketing strategies with completely other ends is palpable throughout the entire process of women's enrolment (Ribes, 2019). This is where patriarchy and militarism unite with a common aim: all is fair in this war, even using the struggles of the very movements that criticise them. In this way, the Army can continue to swell its ranks without having to face criticisms relating to rights and equality. The real question is whether the purported equality is real or just so much wet paper.

3.4 RESULTS

The first part of the interviews was geared towards discovering the conceptual and symbolic framework in which the women being interviewed find themselves. The aim was to understand whether they have reflected on feminism, what they understand by patriarchy, and whether they consider it possible to be both a soldier and a feminist. Since we are dealing with highly militarised women, it is interesting to explore how they experience the alliance between patriarchy and militarism, whether it is something tangible that affects them or not, and if so, in what ways.

Twelve out of twelve of those interviewed coincided in presenting an understanding of feminism that fits with the concept of **liberal feminism.** For them, the idea of equality is fundamental to understanding feminism and is explicitly mentioned in the vast majority of the responses:

(E.1) "Feminism, well… It's…It's wanting to fight for feminine equality, for our equality as women, and fighting to have the same roles as men in decision making."

(E.2) "Equality between man and woman."

(E.3) "Well, let's see, it's women trying to reach emancipation, equality, even if it is just equity, you know?"

(E.4) "The feminism I understand is the search for equality."

(E.5) "Feminism? It is the struggle for real equality between men and women.[…] I am not better than a man because I am a woman, but I am not inferior either. I should have the same rights and the same obligations."

(E.8) "I defend rights to equality between men and women. A woman should be able to occupy the same position as a man, a woman can achieve the same as a man.[…] It should be focussed on the individual, not generalised. Not "a woman cannot carry heavy weights". The choice should be made between this person and that, and you chose the person for their physical fitness, and it may be the woman is better than the man."

(E.9) "Well, I understand feminism to be the recognition that women are equal to men and they don't have to treat you like you are stupid or not the same or like I cannot do the same things as a man. Eh… like as if I had to let myself be belittled or I had to… well, no, no. I mean, women can do the same things as men and we can have the same rights and live the same life."

(E.10) "Well, I say that I think the important thing is equality of opportunity for men and women. Equal opportunities does not mean we are the same in everything. For me, equality is treating cases that are equal equally and if they are not equal then not. Sometimes you have to place a wedge to create equilibrium for the man who is inferior to us, and sometimes you have to place one for us women, in order to achieve balance. But above all, there is equal opportunity, because we all have the same opportunity to get here."

(E.12) "The movement calling for equality between men and women, that women also have value. Women also have value, women count."

Some of the responses can be observed to be critical of other types of feminism. They define what for them is not feminism as a current of thought that aims to break the equilibrium between men and women or which wants to impose the same structures of power as domination on men as have been imposed on women:

(E.6) "They are going too far now with feminism! […] I believe that they are reaching a limit that should not exist. [For you this confrontation should not exist?] It is very over the top. Because, now, thank God, we already have a lot of rights, and women are protected, but now they want more and they want to batter the other side, and that's not how it works. Because women are just as guilty as men in all the conflicts there are, it is not just men that are bad. [Are you saying that feminism today is trying to put women above men, is that what you are trying to say?] Yes, yes, from my perspective."

(E.4) "The feminism I see is looking for women's supremacy, and I don't like that either. […] We are equals. I don't want preferential treatment for being a woman."

Some of them even make reference to the concept of *feminazism* to define certain currents of feminist thought that are critical of patriarchy or of liberal feminism.

(E.8): "Feminism? I mean… society paints it in one way, and I have my own ideas. […] So, one thing is feminism, and another is feminazism, as they call it. Feminazism is a different thing, that we want, or some women want, because I don't include myself in that group, to impose that women are above men, and that… That if patriarchy, if… No, because it is a society with symbiosis, without men, women could not function, and without women, men could not function. […] It is being taken to extremes now. It is not normal that I walk down the street and I am checking out the men, just because they are men, and I am afraid that one of them might approach me. But it is also not fair that they have to avert their eyes, so that women don't look badly on them. […] Why? We are going from one extreme of machismo to feminazism, without stopping to think that we all need each other. We need to try equality. I think that we have achieved quite a lot of equality. In my work I don't feel that men are given more privileges than me, nor that I am privileged for being a woman, because throughout our lives we have fought to have the same rights, but… how can I explain… It can't be that they give me more rights because I am a woman. […] So, I think we are stigmatising men a bit, with this struggle that has got so radical."

There are many nuances for defining what they understand by feminism, and they clearly depend on the cultural baggage or life experiences of each of them. It can be said that feminism is something that generates debate among the women of the army. They may have contrasting opinions, but the debate exists, as one of the participants states:

(E.3): "now they are very much against feminism, the feminazis, we are always saying that. I am tired of it, you know? I have had enough…"

The similarities in their definitions of feminism contrasts sharply with the diversity of responses describing their understanding of **patriarchy**. It seems to be a much more confusing concept and one that some of them do not relate to. Half of the responses coincide in pointing out some of the principle characteristics of patriarchy, such as the structure, the dominion of the heterosexual masculine gender, or naturalisation and its mechanisms of control and creation of hierarchy. They also point out the sexual division of the patriarchal reality, in which the public sphere is reserved for men and the private sphere is the traditional preserve of women.

(E.1): "Well… It is a bit like the lifestyle we have had up until now, no? Where the man was dominant, he went out to earn money, and… The woman stayed at home… To look after the house, and the children, and to see to him when he came home, no? And where it was mostly the man who made the important decisions."

(E.2): "They are always going to say you, because you are a woman, do this, this is more your thing. Whether you like it or not, there they are, and they don't do it on purpose, but they let you know that because you are a woman you have a different way of doing things. So, patriarchy is this invisible thing that is in all areas of social life, but sometimes it is very hard to see it and other times it is very easy to see it. And it is the discrimination against women in all areas."

(E.7): "Patriarchy is a family system, headed by the man, the patriarch."

(E.8): "It is what frames our society: that the man wears the trousers, the man brings the money home, the man has to protect the family, he decides everything… […] what the man says goes. That is what I understand by patriarchy."

(E.11): "Well, patriarchy is the structural system that we live in, that has been part of the State since prehistory, so to speak, and it has done a very good job of achieving this role of feminine submission, subjugated to the needs of the masculine role […] So, patriarchy is what exists now in our society, like in all societies. It is the system we live in, both at a cultural level but also in the invisible part […] and there you have it, a big pyramid, of patriarchy, which is well structured. It is our current system and we learn it from the cradle."

They all agree that patriarchy is not something exclusive to the Armed Forces.

(E.11.) "The Army is patriarchal because society is patriarchal. There is no doubt about it. In fact, one of the best examples is that the upper echelons of the military is an exclusive men's club. Now there is the first woman, from the Land Army, who has achieved a post, she is the only one, the first to have got there."

(E.2) "Patriarchy for me is something that is implanted in society in different areas, and maybe it is not always visible, but it is always there."

(E.5): "It is true that… it is inevitable to say that our society is a patriarchal society, because it is a patriarchal society, OK? In fact, the high ranks are held by men. […] like, the way things are with rape, I read an article about a girl […] they raped her in Tenerife […] and you read the comments, the comments… typical comments […] But you also read a lot of comments saying "let's see what she was wearing, what was she doing there at that hour" and you say, […] when a boy gets raped, no one doubts his version, and everyone is against the rapist, and when a woman is raped it is quite the contrary. That is a clear symptom of patriarchy."

(E.11) "The Army is still a reflection of society, it is like a kind of mini-test tube, so what happens in society also happens in the Army. We don't cease to be part of society, I mean, I think it is one of the principal warhorse issues I have with the civilian world. [...] So, what happens inside, happens outside. There is no difference, except a few things that, obviously can be controlled because of the control exercised by the Army, but what happens outside happens inside."

What most of them (11:12) agree on is in stating that **the army is patriarchal**, with the exception of one interviewee who places the hierarchy above any other form of order:

(E.10) "The army is a hierarchy in which if the commanding officer is a woman, then the woman is in command and if it is a man, the man will lead. I don't think it has an influence [referring to patriarchy]."

In fact, this **hierarchy** appears, hidden and mixed up, in many of their responses. Most of them agree that hierarchy provides the backbone of the Armed Forces, however they don't identify it as a patriarchal question, but rather a defining trait of the military institution.

(E.4) "It is even more so... yes. But it is not because they are men, but that normally the high ranking women are in offices, not in operative units. It is just that there is a hierarchy, that... you have to do what the chief says, it makes no sense, but they are the boss, or you do it, or you get arrested, that is how it goes. [...] More than men or women, it is about stripes."

(E.3) "But there is a question of time served, although we are all soldiers, because it is such a hierarchical structure, among soldiers, among us, someone arrives, and you say "you, clear that up", you know? Even among us there are certain rankings, whether it is a woman, it doesn't matter. I don't abuse it, just for getting shifts and stuff. But it is true that a lot of people like to abuse it, to abuse... "I've been here longer than you, clear that up and I am just going to sit here" you know?"

In some of the responses you can sense "disappointment" in the supposed measures for protecting women. It seems that, despite all the reforms that are announced, the changes are not real, and according to many of the women interviewed there is not even the intention to make them work. Some even cite examples of **purplewashing:**

(E. 11) "The fact that there is a woman Minister, it is all symbolic, it means nothing. In fact, in the Minister's office there are almost no women, so it is a very patriarchal system. [...] Precisely the issue of the Harassment Protection Units [...] which was obligatory. But you go because there is no other

option. It is not voluntary when it comes to it, and the talk was neither instructive nor relevant. I think that in general there is a perception that we are isolated from that, that it doesn't happen on the inside, so they give it the importance they think it deserves. But we come back to the same issue, that the importance is given by men. For them it is not an existing problem, for them, the problem does not really exist. The majority perceive the problem as being the other way round, that it is us women who are trying to make life more complicated for soldiers. They think that we already have the same rights, that we are already equal, "now you are the bad guys who are destroying the lives of soldiers". That is what many, what most of them think".

(E.9) "You know what the problem is? That... the media can say what they like, right? But the problem is later, in your day to day. The problem is being afraid to rock the boat because you have to stay there afterwards, it is your job."

(E.2) "It is a newspaper headline, because if you create the UPA [Harassment Units], if you create the Observatory on Equality, if you create certain bodies that are dedicated to this type of thing... It is true that they create statistics, and they are producing statistics about gender all the time, etc. etc. But since you have all of that, it is as simple as what you were saying before, do some talks, inform the personnel... because I know that the UPA exist, but I don't know how I could approach them if I were the victim of harassment or violence. I don't know how it would work, I don't even know how to find them, I don't know where they are. So, of course, yes, they have taken measures, but they are quite precarious."

(E.7) "They are always going to try to hide it, like, if you want to report something in military life, you have to take it into civilian life. Within the military you are never going to get anywhere. They are never going to find in your favour, I mean, there will always be something, or they'll say... Well, I don't know how to explain it. Like if I report my boss now, because he said... I don't know, an obscene word, or he offended me, or whatever, then they will cover it up. They will say that is the exercise of command... they won't do anything."

Violence against women and the question of harassment constituted a whole block of questions in the interviews. All of the women confirmed, either because they have experienced it, or because they have heard about it, that there is harassment of women in the Army. Some of them described, in some detail, episodes involving a high level of both verbal and physical violence. More than one recounted cases of rape, sexual harassment, and situations in which they felt fear and vulnerability. A discourse that emerges in all the responses is the lack of support within the institution and distrust of official bodies. The military justice system is deeply discredited for them in these cases.

CENTRE DELÀS
D'ESTUDIS
PER LA PAU

(E.2) "Yes. And it seems to be that after, the reports have been pretty much met with deaf ears"

(E.3) "Yes. […] A colleague of mine suffered this, and she reported it, in fact it is another unit. There is a unit for reporting gender violence. A lieutenant wrote to her via a female corporal "if you want to have a threesome", whatever, "because I would pay whatever it takes for you". I remember that colleague, who is like, younger […] And, well, she has this pert little arse. And I remember when she came in, that in the test for the unit, well… for me that is harassment. To say "Hell, girl! You have an arse for dancing reggaeton!", "Hell, girl, we were running and, like this… fwah, fwah, fwah…" They were always going on about her arse, her arse, her arse… […] And well, there were a lot of indecent proposals, you know, propositions… And finally, with the lieutenant she cracked and reported it and there was a trial and everything."

(E.4) "Yes, a lot. I don't know what you understand by sexual violence, but yes, tonnes. The Alborán sentencing was not so long ago, stuff like that."

(E.5) "Yes, yes, I mean… from the most serious, in fact there are news reports about… rapes and stuff, and… abuses of power. To the most trivial. A colleague… erm, we were having one of those brotherhood dinners they often have, and… he started to ask me how I liked guys to go down on me. Of course! I mean, it is nor the same as a rape, but it is sexual violence. […]. Well… things like that. And… I don't know… once on duty, the truth is I was scared, eh… it was me with my… my commanding officer, in the camera room, to see… well, to watch the security cameras, because it was my turn to rest, and we rested in the camera room and watched the cameras and that. And he started to ask me what kind of porn I watch and what I liked to… to… you know? […]"

(E.7) "When something like that happens, just like that, they try to cover the scandal. Evidently they will try to make sure it does not come out in the press, or anywhere, they try to keep it in house. So, we have two ways to report it. You can go into the street and report it to the national police. But they close ranks. You won't find witnesses, you won't get support in that sense, no one explains anything, no one wants to know, no one wants to get involved, because it is their job. So, it is very difficult to prove it. If you make an internal report, you have to follow your hierarchical conduct, my Captain, my Colonel… it will never go anywhere, and when it gets to the top, the man at the top has the final say and he says "ok, well, I'll file that". That is how it goes."

(E.8) "There is some… A few years ago I suffered some harassment. A colleague, he wanted something with me, I don't know if you have noticed in the interview, but I am very friendly, and he must have confused talking to him or inviting him for a coffee or whatever, and without going into

more detail, he suggested we sleep together… I said no, and he thought it was a joke. I saw that he insisted and I told my boss. It stopped there."

(E.11) "Yes, yes, yes. I can say that forcefully because I have suffered it myself. I suffered a rape attempt, and I have suffered harassment form a superior officer, sexual harassment, I mean… openly, and yes, many extremely uncomfortable situations, but the most full on was a rape attempt, and it was just luck that he didn't rape me, basically because a sailor came in. Yes, it's there, it's there. The problem is that women don't report it because they are afraid. They prefer to keep quiet. In fact, in my case, I reported it […] and they told me it was better not to go there because I had been drinking, so it was my fault, we were far from home, so far from family, and we are very few on board, so it was my fault. [And that was the response you received from a senior officer?] Yes, […] I mean, that I shouldn't tell anyone, but come on, that is the norm. To be able to report it, someone has to have a lot of proof. Within the army, if you take the risk of reporting it, it is because, firstly, you are willing to take the exposure that will result, which is a lot, and the cost it will have for your career, and because you have proof, if not, you would never do it."

(E.9) […] "You know the trouble? It's always, well, the hand on your waist, or the hand on your shoulder or things like that. Yes, I have heard of cases and I know some people where it has gone on to being approached and later they reported it, and then they have problems, of course. [Is it always a problem?] It is always a problem. Always problems and your credibility will always be damaged after that, you know? So, it is very difficult, I have not had a particularly big or really uncomfortable case. Mmm… well, just that, that they grab you, or the hand on your waist, or the hand on your shoulder or whatever, or I don't know what, but yeah, you know? […] Look, there was one case where I did feel really uncomfortable, but afterwards, […] We still have a lot of fears, and a lot of traditionalism. I remember when I got pregnant and I went to the clinic to say that I was pregnant, and there was a lieutenant there who said 'OK, let's see if we can hear the heartbeat, and I don't know what and let's see, and lie down there'. And the guy started taking my trousers down, and I was really uncomfortable, saying to myself, 'what is this guy doing?', and I felt awful, but how do you get out of that? Do I say 'what are you doing?' Should I get angry? I mean, the truth is it just doesn't come out like that, I mean there are some women who will, eh? But it is a situation where you feel uncomfortable, and you feel that they are overstepping your boundaries, but you don't know how to get out of it. Because it is not something so evident that you can say 'I'm going to make trouble for this' you know? They are very subtle things, so you don't know how to get out of it. [And, how did you get out of it?] Well, putting up with it… waiting for the moment to pass.[…]"

It is possible to say that the women interviewed did not share a critique of power as domination, and that they naturalise structural oppression. It is particularly striking how, at the same time as defending feminism based on rights (rights that they have already won) they do not hesitate to explain the barriers and difficulties they face in their everyday lives, all of which are symptomatic of the prevalence of patriarchy.

4. ACCULTURATION

The following chapter examines two micro-level questions that seem to be key to understanding the acculturation of military women: the persistence of the patriarchal structure and its effects, and the difficulties that women face as a minority group competing with a majority male group for the same resources.

4.1 THE EFFECTS OF PATRIARCHY

Social acceptance of the need for women to conquer spaces of power in the public sphere that are traditionally monopolised by men, is one of the milestones of liberal feminism. The feminist debate is absolutely normalised, "the confrontation of feminine versus masculine is not subversive these days, it is not radical. It can be uncomfortable, bitter, ridiculed etc. but it is a polemic that has been accepted, it is transparent, and made for the times" (García de León, 1994: 27) Real results of those debates and proposals, however, is another matter. The fact that patriarchy has been called into question as an ideology does not mean that it does not survive as a set of practices.

The sexual division of labour has naturalised the exclusion of women from the public sphere and has relegated them to the private sphere and to unpaid work in the production of resources (childrear-

ing, caring for the sick and the elderly, feeding the family, the perpetuation of the family group). When women finally gained access to spaces of power in the public sphere, they came up against a structure that was not created with them in mind. Patriarchy has not changed, it does not have a plan B to cover the space left by women when they begin to dedicate their time to other activities. As Bourdieu states (2000: 113), "The changes visible in conditions in fact conceal permanent features in the relative positions: the levelling-out of the chances of access and rates of representation should not be allowed to mask the inequalities which persist."

Thus, we find ourselves with two clear groups marked by sexual difference. Their conditions are not equal and yet they must compete with each other. Raquel Osborne (2005) exposes some of the effects of patriarchal domination and their consequences. With a view to showing these difficulties, we will use Osborne's article as the basis for arguing that patriarchal attitudes persist within the Armed Forces. Here we indicate four characteristics developed by Osborne in her article: access to resources, the power of friends, available time and socialisation, to which we would add another that seems of vital importance to us: the glass ceiling.

Access to resources. Power is traditionally displayed in the public sphere, where political decisions are made, strategies for action are planned, lines of

thought are articulated and official histories are written. Power should be explicit, legitimate, visible and recognised, otherwise it would be very difficult to exercise it. There is still a symbolic difference in status between the two sexes that restricts access to areas of power. This has a direct effect on women who, as they are destined for resignation and discrimination, can only exercise power by effacing themselves, refusing to display it or exercising power vicariously. (Bourdieu, 2000: 47) The direct consequence of this is that, when women do access power "their legitimacy is temporary and precarious" (Osborne, 2005: 167).

The importance of the traditional sexual division of labour and its symbolic charge can be seen in many sociological studies into the structure of the labour market and segregation by sex. Callejo and Martín Rojo (1995), speak about an "extra-official" difficulty faced by women in accessing positions of responsibility. In their studies they demonstrate that while men occupying traditionally feminine roles seem to benefit from their minority status, the same does not apply to women in positions of responsibility or traditionally masculine occupations. They perceive resistance from colleagues and high ranking officers especially when it comes to promotion.

The free market could go some way to overcome this symbolic disadvantage when it comes to accessing power. However, when subjective assessments come into play, the number of women in this type of post falls dramatically. In this sense, authors such as Marta Ibáñez (2010), explain how women have more probability of working in feminised sectors such as health or education, in large companies of more than 50 employees, in public administration or in the international market. That is to say, "in companies where it is assumed that there are modern systems of access and career development; where processes for selection and promotion are more universal, transparent and meritocratic, that are decidedly less discriminatory for women" (Ibañez, 2008: 18).

The second element highlighted by Osborne is what she calls **the power of friends**. She understands "friends" in the broadest sense to refer to how men act within a group against women, generating dynamics of *male-bonding*. This term appeared in the 1970s at the hands of the Anthropologist Lionel Tiger to refer to the tendency of men to form very close ties and links. Tiger proposes that it be treated as a mechanism of adaptation to certain situations directly connected to cooperation, predation and the defence of the group. It is a way of organising for survival, to benefit and protect each other as a group.

It is not the possible bond that men of the same social class or the same age might create because they have similar identities. This bonding has the aim of creating a differential status. It is a process that involves specific individuals mutually recognising one another (Tiger, 2017: 25). In the words of García de León "the old boys club" or the "gentleman's pact" is one of the most characteristic phenomena of the systematic recruitment of male troops. (García de León, 2012:132)

Osborne describes two aspects of this: selection between equals and everything related to informal networks. Selection between equals is based on the tendency to perpetuate males in traditionally masculine roles, by profession or rank. On many occasions, the few women participants generate discomfort, their presence a critical witness to the ways in which the work is organised or in which certain situations are dealt with: "we don't need so many secretaries, nor so many cubic metres of carpet, nor so many fancy cars, nor so many meetings outside the office, nor so much visa card, nor so much first class travel, or any of that" (García de León, 2002: 134).

Informal networks completely evade everything that makes for equality of access, yet they play a significant role in the social order. Informal networks are shared meetings, food, drinks, and conversations about "man things". When women are found in similar situations, old social complexes about "how to behave in society" often re-emerge. As a consequence, they tend to stay in second place, keeping quiet so as not to bother anyone, or even serving men and facilitating them to form these informal relationships of camaraderie. The ability to access informal networks is also a factor of time, the second element highlighted by Osborne.

Available time. In a world in which women share the same public educational and occupational spaces as men, they continue to be excluded due to lack of time. What is the cause of this constant lack of time? The answer lies in what has been called "the double presence". This category has come to mark "the limits of emancipation, establishing how the admission of women into work, rather than changing family structures, has meant women combine two working days." (Borderías, 2007) The effort and the headaches that result from double presence in a capitalist society where the sexual division of labour prevails should not be underestimated. This situation often generates ambivalence about gender identity among women, creating the "malaise of emancipation".

Finally, Osborne highlights models of **socialisation:** a lack of access to power provokes women to self-isolation. It has traditionally been thought that women do not want to wield power, and that they freely choose certain social roles. Socialisation establishes those social behavioural norms that mark certain tendencies. The same occurs between women and accessing power. It is not because of being a woman that one does not want to wield power, woman is not better or more pacifist or less aggressive. There is no relationship between gender and wanting to access power. It is not a question of will or taste, it is a question of facility of access.

It is worth adding to these four elements a fifth, which is the prevalence of the **glass ceiling** in the labour market. Men and women do not have the same opportunities of access, both because of horizontal segregation, which analyses the concentration of the sexes in the different occupational sectors, and vertical segregation, which refers to the number of men and women in specific categories or occupations. (Roquero, 2012: 46)

The concept of the "glass ceiling" appears in the 1980s in Anglo-Saxon literature, and it refers to the under representation of women in the higher echelons of all the employment hierarchies, despite considerable representation in the labour market as a whole (González, 2015: 5)

Despite the measures taken by organisations to mitigate the effects of the glass ceiling, there are many studies that confirm the persistence of this brake on the professional advancement of women. Questions such as maternity punish the professional career of many women, as the same measures that protect them during pregnancy and breast feeding, are the ones that condemn them in their professional lives. A demonstration of the negative effects are the low number of paternity leaves requested in some masculine professions. In the case of the Armed Forces in Spain, it has been observed that men self-exclude from paternity for fear of prejudice and the effect it could have on their reputation (Bagur, 2016: 16)

As women have gained territory in the public sphere, the options have multiplied and their interest in occupying positions of power has grown with it. Being able to access power without so many obstacles facilitates more women wanting to access it. Nevertheless, it is not enough that the possibility exists. Patriarchy still has a strong influence on people's behaviour and attitudes, and the Armed Forces, as a military institution, is no exception to that.

4.2 WOMEN AND CRITICAL MASS

In this section we will present some of the principal features of the thinking of Rosabeth Moss Kanter, sociologist and specialist in interactions between groups, in order to support our hypothesis. We have built on her theories about women within major corporations with the aim of creating a parallel with the situation facing women in the Armed Forces. In this way we can say that it is difficult for women within the army, as a minority, to take on roles of responsibility and to adopt measures to improve their situation, while there is no clear will on the part of the institution to change the internal dynamics of the relationship between a majority and a minority group competing for the same resources. While women make up less than 30% of the troops, they will suffer an inevitable process of acculturation of their identity and their behavioural roles to a greater or lesser extent.

KANTER AND THE IMPORTANCE OF NUMERICAL REPRESENTATION IN GROUPS

The phenomena of acculturation occurs in the relationship between human groups of different numerical sizes, with different cultural categories, when they form part of the same wider group. This has been the principal object of study for the sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1984). She identifies four basic types of group, of different proportions, that can maintain relationships:

Uniform groups, in which there is only one social signifier. Within a single group internal differences may emerge, however, from an external point of view, in terms of what defines the group itself, there are no apparent differences of ethnicity, class or gender. These groups have a ratio of 100:0. This is how the Spanish Army could be defined before the incorporation of women: an organisation that shared a common identity, men who had become part of that group through the same access tests as the other members and who, apparently at least, had the same options for promotion.

Next she defines **skewed** groups, with a majority prevalence of one social type over another, with a different social signifier, and which have, for example, a ratio of representation of 85:15. The numerically larger social type also controls the group as a whole, and its culture becomes the dominant one, over the minority group. Members of the minority group, with a different social type, become tokens. They cease to be treated as individual people and are perceived as representations of their social category. If the group is very small, the tokens can even be solitary individuals.

However, even if there are two tokens in a skewed group, it is very difficult for them to create alliances with each other, due to the power exercised by the majority group.

The third type of group are **tilted** groups, which have less extreme ratios than the two previous groups, for example, with a ratio of 35:65. In these cases, the dominant group are simply the majority, but lose a large part of their capacity for acculturation. The members of the minority group are potential allies, they can form coalitions with each other and thus affect the culture of the group. They also begin to appear as individuals differentiated from each other, and as group members that are different from the majority.

The final type of group is the one with a ratio of around 60:40. These are **balanced** groups, in which the culture of the group and the interaction between the members is, as the name indicates, balanced. Majority and minority may or may not create subgroups; however this will depend on other structural or personal factors, and not on the differentiating social type.

In this sense, we can say that women within the Armed Forces constitute a skewed group, in which the majority is made up of the of men, as a cultural type, and the minority is made up of women. They relate in a proportional ratio of approximately 87:13. These two groups of socially different type are located within the wider group, the Army, which establishes the framework for their relationship, the structure within which they cohabit and within which they compete for the same resources.

We will therefore focus principally on what typically takes place within skewed groups. In order to avoid the acculturation of one social type over another, in this case, so that the majority group of men does not impose its masculinity on the minority group, made up of women, the minority group must proportionally increase in size until it reaches a **critical mass**. The critical mass is reached when the minority begins to be less of a minority, and is found around 30-35% representation within the wider group. This will allow the minority to begin to influence the culture of the majority group and enable alliances to form between members of the minority group, who cease to be tokens. We can define the critical mass as "a qualitative change in power relations that, for the first time, allows the minority to use the resources of the organisation or the institution to improve their own situation and that of the group to which they belong" (Valcárcel, 1994: 176).

Managing to increase the numbers of the minority group in order to reach the critical mass, is intimately linked to the external support that minority can count on. In this case, the external support that could increase the number of women would come from all those groups or institutions that support increasing the feminine presence within the Armed Forces.

Nevertheless, the women within the Spanish Army are far from reaching critical mass. In fact, they have been in the minority for more than 30 years, with a very marked differentiating social type: gender. What consequences does the acculturation of the majority group have over the minority group, when the majority group are men and the minority are women? The principal consequence is, on the one hand, the assumption of the elements of the identity and behaviours of the majority, in this case, elements of masculinity, and on the other hand, the appearance of what Kanter calls token women.

4.3 TOKEN WOMEN

Token women are characterised by their role as symbols, being seen for what they represent and not as individual people, and by the ambiguity and the dissonance between their behaviours and their identity. They acquire a kind of statelessness from their gender: on the one hand they are obligated, consciously or unconsciously, to acquire masculine behaviours, and on the other they are burdened with a "representative responsibility" which is expressed as a reaffirmation of their gender and their difference. Kanter indicates three phenomena associated with token women:

Visibility: Women attract a disproportionate amount of attention to themselves, without seeking it. They are more visible than other individuals and they attract the attention of the other members of the group. This produces pressure on their actions as they know that what they do will be taken as a sign of "what all women do", which generates an "identity overload", as it is described by Celia Amorós (1994), or "over representation" as García de León (1994) calls it. One of the consequences of this visibility is a work overload, the sensation that they can never relax and that they must always be at the crest of the wave. It is common that excellence is demanded of women who find themselves in the minority in a masculine environment, both in and outside work, and they are obliged to justify their success. Their achievements are often not recognised by the rest of the group. Not so their failures, which are quickly made visible and are attributed to all the members of the minority group.

As their physical appearance becomes more important than usual, many of them, in an attempt to reduce the over representation they have to live with, mimic the aesthetic of the dominant group, and want to pass as unnoticed as possible. Other token women react in the opposite way, trying to comply with the stereotypes that the dominant group has of the dominated. With these different strategies, what they seek is the acceptance of the majority group, be that for "being like them" or for "being what they think she should be".

Polarization: polarization produces a tightening of the bonds between the dominant group and a distancing from the minority group. Men use any pretext to remind the token woman that she is different. In this sense, informal networks become very important, and also available time, beyond the time strictly dedicated to the job. The dominant group tends to seek situations in which the minority group cannot take part. This can be going out for drinks after a meeting, or creating private spaces that the women cannot enter (whether that is because of the double presence or because they seek out extremely masculine spaces).

Assimilation: The attributes of the minority are distorted so that they fit with the preconceived ideas the majority group holds about sex. Token women are not accepted as equals, but as stereotyped symbols of the minority group. In this case, they may be seen as mothers, or seductresses, or pets, or iron ladies, but they are never viewed in the fullness of their humanity. The stereotypes are accepted both by the dominant majority and by the minority. This tends to provoke either the rejection of the token woman by the minority group, or that those stereotypes are assimilated by all of them as being natural.

Faced with these situations, three common responses can be identified among token women:

Imitation, be that physical or identitarian. The acceptance of the majority group is sought, even if that means embracing the identity of the dominant group and looking down on the minority group. That is why many token women opt to take part in the conversations and jokes that promote stereotypes of women, they masculinise their clothes and their behaviour with the intention of being "one of them".

The queen bee: Another route to acceptance is to show oneself to be an exception within the minority group. The intention is the same as imitation but with the addition of a rejection of the minority group. The term queen bee syndrome has been studied, mostly from within the field of workplace psychology. It appeared for the first time in 1973 and continues to be relevant today. This syndrome describes women who occupy posts of responsibility in a completely masculine environment, in which they are accustomed to hold attitudes that are publicly anti-feminist and against women, denying structural discrimination and the real difficulties that women, as a minority, continue to face when accessing positions of responsibility or areas traditionally occupied by men.

They tend to attribute personal and professional success to their own merits and to surround themselves with men in their work life. They tend to believe that if they have made it, other women have not due to a lack of will. The queen bee syndrome is related to competition among women and the need to receive all the male attention. The false belief that a woman in a position of responsibility would feel solidarity with other women because they are women, yet again stereotypes the women in the position of queen bee because, they are at once forced to accept the acculturation of the dominant group and a separation from their own identitarian group, in order to maintain their position, they are called sexist and lacking in solidarity. Whatever they do, they will be called into question. Some recent studies, such as those carried out by Heilman and Haynes (2005), have refuted the idea that women in the role of queen bee particularly devalue the work of other women. In fact, the process of acculturation with the masculine roles means that they devalue the work of other women just as much as the men do. However, again, visibilisation makes their actions more noticeable and makes them guilty of all evil. Thus the culture of the organisation is maintained and it becomes impossible to break with the difficulties that women face. (García-Velasco, 2013)

Isolation, both from the majority group and from their congeners, who find themselves in the same situation. In the case of major organisations, isolation can also happen vertically. That is to say that although in the lower echelons of the professional hierarchy, the minority group may have reached a critical mass and become sufficient to create a subculture, the pressure of vertical structures isolates the token woman even further from her own congeners. On some occasions isolation is created with the aim of raising social awareness with a view to reaching critical mass, although this option is uncommon, due to the fierce pressures that exist.

Any of the options for adaptation adopted by women will be viewed badly by part of the majority group, and part of the minority group. If a token woman is too hard or too demanding, she will be reproached for having become excessively masculine. If she is too soft, it is because she should not be where she is because she is "not good enough", she is "not up to it".

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Basically, until women reach critical mass, while they are proportionally too few compared to the majority group, they cannot create a subculture to contrast these phenomena, and they will be limited to either being accepted by the dominant group, which means either accepting their role as token women with all the consequences, and assuming a process of acculturation by the dominant group, or by adopting a position of isolation.

Many criticisms of Kanter's work aim to minimize the importance of patriarchal domination and the difference in equality of conditions and behaviour between men and women. Later studies have stressed demonstrating that gender as a social type differentiator is very influential, and that it is not simply another social category. When the dominant group are women, the results of the behavioural analysis and processes of acculturation are markedly different. Masculine acculturation is characterised by a high level of aggression and the force of the process of domination (Osborne, 2005: 173) Nevertheless, Kanter's contribution to the study of human groups and their behaviour within organisations makes it possible, among other things, to absolve women for their failure to adapt to circles of power. As we have tried to highlight, they are not to blame for the processes of domination and acculturation, they may be complicit, they may be victims, they may be executioners just as men may. As individuals they respond to specific social dynamics imposed by structures that require certain behaviours, and in many cases they do not call them into question. It was not them, it was the dynamics of social groups.

4.4 RESULTS

In all the interviews, in one way or another, it has been possible to observe the pressure that patriarchy places on the women. Some did not express it as a negative thing, but they are aware that as women they face a series of added difficulties.

Several of them, particularly the younger women, explain how they have experienced the rejection of senior officers and colleagues, because they are women. There are situations in which they have explicitly said that the Army is not made for them. **Access to resources** to reach positions of power is clearly frustrated when the very presence of women in such a traditional fiefdom of masculine power is called into question. Men are the ones who should do their duty and defend the nation, women have other functions in society, specifically reproduction.

(E.4) "In fact, when we got to the ship, we arrived at the same time [referring to a male colleague], and he automatically was put to work, and I spent a week drinking coffee because se the chief didn't want me, because I was a woman and I might get pregnant. The first thing he asked was: "are you a lesbian?". "No". "Well, then I don't want you because you might get pregnant"

(E.8) "There are people who still believe that the Army is for men, that women should not be in the Army, and of course, the issue of us getting pregnant, that we have to look after the children, that we need to put our family responsibilities before the Army. There are many men who don't see it, because they have been instilled with an education in which the man, well, what I said, the man brings the money home, he goes out to work, the man protects the family and all that."

(E.7)" Are men in charge? Evidently, because statistically there are less women. In fact, there is only one woman general. It is their world, we are playing on their pitch. What happens at the bottom, in the lower ranks of non-commissioned officers, it is true that there are quite a lot more women, not more than the men, but many more than before."

(E.12) [...] "The thing is that soldiers still think like that and it is never going to change. Although women are in the Army and they don't say it out loud, they are not going to accept it."

In other responses it can be seen that the sexual division of labour within the Army is an accepted fact. Women have much easier access to jobs within the Armed Forces that resemble as much as possible the tasks traditionally associated with the feminine: jobs related to care, provisioning, or administration.

(E.11) "It is just that in electronics, for whatever reason, not many women have decided to go there. There are other specialisations, maybe, there are normally a lot of women clerks, working in administration, and there are many more who may be analysts, there are a lot of women too, communications has quite a few, there are a lot of caterers, but that is how it is, tendencies, very few women mechanics, and electricians. There are male colleagues who say that we have the comfortable specialisations, that we don't like getting covered in grease... There are a lot of women mechanics, not as many as in administration, but there are some."

Some of those interviewed have demonstrated an awareness of the importance of **the power of friends**. In the responses you can see how they identify clearly masculine group attitudes that specifically aim to reinforce the masculinity of the participating individuals, and at the same time, exclude the few women who might find themselves in the vicinity. Some even indicate that the Army as an institution enables these attitudes of *male-bonding,* which would be less likely in non-militarised spaces.

(E.1) "Well… yes, yes…. Maybe some of them go too far. (She laughs) They want, like, to show how masculine they are that… sometimes they can be a little absurd. When the men get together, lots of men together, well…"

(E.2) "It is true that, there are a lot of conversations that are simply superfluous, talk about cars, talk about football, for example. It is not simply because I am a woman that I don't like them, but I don't like them. Not because I am a woman, just because I am me. Well, the majority of men tend to like football and they are there talking about football. And there I am, and I can't do anything. But there are times, it is true that there are comments that raise the tone, and you are there".

(E.3) "Look, I was always a person like that, like, I didn't want to discuss this issue always like that, but since I have been in the army I have realised that, damn! There's a long way to go yet, you can see it, when we are all together, and you see there how they really get rowdy. Maybe they can't say those things outside, with their friends, with their family, and that. But there, I'm in the army, you know? There are three women there, and well… […] I think that… well, the same, they feel there… it is like they feel… because it is a masculine institution, they feel like they are not in the street, out in society. Things they should not say and do, but there they have a space in which they can. I notice it, it is like a space in which they feel freer, where their true selves come out, that rage, that is where they let it out. Maybe with their brother-in-law, or their friends in the street, they don't behave like that."

(E.5) "Yes, it is very common, I don't know, that they start talking… they put on porn videos, for example, and they start to talk about sex, but not in… let's say, not in a normal way. Because, shit, I talk about sex with my friends, I talk about sex with people, there is no problem, but in a normal way, without making either of the participants less than the other."

(E.11) "It is true that they often make inappropriate comments, but it also depends on the levels of macho attitudes that they have assimilated. There is always the typical: "if you don't like it you can leave" or the bad jokes or when on the TV you see some… 'you see, that doesn't come out. You feminists don't complain about that'. That is the general tone.[…] There comes a moment when you don't leave the conversations at work that are more or less what they want to talk about."

In contrast, other interviewees, although they recognise that these *male-bonding* situations occur, deny that they are discriminatory towards women, understanding that they can get involved in these masculine dynamics if they want to.

(E.6) "There were groups that were like that, but it is for you to integrate yourself into those groups and feel that you belong, you can't let them bully you."

(E.7) "I mean, masculine conversations take place everywhere. That is obvious. The thing is, I have seen the girls participating in them. I mean, they don't get offended if they talk about whether they went out partying or they didn't go out partying. I have seen the girls happily talking to the boys, and it doesn't offend them at all. When they get out of line, sure, but they also don't get offended when you say to them, look, well watch that vocabulary, or watch that mouth, or…

[And can they get involved in the conversation? Is there an equal relationship there?]

Yes, I don't see any difference."

(E.10) "I mean, are the conversations masculine? Well, like if you go to a bar and it is full of men. You understand their conversations. About football or whatever. Is that masculine? Maybe. […] It is true that when the majority are men, it could be, but there is also… I have enjoyed those conversations a lot and I have learnt a lot from my male colleagues."

The double presence, is an element that has appeared in many of the responses. Bearing in mind that they are people with a salaried job, they recognise that they are also women who must take charge of raising their children and who do unpaid work in the private sphere.

(E.9) "Once you become a mother, most of us who take reduced working hours are women. So, what is going on? Women are always frowned upon because we ask for more rights to be able to take our children to school or be able to reconcile family and working life. […] But nobody sees that it is you who has to stay at home, while your husband is away for a week, and you are alone with the little girl, with the house, and you have to keep going to work. And even if I arrive later, the work I have to do I have to do anyway. So, maybe I go to manoeuvrers or to work a shift or things like, that, but I have to do the same job in less time."

(E.9) "It is very easy when they are Colonels, Generals, Lieutenant Colonels, right? I'm talking about the higher ranks. It is easy to say 'you have to be here, you have to, you are soldiers, because of this or that' when your entire life you have had your wife at home looking after the house and bringing up your children, and you go where you like and you don't have to go through this because it was your wife who was at home taking care of them. So it is easy to say 'no, you have to sacrifice yourself more'. It is easy because they have not experienced it, they have lived it from a different perspective. You know? But we, caring for our children, obviously we live it more… we are more on the front line."

(E.3) "Uff… to start with, men look down on reconciling family life. If you ask for paternity leave it is frowned upon. Look, the other day, a new guy, who has had a child, they say

"he's only been here three months and he is already asking for reduced hours", and I say "you have that". He says "yeah, I'm not blaming him, but I have been here longer. But in any case, they don't have shared custody, the mother is there to look after it".

(E.7) "I mean, that's clear. Myself, for example, with my daughter, I would not go on a mission, I would not go for six months on a mission and leave my 5-year-old daughter. I am clear about that. When she is 10, maybe I would think about it. Now, I have colleagues who have gone on missions, even though their wife was pregnant. I mean, they weren't here for the birth of their children"

Some of the women interviewed, although not the majority, explain how there are explicit difficulties that prevent women occupying the higher ranks. They don't use the term, but they do describe situations that can be associated with the **glass ceiling**.

(E.2) "The Army is patriarchal from the moment in which the number of women in the army is so much smaller. Now, women have been in the army 31 years, this year it will be 31 years. When those women came in, there were some places they could not go. Although this has changed over the years. Even still, eh…. There are very few women in high ranking positions, in fact, I think it was last week that the first woman became a general. So yes, I do think it is patriarchal, since they have put brakes on the careers of women."

(E.9) "Well, because the majority of commanders are men, because the high command is usually men. Because it is very rare to find a woman commander, you know? Extremely rare."

The phenomenon of **acculturation** is present in all the interviews, one way or another, whether it is because they adopt a masculine discourse, or because they are critical of the situation of women in the Armed Forces as a minority group, it is clear that it is a constant that runs through all twelve interviews.

(E.6) […] "you have to integrate. There are groups that are like that, but it is you who has to integrate yourself into those groups and feel that you are part of the group, you can't let them humiliate you. But that already happened, already… when we first joined, we had to suffer that, but not now. [You haven't noticed it?] Yes, I have seen and heard things, I have had to defend myself, but that was at the start. But they do it to tease us, not… the thing is, you come in there and you have to say "Oi, what's your problem? I'll sock you one, any minute now". You have to react, not back off and leave. […] But the ones that were here before, who didn't know us and didn't want women, because they didn't want women, they have got to know us and they are living with us and they have accepted us."

In this environment of acculturation, in which women are the minority group, **token women** emerge. Of the twelve women interviewed, all have experienced heightened **visibility**. They all explain how women are noticed more and more is demanded of them. As a result of the **over representation,** they act as a symbol for all women.

(E.9) "In general I have good male colleagues who… well, they are there, they help you, or they don't have a problem with you, but of course, there are many cases, many cases of men who think they are better than you and that they can do things better than you, you know? That you are not good enough. A woman always has to prove herself more, you know? I mean, in the army, you, as a woman, just because you are a woman, you have to prove yourself more, you know? You have to demonstrate that you are able to do the same as them, it is not taken for granted, you know?"

It is striking how many of the interviewed women, on being asked how they think an army made up of only women would be, say that it would be impossible because of how badly women get on with each other. Women see themselves as their own worst enemy and it is very difficult to establish bonds of comradeship with other women.

(E.8) "We would have to try it, because maybe us women would fight so much we would end up with a civil war, every 50 years another civil war (she laughs). Whenever many women are in the same place it seems there is an argument, because there is competition. If this were thought out by more women than men, we would still end up fighting. And don't even ask about periods"

(E.8) "The problem with women is that there is always bad blood, there is always a lot of bad blood. I don't know why, but there is always a lot of clashes between female colleagues, and even women chiefs. There are people who think they are better than you because they have a gold braid or a job, because she is in an office… I have had problems with girls, never with guys. But I think that is the same everywhere. In any company, I think there are these problems, it seems that we are like she-wolves."

(E.1) "I don't know, it is like… I mean, it is an environment… society in general, it is quite sexist, and often between us women, I say, sometimes we are more sexist than them. Because between us we create more obstacles, we judge each other more… Well the men are there, and in such a… masculine environment, well, of course, well… there are a lot of sexist attitudes. Less all the time, though, I think."

This type of response confirms the theory that token women face difficulties when it comes to forming alliances between themselves to face the majority group. However, it is also evidence of the mechanisms of

masculine domination, in which the dominated themselves reaffirm their need to be dominated: women are always competing for something, they are always arguing and they are their own worst enemy. Some of the responses even clearly state that they prefer to work with men than with women. Responses that also explicitly show the masculinisation of their sense of identity.

> (E. 7) [...] "Honestly, there are girls in my team, but there are times when I don't like working with them. So, I prefer... a lot of the time, when it comes to working, I prefer to work with the men. That is to say, it is easier to get on. I mean, the women always get really familiar, even if they are from a lower rank or... [...] They don't look at the job you have, when there is someone superior. But not the men. The men are different. It is unviable, a whole army of women, unviable. Whether we like them or not, we need the men."

One of the strategies token women employ is **imitation** in order to better pass unnoticed. Many of the responses make it clear how some women, with a view to being more accepted, seek to mimic at an aesthetic level.

> (E.1) "There are many women who.... Like, to demonstrate that she is stronger or more I don't know what, wants to seem more masculine, and I don't think it is necessary, but it is... maybe it is true that... that it differentiates a bit more between the woman who doesn't care and she has conviction and is content to be a woman and... I am a woman but I can be here, and to be a better soldier, I don't need to have male traits, or look like a man or... I don't know... Well, a woman who continues to value herself as a woman, and... wanting to be good as a woman and not be a worse soldier for that."

As well as the imitation that some describe in their female colleagues, in many of the responses it can also be observed that, when they talk about other women, they do so accepting all the stereotypes that men have about the other women. In this way, they **assimilate** the values of the majority group and make them their own.

> (E.11) "No, in terms of sex, there are no assigned roles. We also tend, because we are in the minority, we tend to camouflage ourselves with the environment.[...] But once you know where you are, more at a personal level, I mean, if there is a woman who tries to behave in ways more assigned to feminine roles, it is less common, or the reverse. A man... well, there are macho guys, of course, guys who think they are better than us and think they will do things better... and he behaves, well..."

> (E.2) "If we look at the contrasts, [a feminine person] would be someone sensitive and it would be a... weak person? But

no, I don't think that it is weak, being the opposite of strong. I think that a feminine person is simply one who is more sensitive to certain things. More sentimental, more emotional, maybe more visceral than a masculine person."

> (E.4) "It is true that at work, I myself when a woman comes... let's see what she is like first, because I have female colleagues who work as just another person, and there are others who start: because I am a woman I am not strong enough to do that... and that damages all of us. So when a woman comes, well... (*Sighs*). I am a little wary to see how she is going to turn out."

> (E.7) [In response to the question of what an all women army would be like] "It would be a chicken coop. It is unthinkable that there could be an army made entirely of women. I mean, no."

Finally, because of the difficulties faced when it comes to promotion, very few of the women interviewed had the experience of having another woman as their direct superior. Nevertheless, the perception of those women who had been under the orders of a woman was, in the most part, negative. The most prevalent figure is that of the **queen bee**, and most complaints are about the female superior officer who rejects the minority group that she comes from.

> (E.11) "I had one [female commander] who worked directly with me, only one. [...] And she did adopt the role of I have to be like a man, and she looked for enemies among us women, instead of allying with us and trying to make a bit of a gang, to try and understand the situation for women on board, it was like, no, all the women were problematic."
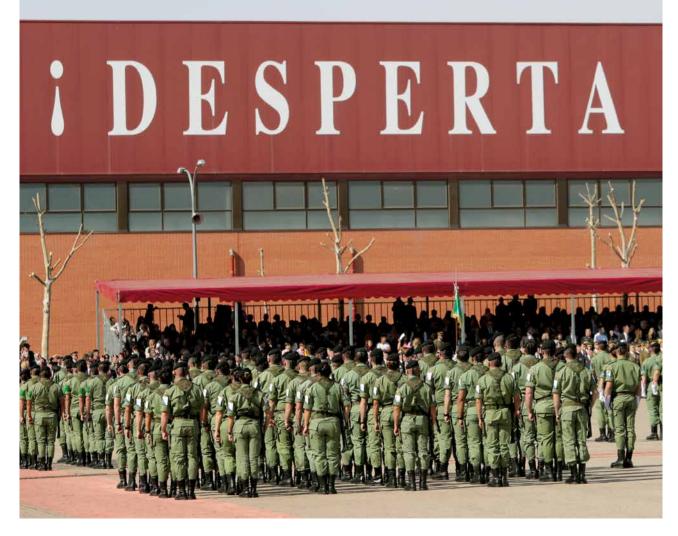
> (E.5) "Bad (she laughs) I mean, it sounds odd, but, I don't know if you have had the experience, if you have found the typical woman who is very sexist, and who thinks that men are on one level and women, we are on a much lower level, and... they, because they have made a lot a lot a lot of effort, are close to, but not at the same level as the men. So all the women who are not her, are worthless, right? Well... I had the bad luck to have a boss who was like that, a direct female superior like that"

Although they are critical of superiors who behave like that, they also clearly identify that it is a result of the environment in which they live, because of the over representation they have to deal with and the sensation that they can never fail, ever.

> (E.1) "Myself, as a woman, I prefer to have a man for a boss rather than a woman, because they are more... well, if they have to give you a day off, if they have to cede something... they are more sure of themselves, they are in their post and they have no doubt that they are the person who most deserves it... [...] They have no doubts and they have the self

assurance that they deserve to be there and… and they act that way too, when they work and with their subordinates. But women, because they are constantly being judged, and more so when they are in positions of command, well, they cannot be that relaxed. She must always be ready for action, so everyone under her has to be there too, of course."

5. CONCLUSIONS

Even thirty years after the incorporation of women into the ranks of the Army, it continues to be a patriarchal institution. Far from having feminised itself, as has repeatedly been suggested in the political sphere, it continues to maintain a clearly masculine hierarchical structure based on power as domination.

The number of women who have joined the Armed Forces has remained static for years at a paltry 12%, which cannot be considered to be a critical mass of women. Despite structural changes and legislative progress to protect certain rights attributed to women, the structure remains identical to when it was created, that is to say, made to measure for men.

It is true that the incorporation of women into the army was an important step forward for the feminist struggle against the sexual division of labour, as it meant the removal of the prohibition against the participation of women in a public institution. Nevertheless, it is not clear that this has actually meant an improvement for women. That is to say, if we accept that militarism and patriarchy articulate in the same way, accepting women into the army, an institution that bases its work on the use of violence and on an extreme vision that dehumanises the Other, in fact all it does is help maintain both dominant structures.

In this study it has been seen that military women find themselves subjected to sexist attitudes on a daily bases at work. Such attitudes come from male colleagues of both inferior and superior rank, but also from female colleagues.

In many cases, although it is the military women themselves recounting these chauvinist attitudes, they don't interpret them as such, indeed, they defend them as a part of the army, that they have to accept and naturalise in order to adapt to the majority group. All these responses offer support to the theory of the acculturation of women in a context, the army, in which the pressure to integrate into the majority group pushes them to imitate that group.

ALTERNATIVES TO PATRIARCHY AND MILITARISM

Critiques of power as domination have emerged from the fields of both anti-militarism and feminism: there is another way of exercising power, just as there are other ways of resolving conflicts. Opposing binomials in which one must exercise power over the other through a relationship of subordination (man-woman) / (friend-foe) cease to be seen as natural, and can be thought about from another perspective.

The antimilitarist movement decries the acceptance and promotion of the idea that this is the only solution

for peace keeping. It stresses raising awareness of the social acceptance of militarism's imposed structures, and it calls for "horizontality instead of hierarchical relationships; equality between men and women as against the sexism that prevails in military structures" (Calvo, 2018).

For its part, feminism, in an attempt to avoid connections with masculinity, from a number of different theoretical backgrounds, has reconceptualised power as capacity, with the idea that that capacity serves to empower and transform oneself and others (Allen, 2005). With this conceptualisation of *power for*, we find theories of care feminism, ecofeminism and sexual difference. Authors such as Miller do not accept the definition of power as domination and, in its place, they describe ""the *capacity to produce* a *change*— that is, to move anything from point A or state A to point *B* or state *B*." In fact, what they argue is that the very idea of power as domination is masculine. From the point of view of women, power should be understood in a different way. They criticise the centrality given to masculine power in "State authority, politics, the Army, the economic control of resources, control of technology, hierarchy and the chain of command" (De la Fuente, 2013: 73-78).

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