# Organizational culture of military institutions with regard to the gender aspects: A systematic review

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#### **Abstract**

The values, norms, attitudes, and symbols within military organizations have traditionally been somewhat aligned with masculine traits. The aim of this paper is to investigate the precise manifestations of masculinity within the organizational culture of military institutions and to compare it with formal efforts and politics. The systematic review identified existing peer-reviewed literature in English or Czech in two electronic databases - Web of Science and Scopus. It was performed according to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines. The results confirm the expectation that, despite formal instruments and standards supporting gender equality, the military is an organization still strongly based on masculine characteristics and associated with values and norms traditionally attributed to men. Nevertheless, in line with broader societal movements toward gender equality, there is some evidence of an attempt to integrate feminine aspects into the organizational culture of military institutions.

**Keywords:** organizational culture, military, gender, gender equality, systematic review

#### Introduction

The organizational culture can be defined as a set of shared ideas that organizational members adopt in an effort to adapt to the environment and to foster internal cohesion. It is imparted to new employees as the correct understanding of organizational facts, the correct way of thinking about these facts, and the desired emotional relationships toward these facts" (Schein, 1985). Organizational culture, therefore, possesses a normative character. New employees must quickly orient themselves in the given environment to follow the required values and norms and understand what behavior is tolerated or,

conversely, penalized. Organizational culture encompasses the symbols, values and norms and basic assumptions (Schein, 1992).

The symbols are easily observable and can be divided into material (e.g., logo, architecture, dress code, workplace design and equipment) and immaterial (e.g., customs, ceremonies, language, heroes). Values and norms regulate how members of an organization should behave. The basic assumptions are quite stable and resistant to change. They are based on the previous experience of how to solve problems (Lukasova et al., 2004).

Historically, the military has been characterized as a patriarchal institution, rooted in masculine values, norms, and stereotypes (Golan, 1997). Throughout history, military, defense, and security-related organizations have predominantly been male-dominated, with masculinity exerting a significant influence on their organizational culture and practices (Kronsell, 2005). Military culture is often described as competitive, disciplined, and hierarchical (Higate, 2003), as cited by McCallister, Callaghan & Fellin (2018). This culture has traditionally placed a premium on 'manly' characteristics, including heterosexuality, competitiveness, dominance, rationality, and physical strength. Research on the role of women in the armed forces has been plagued by numerous stereotypes, such as portraying men as 'just warriors' and women as 'beautiful souls' (Elshtain, 1995), or as Tickner put it, 'to be a soldier is to be a man, not a woman' (Rokvić, Stanarević, 2016). Even today, the presence of women in the military is often considered 'atypical' and 'unusual' (Atzori et al., 2008). The prevailing military masculinity culture stands in stark contrast to a civilian 'feminine' one (Alvinius, Holmberg, 2023). Nevertheless, in recent decades, numerous formal instruments have been developed to promote gender equality. The research question of the paper is stated as follows: Do the norms and values established by formal instruments and gender equality standards align with the organizational culture of military institutions in their daily expressions, encompassing non-formal attitudes, values, and assumptions?

# **Methods and Data**

A systematic review was performed under the guidelines of the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) updated in 2020 (Page et al., 2021). PRISMA offers an established, peer-accepted methodology that incorporates a guideline checklist, diligently adhered to in this paper, to enhance the quality control of the revision process and ensure its replicability.

#### **Eligibility Criteria**

The selection criteria were established according to the research question, and the results were organized in a table. To address our specific research question, the inclusion criteria included (I) articles written in English or Czech, (II) papers published in peer-reviewed academic journals between 2010 and 2023, (III) original research studies and (IV) solely articles examining the organizational culture of military

institutions with regard to the gender aspects. Non-English and non-Czech language articles, reviews or guidelines, letters to the editor, conference abstracts, and dissertation theses were excluded.

# **Search Strategy and Selection Process**

A search strategy was performed on two electronic databases (Web of Science and Scopus) during September of 2023. Databases were searched separately by two researchers. To improve the chances of finding relevant sources, Boolean Operators were used to combine search terms and its derivatives: ("military" OR "armed forces" OR "army"...) AND ("gender equality" OR "gender integration" OR "feminine" OR "masculine"...) AND ("organizational culture" OR "corporate culture" OR "shared values"...).

The articles from both databases were imported into the Rayyan systematic review software (Ouzzani et al., 2016) to proceed with the selection process. A multi-stage process was performed by four of the researchers, as follows: inclusion of articles from both databases in the Rayyan software, exclusion of repeated articles and articles in non-English and non-Czech languages (identified by the software), screening of the titles and abstracts, elimination of articles with no full text available, analysis of full texts of potentially relevant articles, integration of results of included articles and their comprehensive examination.

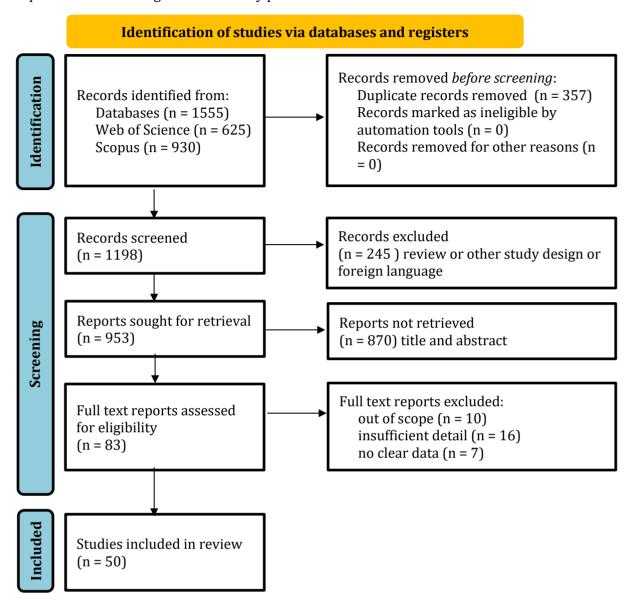
## **Data Extraction Process and Quality Assessment**

All four researchers independently conducted data extraction and assessed the quality of articles. They recorded the data extracted from each study in an evidence table. Any differences were resolved through consensus when necessary.

# **Results**

In the initial database search, we identified 1555 records. Following the removal of duplicate entries, we examined 1198 records. Of these, 245 studies were excluded due to their use of a review methodology, an alternative study design, or being in a foreign language (non-English and non-Czech). This left us with 953 records to screen based on their titles and abstracts, and 870 of these were eliminated as they didn't directly address our research question. In the final stage, we thoroughly reviewed the full text of the remaining 83 articles, excluding some due to insufficient information. Ultimately, 50 articles met our inclusion criteria for the review (as illustrated in Figure 1).

Graph 1: Flow chart diagram of the study process



Source: (Page et al., 2021), modified by authors

The findings are as follows: The number of women in the armed forces of major nations around the world is on the rise, albeit at a relatively slow pace. Barriers to women's entry into the military are gradually diminishing. Several organizations, including the UN and NATO, have emphasized in their official documents that the inclusion of women in all aspects of society is essential for achieving peace, economic prosperity, and social development (Rokvić, Stanarević, 2016). Examples of these efforts include the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, UN Security Council Resolution 1325, and Women, Peace, and Security Norms (Baek, Skjelsbaek, 2023; Rokvić, Stanarević, 2016). However, a lingering question remains: How do these formal tools impact the daily lives of men and women in the military, and are organizational culture, along with non-formal relationships, norms, and attitudes, changing in response to these initiatives?

The analyzed studies identify a variety of norms that manifest in the everyday life of military institutions, often linked to military objectives such as combat, survival, and fulfilling wartime missions. These norms encompass attributes such as physical toughness, courage, teamwork, competence, stress management, discipline, resilience in the face of pain or physical discomfort (Alfred, Hammer & Good, 2014), perceived stigma related to seeking mental health care, and externalizing behaviors, including risk-taking, violence, and substance abuse (Jakupcak, Primack & Solimeo, 2017, as well as references to Lorber and Garcia (2010) in Jakupcak, Primack & Solimeo, 2017, and McCallister, Callaghan & Fellin, 2018). Additionally, there is a desire for status and control, emotional regulation, tolerance for violence, a drive to win, and both hostile and benevolent sexism (Schaefer et al., 2021b).

The revealed aspects of the military organisation culture – values, assumptions and attitudes – are categorized into broader themes in the following text: (I) Sexism, (II) Unit cohesion and team spirit, (III) Unsuitability of women for the military, (IV) Physical and mental fitness, (V) Combat roles, (VI) Power and leadership, (VII) Restrictive emotionality.

#### **Sexism**

Several studies focus on sexism in the military. The specific manifestations may include impersonal sexual harassment, sexual preferences, hostile and benevolent sexism (Schaefer et al., 2021b), and the demonstrative presence of pornographic magazines and films (Pettersson, Persson & Berggren, 2008). Women are often expected to conform to the roles of 'sexual object,' 'hunting trophy,' or 'protected being' (Carreiras, 2006).

Sexism appears to have a significant relationship with men's attitudes toward women in the military. In a Croatian study by Trut, Hozo & Mladovcić (2023), sexism emerged as the most significant predictor of attitudes toward women in the military. According to Schaefer et al. (2021a), men with sexist beliefs tend to rate women lower in terms of military behavior and physical fitness. Additionally, there is evidence that men's appreciation of certain attributes of femininity is influenced to some extent by sexual behavior (Lakika, Palmary, 2022).

Some authors suggest that fostering a healthy balance between emotions and sexuality can help mitigate toxic expressions of masculinity in the military (Schaefer et al., 2021b).

#### Unit cohesion and team spirit

Military groups cultivate a caring, communal ethos built on strong interdependent bonds. A young soldier who can effectively handle the stresses of military life "embraces the soldier identity" and gains the benefits of protective factors, particularly the camaraderie that is inherent in military service. This paradox between hypermasculinity and nurturing masculinities within military culture is evident (Green et al., 2010).

Group dynamics within the military significantly influence unit cohesion and combat performance. Some authors argue that the inclusion of women in the armed forces may give rise to issues such as lower physical performance, fraternization, and sexual harassment, which could potentially have a negative impact on unit cohesion, morale, and the fighting

spirit of the armed forces (Mitchell, 1998). Women are sometimes accused of distracting male fighters (Alvinius, Holmberg, 2023), and the presence of LGBTQ individuals may also pose challenges to cohesion and lead to conflicts within units (Rokvić, Stanarević, 2016).

Men tend to more readily participate in coalitions oriented toward the use of violence, especially in competitive environments. Such male coalitions often demand less initial investment and may exhibit greater durability than female coalitions when confronted with in-group conflict. The introduction of women into these coalitions can sometimes reduce cohesion, as men may find it challenging to trust women (Browne, 2012).

The concern that the integration of women into the military impairs readiness due to a decrease in unit cohesion is also supported by Collins-Dogru, Ulrich (2017). Male bonding and camaraderie often exist precisely because women are excluded. The bond of masculinity is a crucial value within military groups – a bond that women may not easily partake in (Marlowe, 1983).

# Unsuitability of women for the military

The military often perpetuates a cult of the warrior hero (Mokua, 2015b). Traditional military attributes, such as strength and physical courage, have historically been crucial for warriors. However, women may face challenges in gaining the trust of their male comrades in the same way that men can (Browne, 2012).

According to common military opinion, there are perceived differences between men and women in various psychological dimensions relevant to military performance. Men are often viewed as more independent, confident, driven, and better leaders, while women are often seen as kinder, gentler, and better at expressing their emotions than men (Boldry, Wood, 2001). States that femininity is often regarded as 'inconsistent' with military service (Herbert, 1998), and some mention a perceived unsuitability of women for 'masculine roles' (Mokua, 2015a).

According to Persson, Sundevall (2019), men are often considered the standard against which women in the military are measured. Women serving in the military frequently face scrutiny and criticism, as noted by Herbert (1998). In practice, men tend to express more negative attitudes toward women in the military when compared to other men, as observed in the study by Trut, Hozo & Mladovcić (2023). Holder (1996), as cited by Atzori et al. (2008), illustrates that women often struggle to gain acceptance in traditionally male work groups, regardless of their performance, mentality, or level of preparation. An American study by McSally (2023) highlights that women in the defense sector may be treated as second-class troops without receiving the same benefits as men.

According to a survey conducted in Congo, it was found that when women actively engaged in combat, they needed to excel at their duties and sometimes even exhibit greater ruthlessness than men to earn the same privileged status as men (Lakika, Palmary, 2022). U.S. women combat veterans have reported a persistent need to conform to masculinity norms and exhibit behavior considered appropriate for men in order to fit in

with their peers (Richard, Molloy, 2020). Women soldiers who embrace masculinity norms tend to report more successful performance in combat roles (King, 2016).

Women in the military are often expected to conform to male norms. Unassertive behavior by a woman may lead others to perceive her as less talented and undermine her authority (Karazi-Presler, Sasson-Levy & Lomsky-Feder, 2018).

## Physical and mental fitness

Many masculine values, including physical toughness, courage, teamwork, competitiveness, stress management, discipline, and the ability to endure pain and physical discomfort, are essential traits for the demanding tasks of combat, survival, and mission accomplishment (Alfred, Hammer & Good, 2014). These attributes are closely linked to the physical and mental fitness of soldiers.

Women are often regarded as physically weaker and having "insufficient" capacity to fulfil military duties compared to men. In terms of physical condition, as indicated by Epstein et al. (2013), both aerobic and anaerobic fitness levels are typically lower in women when compared to men. This lower overall work capacity means that women often need to exert themselves more than men to achieve the same level of output. Consequently, women may tire earlier and face an increased risk of overuse injuries. Additionally, the body structure of women predisposes them to a higher incidence of stress fractures, as observed by Epstein et al. (2013).

Several authors, including Mitchell (1998, as cited by Rokvić, Stanarević, 2016), and Persson, Sundevall (2019), have highlighted the perception of lesser physical ability. According to a respondent in a Danish qualitative study, "As a woman, you must prove that you are always good enough, especially physically, that you can keep up with the boys. You are not measured on your intelligence, but on how many pull ups you can take or how fast you can run" (Svop, 2021).

In this Danish qualitative study, marines often perceive women as unsuited for their service due to concerns about their physical strength, which is considered essential for the occupation. However, they also acknowledge that these differences could potentially be overcome through military training (Van Douwen, Van den Brink & Benschop, 2022). In contrast, another study argues that gender differences persist even after basic training (Epstein et al., 2013; McSally, 2023) and contends that the arguments suggesting women are not capable of combat or handling the stresses of military service have been disproved.

The physical and mental attributes of men are often constructed in alignment with traditional notions of violence and warfare, while women are commonly associated with concepts of peace and the giving of life (Tidy, 2018).

Several studies suggest that women often exhibit lower physical fitness levels than men. However, the issue arises when this physical difference is unfairly associated with aspects that are fundamentally unrelated to physical strength, such as sexism and leadership.

#### **Combat roles**

The inclusion of women in combat operations and roles is a topic of high debate. Despite formal policy provisions stipulating that women have an open career path in the military, there remains widespread resistance to women serving in combat roles (Mokua, 2015a). Nicolas argues that during her service in the US armed forces, she encountered two prevalent myths and stereotypes: "women do not have upper body strength" and "women are too emotional to lead in combat" (Nicolas, 2014).

In a Portuguese survey, 60% of military cadets advocate for women's participation in all military tasks, including combat roles, while 20% believe that women should be limited to administrative, logistical, and technical support functions. Another 20% propose that women could undertake operational tasks but not engage in combat roles (Malheiro, Bessa & Reis, 2023). The traditional view of women in the war system is often as "mothers, wives, and sweethearts", "nurses, prostitutes, and social workers", rather than soldiers (West, Antrobus, 2023).

According to an Israeli study, female soldiers in both combat and non-combat units exhibited higher stress levels than their male counterparts. Female soldiers in combat roles were more similar to male soldiers than to female non-combat soldiers across several psychological measures, but they also reported feeling "more commitment and challenge" (Tarrasch et al., 2011).

## Power and leadership

All the other groups mentioned above can be related to power and leadership in some way. Schaefer et al. (2021b) mention men's Machiavellian desire for status, control, and the need to win. Power, especially violent power, is often perceived as masculine (Connell, 1987), while women are frequently portrayed as lacking power and being victims of violence.

According to Karazi et al. (2018), power can be a source of both pleasure and empowerment, as well as shame for women in commander positions. Their exercise of power can lead to negative, critical reactions and ridicule. It challenges accepted gender norms by crossing boundaries and using military power traditionally reserved for men. The sense of shame may serve as a barrier that hinders women from pursuing positions of power in the future. Additionally, there are various other barriers to leadership, including personal, departmental, institutional, and societal obstacles (Zdravkovic et al., 2020).

## **Restrictive emotionality**

Beliefs about women being more emotional than men are often used to justify gendered power imbalances. The requirement for emotional self-control, a masculine imperative, bestows prestige on men and positions them as superior to women (Sasson-Levy, 2008). This societal view may lead to the suppression of emotions.

As a consequence, soldiers may struggle to find a way to communicate their distress and problems (Green et al., 2010; Lorber, Garcia, 2010). Military training frequently emphasizes the importance of emotional control, as it's perceived to enhance survival and

mission success (Lorber, Garcia, 2010). This form of "secondary socialization" (Arkin, Dobrofsky, 1978) is prominent in the Armed Services, where strict adherence to hypermasculine ideals is institutionalized.

# **Discussion**

While the number of gender and diversity interventions has significantly increased, research indicates that they are often ineffective or even counterproductive. This is primarily due to resistance from organizational members driven by myths and persistent ideas (Lombardo, Meragert, 2013). Normative conceptions tend to reinforce dominant cultural patterns and actively contribute to their perpetuation (Carreiras, 2010).

Non-formal forces of segregation within the military persist (Collins-Dogru, Ulrich, 2017). Women represent a growing but still a minority in most Western militaries. In their daily activities, women often confront institutional norms deeply rooted in rituals, routines, symbols, and language that are defined without, or even against, them (Kronsell, 2005), leading to issues like discrimination, harassment, and sexual assaults (Davisa, 2022).

The impact of policies, standards, and norms for gender equality depends, among other things, on the region where they are implemented and the local mentality. For instance, in Norway, gender equality is considered a "natural" part of the national identity, and gender instruments are perceived as less relevant (Baek, Skjelsbaek, 2023). In countries with strong male-dominated cultures, such as Colombia, such policies are considered more relevant (Fernandez-Osorio et al., 2023), but they may be harder to enforce.

In military organizations, there are still numerous gender-related issues that disproportionately affect women. However, there have been some positive findings about the impact of the military environment on women. For example, Shahrabani, Garyn-Tal (2019) confirmed the positive impact of military service on women's self-efficacy and risk attitude.

Based on the study of sources, the following suggestions can be formulated to improve the situation in the field of gender aspects of military organizational culture:

- Integration of Women in Ground Combat Roles: This includes special forces' operators. The aim is to reduce discrimination and gain respect in a male-dominant culture (Reis, Menezes, 2020).
- Mixed Living Arrangements: The positive effects of males and females living together in mixed rooms are notable. This can promote mutual understanding, desexualization, and reduce sexual harassment (Ellingsen, Lilleaas & Kimmel, 2016). However, the impact may vary depending on the context. Integrating members of the opposite sex can help alter gender stereotypes (Dahl, Kotsadam & Dan-Olof, 2018).
- Role of Military Academies: Military academies play a significant role in fostering cohesion and respect for women's rights. They contribute to a more gender-neutral environment (Fernandez-Osorio et al., 2023).
- Business Case Argument: The argument that women contribute to the organization's goals may be more persuasive than moral arguments (Egnell, Hojem & Bert, 2014).

However, as a public institution, the military must also conform to gender equality for reasons unrelated to profitability arguments (Holmberg, Alvinius, 2023).

- Emphasis on Data and Technology: With the increasing emphasis on data, science, research, and technology, there is less dependency on physical force and presence on the battlefields. Women military personnel do not necessarily have to participate in direct combat. Those with the most appropriate knowledge and technical competence can still be part of this new system of warfare (Mokua, 2015a). Some 'close combat roles' may still be an exception. Importantly, there is no direct evidence that women have a negative impact on combat effectiveness (Epstein et al., 2013).
- Leadership and Training: Sexist attitudes can be overcome through proper leadership and training (Browne, 2012).

Moreover, an Israeli study on women soldiers revealed that they shape their gender identities according to masculinity norms through these practices:

- Mimicry of Combat Soldiers: This involves adopting both bodily and discursive practices while distancing themselves from "traditional femininity."
- Trivialization of Sexual Harassment: This practice is a complex one, signifying both resistance and compliance with the military's dichotomized gender order (Sasson-Levy, 2003).

# Conclusion

Numerous formal instruments for gender equality have been established, both in society at large and within the military. These include international and national policies, norms, and standards aimed at promoting gender equality. However, several problematic areas within this topic need consideration.

First, while formal gender equality is fully affirmed in Western societies through these instruments, the day-to-day practices within military collectives often diverge from declared gender values and norms. The reality does not always align with the formal settings, and informal values and attitudes related to gender equality in the military persist. This conclusion is based on prior research findings.

Second, gender equality in the military, as in other spheres, can be interpreted in various ways. Some advocate for gender equality as equal participation of women in all military activities, including combat roles. Others view gender equality as the complementary involvement of male and female roles and characteristics, where both approaches are evaluated as equal, each offering unique benefits to the organization.

Interventions intended to promote gender equality may not yield the planned results, partly due to resistance. Rather than attempting to avoid resistance, it is crucial to better understand its underlying reasons (Van Douwen, Van den Brink, & Benschop, 2022).

Consistently monitoring dimensions aimed at aligning institutional decisions and internal communication is necessary (Malheiro, Bessa, & Reis, 2023). Political and societal gender pressures in the military often lead to various forms of resistance, making it challenging

for women to assert their voices and introduce alternative feminine values. The effort should focus on integrating positive masculinities and positive femininities as valuable, even necessary, aspects of modern military organizations (Heinecken, 2017).

The subject is relevant due to the escalating social emancipation, denoting an increasing demand for equal access among individuals of diverse gender, race, or sexual orientation. The armed forces have also started working on these efforts, although presently employing primarily formal mechanisms. In order for representatives within this domain to effectively reshape everyday reality toward fostering equal opportunities, a preliminary step involves identifying the specific obstacles and understanding the experiences of women within such organizations. It is imaginable that individuals identifying as transgender or non-binary, along with those of non-heterosexual orientations, encounter analogous attitudes and stereotypes similar to their female counterparts. Exploring this hypothesis further through empirical means would undoubtedly prove beneficial.

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