

THE MILITARY IN TURKEY FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

THE MILITARY IN TURKEY FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

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Military institution is important throughout the history, especially, since the beginning of the nation-states to protect the boundaries and to maintain the sovereignty of the nations. Men have been usually accepted as the protectors of the nation and women have been the protected ones together with the children and the elderly people in that nation. With the impact of the women's movement, women have started to participate equally in working life included military. This study aims to explore the experiences of women in such a masculinist institution. Besides, another aim of this study is to examine the attitudes of the men in the military towards the integration of women.

Women and men have similar motivations for enrolling in the military academies. However, their experiences in this institution differ from each other significantly. Because, women are the minority group in terms of their educational and occupational life, they have problems in the military academy and in the military institution in general. Their problems derive basically from being the minority sex in a masculinist institution. They have gender related problems such as physical environmental, hygienic problems, difficulties of working in detachments and high visibility; they have solidarity problems, because there is not much solidarity between men and women in the institution and also there is not much solidarity

among women due to the consequences of being the “token group” in the institution. Besides with these problems, women face discrimination in the military institution such as discriminatory attitudes of men, occupational gender discrimination and glass ceiling is effective for the women in the military. There is not very much difference in the experiences of women from the different generations in the Turkish Military and they develop different strategies to over come these problems that they face in the institution.

Keywords: Military, Patriarchy, Hegemonic Masculinity, Discrimination, Occupational Gender Segregation, Women.

ÖZ

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Ordu, tarih boyunca önemli bir kurum olagelmıştır. Özellikle ulus devletin kurulması, egemenliğin devam ettirilmesi ve sınırlarının korunması açısından önemini devam ettirmiştir. Erkekler ulusun koruyucuları olarak görülseler de kadınlar, çocuklar ve yaşlılarla birlikte korunanlar olarak kabul edilmişlerdir. Kadın hareketinin etkisiyle kadınlar ordu dahil olmak üzere çalışma hayatında erkeklerle eşit şartlara sahip olmaya başlamışlardır. Bu çalışma böyle bir erkeksi kurum içerisinde kadınların deneyimlerini araştırmayı amaçlamıştır. Ayrıca bu çalışmanın diğer bir amacı da erkeklerin, kadınların orduya entegrasyon sürecine tutumlarını incelemektir.

Kadınlar ve erkekler harp okullarına girme amaçları açısından benzer motivasyonlara sahiptirler. Bununla birlikte bu kurum içerisindeki deneyimleri birbirlerinden belirgin bir şekilde farklılaşmaktadır. Kadınlar eğitim ve iş hayatında azınlık grubu olduklarından Harp Okulu ve ordu içerisinde sorunlar yaşamaktadırlar. Sorunları temel olarak erkeksi bir kurum içerisinde azınlık cinsiyet olmalarından kaynaklanır. Sorunları, toplumsal cinsiyetle ilişkili sorunlardır, örneğin fiziksel çevre, hijyenik problemler, kıtada çalışma zorlukları ve “göz önünde olma” (high visibility). sorunu Ayrıca kadınlar ve erkekler arasında dayanışmanın eksikliği ve kadınların kendi aralarında “azınlık grubu” (token group) olmalarından kaynaklanan dayanışma sorunlarından da bahsetmek mümkündür. Bu sorunlarla birlikte kadınlar erkeklerin ayrımcı tutumlarından ve cinsiyete dayalı mesleki farklılaşmasından (occupational gender segregation) ötürü ordu içerisinde ayrımcılıkla karşı karşıya gelmektedirler. Ayrıca “informal bariyer” (glass ceiling), ordu içinde kadınlar açısından etkilidir.

Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri`nde farklı jenerasyonlardan yaşadıkları deneyimler arasında ciddi bir farklılık yoktur ve bu kurum içerisindeki sorunlarla başa çıkmak için farklı stratejiler geliştirmektedirler.

Anahtar kelimeler: ordu, ataerkillik, hegomonik erkeksilik, ayrımcılık, cinsiyete dayalı mesleki farklılaşma, kadınlar

To My Mother...

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The participation and the roles of women in the military are an ongoing debate all over the world. Although most of countries started to recruit women to their military institutions, the percentage of women remained low and mostly with the exclusion from the combat positions. “Occupational restrictions still exist and women are largely excluded from many combat related areas and functions. They have limited representation in higher hierarchical post and power positions within the military system. Empirical data shows that even when formal/legal integration has been accomplished, effective social integration has not necessarily followed” (Carrerias 2004: 8-9). Like civilian jobs, as long as “occupational gender segregation” remains in the military, the integration of women into the forces is seen as an “unfinished revolution”.

After the recruitments of women to the regular or irregular military forces, debates on this issue have started and still are going on among the feminist theorists. The debate is on the women’s participation to the military forces, should they participate or not? If they should participate in the military forces, to what extent they should participate? There are different answers to these questions from different feminist perspectives. There are basically, militarist feminists and anti-militarist feminists, who address these questions differently. There are also some models that are developed to explain social, political, economic factors that effect women’s participation to the military.

The participation of women in military institutions is an important issue from different aspects. First of all, the military is a self contained and isolated institution with specific rules and rituals. Due to this, it is different from other institutions in a

society. Military is considered as the most masculine institution in society, which is built upon the exclusion of women from the institution. As Connell (2000) argues, the types of masculinities vary due to the time and the society that they are created in. Because of the “self-contained” and “isolated” characteristics of the military institution, one type of masculinity, which is “military masculinity”, can be protected from the changes in the structure of the masculinities outside of the institution. Besides its self-contained and isolated characteristics, it is composed of members of the society, therefore, it reflects both the characteristics of the whole society and as well as, those of a unique separate entity, in other words, as Spindler (1948) argues, the military is both an integral part of society and yet it stands distinct and separate from it. There are basically two aspects of the military. The first one is with the distinctive character of the military, which is developed with the separation of itself from the whole society; the military institution constitutes a sub-culture and self-sufficiency. And the second aspect is “the inclusion within the greater society and the projection of the cultural values and patterns of that society into the military” (Spindler, 1948: 40). This definition is particularly reflective of the Turkish military, where both the officers and privates come from all geographic and socio-economic backgrounds and the military represents all segments of the country. Besides, with the conscription tradition, the military becomes connected to every household. This representation of the whole society only happens via men of the nation and women remain as marginal by being excluded from the universal conscription system.

Beside the “self-sufficient” and “isolated” character of it, the military institution is also the primary institution in any country with the mandate to ensure national security. Because nations need protection from external aggression, the military has always been as essential element of protecting territorial sovereignty. “Nationalism” comes at a specific point in history whereas some of the military (the warrior class) always existed. Weber (cited in Nagel 1998), describes the nation as the community that connects themselves to the same roots, which are not necessarily based on kinship relations. According to Nagel (1998), conception, nationality comprises two elements; to have a nation and to have the same beliefs. To have an independent nation, people have to struggle with the other nations to protect theirs. This means that nationalism and militarism go hand in hand.

Yuval- Davis (2003: 169) describes citizenship as, the right to kill or to die for the nation. According to Altınay (2000: 265-266), the relationship between militarism and nationalism can be analyzed through the process of universal conscription. Half of the population, in most cases composed of men, is integrated into the military through conscription, which grants the recruits the right to pass to manhood and “full citizen”. The idea of conscription, introduced in France by Napoleon in 1793¹, became the major process thorough, which an individual became a citizen.

Turkey accepted universal conscription for men in 1927. Since then, men are collected under the same roof and women are excluded from this solidarity. By exclusion from the military women also are excluded from their full citizenship rights. Because, like right to vote and right to be elected, to serve for the country is also included into the citizenship rights concept.

According to Yuval-Davis and Anthias (cited in Walby 2000: 32), there are five ways in which women are included into the ethnicity or nation building process:

1. As the biological reproducers of the nation or ethnic group;
2. As the reproducers of a nation’s or ethnic group’s “normative” boundaries (by enacting proper feminine behavior²),
3. As the ideological reproducers of the nation or ethnic group;
4. As the symbols of the changes in the nation or ethnic group (passive symbol);
5. As the members of the national, economic, political and military struggles (active symbols).

These five ways explain the relationship between nationalism and women. Contrary to men, women are involved in citizenship in indirect ways. According to some feminist organizations, like NOW (National Organization of Women), women have to share the task of “dying for the nation” with men to gain the same citizenship rights and to be the full members of the society. So, they always argue for equal participation of women in the military (Yuval-Davis 2003: 169).

¹ www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1793levee.html , 15.01.2005

² Nagel, 1998: 252.

Women's exclusion from the military, according to Nagel (2000: 83), is not only due to their relative weakness and therefore the need to be protected, but also because of the constitution of the masculinity in the institution. The culture that is closed to women is not only the "military culture" it is also the "masculine culture".

To challenge the masculinity and the patriarchal structure of the military institution, I argue that, as long as women are present in the main institutions, like military, they will have a chance to be in the decision making processes, and they will gain equal rights with men. The most important right is the "citizenship" right, which means to become a full member of the society and to have equal rights without race, age, religion, or gender differences. In Turkey, the military can reach all male citizens by universally conscripting them into military service. Because women are excluded from military service, they are also excluded from full citizenship rights. So, it is important for women to participate in the military both as officers and privates to do their conscription service like their male peers.

Like the ongoing debate worldwide, women's position and level of participation in the military is still an unresolved issue for Turkey. The integration and the position of women in the Turkish military is a historical process. During the Independence War women worked on the frontline as non-combat supporters for the military. There are a lot of unknown woman heroes in the Independence War. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, encouraged women to integrate into the military. But during that period, the idea of women's integration into the military was seen to be too early by Fevzi Çakmak, who was the general staff commander of that period.

In 1955, as a result of the struggle of a young woman, İnci Arcan, Turkish Military Academies started to accept female cadets, for the first time in world history, until 1961. In 1961, it was argued by the military leaders that the women in the military could not work efficiently because of their low physical strength and motherhood responsibilities and the recruitments of the female cadets to the military academies

stopped³. In 1992, women were allowed to enter the Military Academies once again. Although Turkey is the first country that accepted women to military academies, the process of women's integration has been interrupted and there has not been a societal consensus on women's positions in the military.

Although there are several empirical studies in other countries, the issue of women's military integration and the experiences of the women in the Turkish military have not been sufficiently studied from a gender perspective. Therefore, the importance of this study is that, it is one of the first attempts in this regard. As such, it aims to be a pioneer in this field and a basis for further research.

This study examines the experiences of women in the military during their educational and occupational life in Turkey. By doing so, it is expected that positive and negative discriminations encountered by women in a predominantly male institution will be revealed.

There are mainly 3 objectives of this study;

In this context of the above research problem, the study aims to examine the following:

The first one is to examine within a historical perspective the recruitment of women into the Turkish Military in order to understand the similarities and the differences of the experiences of the different generations of women.

The second objective is to understand the individual factors that motivated women to enter such a masculine institution.

³ According to İA, one of the retired female officer, Adnan Menderes was an open-minded person. It was during his administration that the Turkish military started to admit women into its ranks and it was envisaged that these women would be used as commanders of the future all-female corps. But with the 27 May 1960 revolution, under Cemal Gürsel's General Staff Commandership, the recruitment of women, both to the military academies as cadets and to the military as officers, was terminated and the 1961 Constitution formally defined the military as a male institution.

Finally, the third objective is to put forward the attitudes of male cadets and officers towards the integration of women in military.

In accordance with the research objectives as stated above, the structure of the thesis is as following:

Chapter II discusses the unique characteristics of the military institution and the conceptual issues that are related.

Chapter III focuses on, the relation between women and the military. The theoretical approaches and a review of the existing literature on women and the military as well as women's participation in the military presented in this chapter. In this regard, the feminist perspectives are reviewed under two headings: Militarist Feminist Theories and Anti-Militarist Feminist Theories.

The Chapter IV examines the historic perspectives of the entry and the integration of women into the military are examined worldwide and in Turkey.

In Chapter V, the field research methodology that is used to conduct the study is presented.

Chapter VI presents the experiences and the attitudes of the different generations of the women in the Military Academies⁴ in Turkey and the attitudes of the male cadets and the officers towards the presence of the women in the military.

Chapter VII discusses problems related to women's integration into the military, such as well as patterns of solidarity and positive and negative discrimination against women.

Finally Chapter VIII consists of the conclusions and evaluations about the research.

⁴ While the majority of the female interviewees are from the Turkish Military Academy, 4 of the retired female officers interviewed are graduates of the Turkish Air Force Academy.

CHAPTER II

THE MILITARY INSTITUTION AND GENDER RELATIONS

2.1. The Unique Structure of the Military Institution

“The most fundamental fact of the military structure is that the army is first and foremost a power agency, a standing coercive arm of government, representing the nation and popular sentiments of nationalism and patriotism. Thus it is a concrete working agency for specific and needful purpose, and a national symbol” (Freeman 1948: 78). Because of the reasons that are explained in the statement above, the military has a unique character different from the other large institutions in the society. Spindler (1948: 83) argues that, the military is a “corporate” part of the society, whereas, it is also a “separate entity”, which implies that, although it carries the same characteristics as the whole society, at the same time, individuals in the military become separated from the larger society both physically and psychologically by the military’s own rituals and rules.

Dicks (cited in Spindler 1948: 84) mentions that all the needs of the individuals are met within the military, such as “maternal functions of protection, nurture, welfare and paternal functions of authority, discipline, and justice were carried out”. Spindler (1948) argues that, the concept of solidarity is very strong in the military, and this causes a feeling of “we-ness” in the units, because of this feeling the person who joins the military can reconcile with the hardship and the potential risk of injury or death, which is eminent in the military. “We-ness” is also such a strong feeling that, it prevents the integration of strangers. The stranger remains a stranger until the whole unit accepts the newcomer because it is said that the unit tends to consider

new comers as hindrances to the effective fight of the unit and destructive to unit cohesion.

When a person, usually a male, joins the military, he does not have to think about his time anymore, because his time is planned for him. The first thing in the military that should be learned is that there are specific times for everything. When and how this time should be used is determined within the rules and regulations of the institution. Because each minute of the recruit, even how to use the free time, is defined by the military institution “the recruit is no longer an individual with the right of personal choices, alternatives and decisions. Instead, he is, in informal army usage, ‘a body’. This ‘body’ must be trained to react without question or hesitation to institutional stimuli” (Hollingshead 1946: 441).

The military institution wants their members to identify themselves with the military because, as Spindler (1948) argues, the military institution satisfies its members’ physical and emotional needs so the member should give all his energy and interest to the military institution, according to the demands and expectations of the institution. He should avoid all the civilian worries because the military institution also looks after his family and also supports his future. “The military situation is designed to produce soldiers –men conditioned to institutional requirement, defined situations, and explicit expectancies who will neither think for themselves nor make demands on the institution for needs that are not identified with the institutional ends” (Hollingshead 1946: 442).

The military changes its recruits in many ways; the major change is they can not act like they are living a civilian life in many ways, because they are “in the army now”. Another change of the recruit is growing older fast, in other words they are more matured than their peers. They travel frequently, see new people and gain a new viewpoint of life (Hollingshead 1946: 445).

2.1.1. The Unique Characteristics of the Military Institution

There are some unique characteristics of the military that are different from other societal institutions. These unique characteristics are hierarchical leadership, discipline, unit cohesion and the institution's masculine structure. These properties of the military are found in the other institutions but the difference from the other institutions is the style of the applications of these factors to constitute the uniqueness of the military institution. According to Janowitz (1959: 477), "one can hardly deny the significant differences that exist between military and nonmilitary bureaucracies. The goals and purposes of an organization supply a meaningful basis for understanding differences in organizational behavior, and the military establishment as a social system has its special and unique characteristics because the possibility of hostilities is an ever-present reality."

2.1.1.1. "Discipline" Character of the Military

The bureaucratic nature of the military is not original; it has the roots in Weber's (cited in Spindler 1948) classical analyses. Bureaucracy means, the distribution of the authority from a center to integrated offices with numbers of obligations and privileges defined by specific and limited rules. This is the essence of military administration. The authority is not one person it is an office. "Rituals and actual physical separation between officers and men, and between battery, field and staff officers, help maintain the 'clearly defined' social distance by which the status is sustained" (Spindler 1948: 85). The behavior is also very important. According to Weber (cited in Spindler 1948), "calculability of behavior" is a necessity in the military and acts outside of the designated appropriate behaviors are considered unacceptable. It is important because it dehumanizes the relationships. It maintains distinction from love, hatred and all purely personal emotional feelings. So nothing unexpected can happen. It is also the origin of discipline, which is incorporated in the training policies for privates and officers alike and in the conception of military law.

According to Janowitz (1959: 482), “the morale and co-ordination of the individual members of a group can not be guaranteed by authoritarian discipline. The complexity of the machinery and the resultant social interdependence produce an important residue of organizational power for each participating member. All the members of a military group recognize their mutual dependence on the technical proficiency and level of performance of others as well as on the formal authority structure.”

As Birand (1989: 60) mentions, in military literature “discipline” means, “to obey the rules and the orders of the commanders with full obedience, without questioning and to be hardworking and self-sacrifice.” As Ekin (1946: 409) mentions, “Military discipline required him to carry out all orders given by superiors, whom he often neither liked nor respected, immediately and without question.”

Stiehm (1988) argues that discipline is given great attention in military training. There is discipline in the core of military education and training. This includes “obeying” to the orders, and exercising “self-control” no matter the level of stress. Spindler (1948: 86) makes a similar argument and mentions that the main aim of military training is to give recruits discipline, respect for law and authority, obedience and to develop the ability to think logically and rationally. But according to Stiehm (1988: 227), “the best training is not necessarily the harshest. It does, though, include (a) understanding the reasons behind the training being received, and (b) training in problem-solving.”

According to Chapkis (1988: 109), military myth is “a highly gendered erotic fantasy” and no one, no matter what sex, can take the real military discipline, both sexually and personally and domination. Both women and men suffer both emotionally and physically from the military reality.

2.1.1.2. Hierarchical “Leadership” Character of the Military

“Leadership” is also an important subject for the military training because the military is an institution that builds upon “order and command chain” structure. Besides, “the military is a rather unique institution in regards to leadership; leaders are often very young, relatively inexperienced and may be placed in situations where they are responsible for the lives of their subordinates” (Scott 2003: 5). Scott (2003: 1) also argues that “leadership” is one of the key elements for an effective military. Successful leadership brings positive outcomes that include success in the battlefield. The military institutions give high importance to the leadership issue. According to Yulk (cited in Scott 2003: 1), the necessities for a military leader are universal and some in all element (navy, air, land) and same for both sexes. The necessities are: “specific skills” such as “knowledge of tactics”, “personal traits” such as “integrity, physical stamina” and “behaviors” such as “communicating clear objectives”.

The military is also the most masculine institution in society. That is why it is important to understand the relationship between the gender and leadership phenomenon. According to Offermann (cited in Scott 2003: 4), the leader prototype is composed of these factors: sensitivity, dedication, tyranny, charisma, attractiveness, masculinity, intelligence and strength. The concept of leadership is generally defined with “masculinity” and other concepts that are used for explaining the “masculinity” concept. “Is there really a connection between the leadership and gender phenomenon?” “Are men better leaders than women?” Or, a more relevant question is, “Is the military leadership inherently masculine?”

“Groups of women are believed to organize social life differently than men. Women are expected to enact less instrumental behavior than men and to create hierarchical structures of power and prestige less often. In mixed- gender settings, women are expected to hold a disproportionate share of low-status positions on power and prestige hierarchies” (Walker et al. 1996: 255). According to Walker et al. (1996) and Johnson (1993) there are three different theories that explain the relationship between the leadership or more generally “power and prestigious positions” and

gender: “Gender Role Socialization Theory”, “Status Characteristics Theory” and “Legitimacy Theory”.

According to “Gender Role Socialization (GRS) Theory”, girls and boys socialize differently and as a consequence gender role differentiation occurs. GRS arguments on power and prestige have two hypotheses. These are; “all female groups are less likely than all male groups to develop hierarchical patterns of power and prestige” and “Females are less likely than males to hold top positions on power and prestige structures in mixed-gender groups” (Walker et al. 1996: 256).

On the other hand, “Status Characteristic Theory (SCT)”, argues that, all-female groups are like all-male groups and develop hierarchical patterns of power and prestige where as in mixed-gender groups, females hold positions of less prestige than males in power structures. Johnson (1993) explains this relationship by adding Kanter’s “Token Theory”. Accordingly, women’s different behaviors in power structures are because of their powerlessness in leadership positions. Kanter defines power as “the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet” (cited in Johnson 1993: 194-195). Johnson (1993: 195) argues that, because of women’s powerlessness due to their token group positions, they start to act more authoritarian than their male peers, such as more “critical”, more “bossy” and more “controlling”.

Finally “Legitimacy Theory (LET)” implies that all-female and all-male groups show similar patterns of power and prestige. Also in holding top positions issue, LET argues that there is no gender-difference. So, therefore, “All-female groups are as likely as all-male groups to develop hierarchical patterns of power and prestige” and “females are as likely as males to hold top positions on power and prestige structures in mixed-gender groups” (Walker et al. 1996: 257).

Johnson (1993) and Walker et al. (1996), both argue that, there are contradictory answers for the similarity or difference in the leadership styles of men and women. Although some of the studies find no empirical difference between the two other studies indicate that, females are more person-oriented where as males are more task

oriented. The relationship between sex and leadership is a continuing debate in the literature.

2.1.1.3. “Unit Cohesion” Character of the Military

Finally the third issue is “unit cohesion” for the military institution. Because the military institution protects and defends the country teaching “how to kill” and “how to stay alive” in a battle, the “unit cohesion” or solidarity between the members of the institution is an important factor. One person can not fight against an army; soldiers need counterparts who they can trust in battle, not feel alone and to believe that if something goes wrong there are people at the back, who can protect them. Because the recruits are separated from their families, they redefine and reconstruct their family within the military institution. Their new family is, the men in their squads who are very important for him to trust. Shafer mentions that, the essential elements of warfare are “...men and the bonds of trust, respect and loyalty that bind them together on the battlefield” (cited in Karner 1998: 216). According to Leed (cited in Karner 1998: 216), in war time, men learn to love each other, create brotherhood and form solidarity. This solidarity cuts across the racial, age and class factors that usually divide them.

According to Gabriel (quoted in Carreiras 2004: 175), the best-applied technical skills are not as important as combat unit cohesion. The unit effectiveness is mostly connected to the “socio-psychological bonding” or in other words unit cohesion, which is generally argued as the “male bonding”. But there are some counter-arguments that, as long as the tasks and the goals of the members are similar, the sex is not important for the unit cohesion, because with the similarity of the tasks and goals the members’ integration becomes easier. Research supports the importance of the “task cohesion” instead of the “social cohesion” (Carreiras 2004: 176-178). As Delvilbiss (quoted in Carreiras 2004: 176) argues, “cohesion is based on commonality of experience, shared risk and mutual experiences of hardship, not on gender distinctions.”

The military institution is different from the other institutions with the “unlimited liability”, which means the “obligation to risk one’s life as a member of the military” and it is another argument that is against the presence of women in the military. “It has been argued that the idea of women coming back in body bags would demoralize fighting units and threaten cohesion. Moreover, male soldiers might put themselves, their unit and mission at risk in order to protect their female comrades” (Winslow and Dunn 2002: 652).

The women’s presence is seen as problematic for “unit cohesion”, not only because the men can not trust women, but also because of the romantic relationships can demolish the unit cohesion. As Carreiras (2004: 111) states, “the military tried to avoid the threat of romantic and sexual relationships, which are seen as eroding unit cohesion.” The reason to apply all these strict rules that regulate the relationships between the sexes is to protect the unit cohesion. Carreiras (2004: 111) also mentions that all the rules towards women in the military regarding make up, hair cut styles, and the design of the uniforms are to make them more similar to men in every way. The aim is to eradicate the difference between the sexes, because women’s bodies and appearance are always seen problematic and it is seen as if they make the appearance similar to the men, with the uniforms, with the hair cuts and without make up, they can protect the “unit cohesion”.

As Winslow and Dunn (2002: 652) argue, the “unit cohesion” and gender issue is not proven with empirical studies and these arguments are the opinions of the male commanders who are against women’s presence in the military.

The fourth unique characteristic of the military, which is its “masculine” structure, will be discussed below, under “Military Masculinity” title.

2.2. Masculinity, Militarism and Nationalism

Before going into a discussion of “military masculinity”, the concepts of masculinity and femininity concepts need to be defined. As Rascoe (1997: 29) states, “masculine” and “feminine” are the concepts that are used to represent “opposite and

mutually exclusive features of the human personality and behavior.” According to Bem (cited in Rascoe 1997: 38), “masculine” concept is defined by, leadership abilities, aggressive, athletic, ambitious, analytical, assertive, competitive, forceful, defends own beliefs, dominant, makes decisions easily, independent, self-reliant, self-sufficient, strong personality, willing to take a stand, willing to take risks, individualistic and acts like leader. Whereas, “feminine” concept is defined by, soft spoken, affectionate, cheerful, childlike, compassionate, shy, flatterable, gentle, gullible, warm, yielding, tender, loyal, sympathetic, understanding, does not use harsh language, eager to soothe hurt feelings, loves children and sensitive to the needs of others.

According to Ertürk (2004: 7-8), the main challenge to gender roles emerged from the women’s movement. Women resisted patriarchal definitions of different gender characteristics, like the ones mentioned above, and began to challenge these definitions as well as the hierarchy between the two. Ertürk (2004: 11) explains patriarchy as, “the definition of ‘manhood’: the breadwinner or provider (i.e. class relations) and regulator of women’s sexuality, whether in the form of protector of honour or as transgressor of women’s body (i.e. gender relations)”. And Braidotti mentions that, “womanhood, on the other hand, is defined in association with manhood, thereby being confined to the structural position of the ‘other’” (cited in Ertürk 2004: 11).

Masculine character shapes the entire structure of the military. This masculinity is based on the exclusion of the women from the institution. Because as mentioned before, the military’s function is to be the “protector” of the nation, if all women share military duties with men, there is nobody left to “protect”! Therefore, there would be no more need for the military institution. That is a resistance to the changes in the “masculinities” outside of the military institution, one kind of masculinity, which is called “military masculinity”, is tried to be protected with the exclusion of women from the institution or their presence in the combat roles within the military institution.

2.2.1. The Military Masculinity

The military duties and especially the combat branches are proof of the “masculinity”. The military service, especially “conscription”, is seen as the passage to the manhood and it is a way to transform a boy child to a matured man. According to Carreiras (2004: 96), it is also used as a tool to differentiate to men from women, which means masculinity from femininity. This notion is the core of the military institution.

According to Levy (2003: 323), “militaries have been identified as masculine institutions not only because they are populated with men, but also because they constitute a major arena for the construction of masculine identities and play a primary role in shaping images of masculinity in the larger society.” He also mentions that although there are many social, political or technological changes, masculinity is still the key element of the military institution.

Nantais and Lee (1999) similarly argue that the reason to connect the military with masculinity is both because of the historical domination of men in the military institution and also because it is men who generally perform the combat activities. According to Stiehm, the “protector” concept is something related with the “masculinity” concept, whereas the “protected” is a concept, which is related with the “femininity”. These images are constructed by the roles and the attitudes of the military institution in or out of war. Stiehm argues that, “women’s increasing participation in the military has blurred this distinction, but their exclusion from combat nevertheless perpetuates the myth that even military women require the protection of men” (cited in Nantais and Lee 1999: 182).

According to Connell (2000: 21-22), most of the debates on masculinity emphasizes the natural connection between “aggression” and “masculinity”, in view of the fact that men comprise the majority in the military and in violent sports such as football or boxing. The “natural connection” advocates build those arguments on biological make up of men in relation to the testosterone hormone. Connell asserts that, these explanations are no longer credible as the cross cultural studies show that there are

alternative masculinities. “It is, then, in social masculinities rather than biological differences that we must seek the main causes of gendered violence and the main answer to it” (Connell 2000: 23). He, then, asks how we can understand the social masculinities. Gender relations are varied. It is interwoven with race and class, which means, not only the relations between the sexes, but also the relations according to race, class and age, etc. are important in the gender relations. Masculinity is also placed in this intervened structure of the gender relations.

There are different kinds of masculinities that are socially constructed. For example, as Connell (2000: 24) argues, there are different masculinities in the history that the cultures construct gender differently. Besides, there can be different kinds of masculinities in one culture. Connell called this as “multiple masculinities”. Another type of masculinity is “hierarchy and hegemony” that refers to the masculinities that have different relations with each other. There is generally “hegemonic masculinity” at the center of these relations and the other types of the masculinities are determinant to this center one in the center. Connell (2000: 24) classifies another type of masculinity as, “collective masculinities” that are formed through not only by the individuals, but also supported by the groups, institutions and cultural forms like mass media. Connell also argues that, the bodies of men are used as the arena of the masculinity expression and masculinities are not available before the social interaction that means they are constituted with the “active social interaction”. He states that masculinities are not homogenous but internally divided, which means men can perform tension between the contradictory demands and practices, besides, masculinities are developed in a certain historical perspective and they are liable to be contested, reconstructed or displaced (Connell 2000: 25).

According to Connell (2000: 29), the relationship between masculinity and the violence is more complex than it seems. Institutionalized military masculinity requires a variety of manifestations of masculinity due to differing combat factors in which a commander stays at what Yuval-Davis (1987) calls the “rear” of the battlefield and a soldier stays at the “front” of the battle. The military fosters two different types of masculinities by educating these two men differently. Connell (cited in Acker 1990: 153) discusses that, “hegemonic masculinity” is “formed

around dominance over women and in opposition to other masculinities, although its exact content changes as historical conditions change. Currently, hegemonic masculinity is typified by the image of the strong, technically competent, authoritative leader who is sexually potent and attractive, has a family, and has his emotions under control.” Acker (1992: 568) similarly states that, “The leader and the successful organization itself are often portrayed as aggressive, goal oriented, competitive, efficient, but rarely as supportive, kind and caring” and “hegemonic masculinity” images pervade many central institutions such as the military, business, academia and politics.

As Carreiras (2004: 60) states, the hegemonic masculinity “constitutes itself in relation not only to femininity but also other masculinities: some subordinated as is the case of homosexuality or the symbolic assimilation of certain groups of heterosexual men into femininity when they fail to develop complicity towards the hegemonic pattern, others marginalized, in the case of dominant and subordinated masculinities along class and ethnic divides.”

2.2.2. The Relationships between the Masculinity, the Militarism and the Nationalism

According to Enloe (cited in Nagel 1998: 244), “nationalism has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope.” Women are degraded as “symbols” or “icons of the nation,” needing to be protected by men, who serve as the “main actors” in honor, freedom and homeland.

As Weber states, a nation is “a community of sentiment which would adequately manifest itself in a state and which holds notions of common descent, through not necessarily common blood” (1948 cited in Nagel 1998: 247). Nagel argues that, the goal of the nation is to construct the “collective commonality”. The way of sovereignty is revolutionary or anti-colonial warfare because “the maintenance and exercise of statehood vis-à-vis other nation states often takes the form of armed conflict. As a result, nationalism and militarism seem to go hand in hand” (Nagel 1998:247). Nationalism has a close link to the state and the institutions of this state.

Generally all the institutions, like the military, are dominated by men historically. Nagel (1998: 248-249) mentions that, there is a close link between hegemonic masculinity and hegemonic nationalism because of this close link. Modern masculinity and the modern nationalism emerged in about the same time.

Nagel (1998: 258-259) argues that when we put nationalism and masculinity explanations together it becomes clearer why men try to exclude women from the military institution. This exclusion is not only in defense of the tradition of the institution, it is also in defense of “a particular racial, gendered and sexual conception of self: a white, male, heterosexual notion of masculine identity loaded with the burdens and privileges that go along with hegemonic masculinity.” So they attempt not just to protect the male privilege, but also the privilege of the male culture and identity.

We can also see a different relationship between women and nation through language. The best example is given by Afsaneh Najmabadi. According to Najmabadi (1997: 442-444), the construction of nationality as brotherhood means also constructing the national community (millat) as the male bonding excluding women from this bonding. The male bonding issue is also based on representing the homeland (vatan) as the female body. It is also mentioned that, not only “vatan”, but also “millat” is a gendered term, which implies largely brotherhood and femaleness of vatan and maleness of millat constitute the concept of honor (namus). According to Lewis (cited in Najmabadi 1997: 444), there are similar language changes in Arabic and Turkish like Iranian case. It is considered shameful for men to fail to defend the female body because it represents a loss of honor similar to the loss of honor derived from failing to protect their homeland. Vatan is also conceptualized by mother, which means it is not only used for the female beloved but also for the mother (Najmabadi 1997: 445).

According to Najmabadi (1997: 446), “the differential relations between son and mother versus those between daughter and mother produced different concepts of citizenships. Whereas the male citizen as lover and son was to protect and fight for

the honor of his beloved and mother, the female citizen, and daughter was to take care of, and look after the well-being of the mother.”

As Levy (2003: 321-322) mentions, “military service was perceived (and still in some counties) as one of the main institutions involved in the construction and expression of citizenship. Feminism criticized the linkage between the military service and the citizenship that is defined by the men’s “life cycles” and also defines a hierarchical citizenship for men and women. So, this linkage benefits and advantages men, whereas degrades women as “second grade” citizens by excluding women from the battle fields. For example, the military is connected to every household in Turkey through conscription. As Ertürk (forthcoming) states, “...given that the military was the major vehicle through which citizenship expanded to the periphery, women, particularly in rural areas, remained marginal citizens, at best experiencing state membership indirectly via men.”

2.3. The Military as a “Gendered” Institution

Before going into the details of the “gendered institution”, it is useful to define “gender” first. “Gender was first employed to emphasize the social and relational nature of differences between women and men in contrast to biological differences between the sexes. Sex was nature and gender was nurture” (Acker 1992: 565). As Ertürk (2004: 9) mentions, “the premise that gender is the social organization of presumed sexual differences and that it defines the roles and identities associated with femininity and masculinity and their entitlements, provides such as starting point. (...) gender can neither be taken out of its social, cultural, economic and political context nor can it be abstracted from how the construction of diverse roles and identities associated with being a woman and being a man are interconnected.” Besides the gender identities, the concept of gender also constitutes the “asymmetrical power systems”, which defines the feminine as inferior.

According to Carreiras (2004: 45), “the term ‘gender’ has been used in scholarly research to designate the set of processes and rules that organize in each society, patterns of relationship between men (and maleness) and women (and femaleness) on

the basis of 'perceived' differences between them. Gender relations exhibit both universal features and chronically and cross cultural varieties that affect institutional structures, social interaction and individual lives in major ways." As Cohn (cited in Carreiras 2004: 46) mentions, the reflections of masculinity and the femininity rely on dichotomies such as, rational/emotional, logical/intuitive, objective/subjective, autonomous/connected, and aggressive/passive. The former category always linked to the masculinity and also superiority and the latter to the femininity and also inferiority. Without one of them the other can not be defined. These linkages are not about biological sex, they are about the cultural representations, which means "gender".

Acker (1992: 568) argues that, institutions are always conceptualized and theorized with the gender-neutral terms. This is an important part in the analysis of the gendered institutions. The people in the organizations are indicated as they have no gender but when closely looked at the institutions the social character are always men, but this fact is never mentioned.

According to Britton (2000: 419-420) there are different ways to characterize an institution as "gendered". First of all, a gendered institution defines, conceptualizes and structures the distinction between masculinity and femininity, and also reproduces these gendered differences. Secondly, she argues that, it is possible to define an institution as gendered due to the domination of one sex. Lastly, as Connell (cited in Britton 2000: 420) states, "occupations or organizations are gendered in that they are symbolically and ideologically described and conceived in terms of a discourse that draws on hegemonically defined masculinities and femininities."

Acker (1990: 143) states that, "to say an organization, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine". Acker (1992: 567) also mentions somewhere else that, "the term 'gendered institution' means that the gender is present in the processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life."

The interaction of women and men, men and men and women and women are important in the generation of gendered organizations. According to Reskin and Roos (cited in Acker 1990: 147), these interaction processes also help to produce gendered components of individual identity, such as language use, clothing and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organization.

The main institutions of society such as, the economy, the law, politics, religion, the academy and the military are historically and currently dominated by men, although there are many changes in the means of the “professionalism” and from the history they are interpreted by men from their point of view. These main institutions are also defined by the absence of the women. The only institution that woman is at the centre but still in a subordinate position is the family (Acker 1992: 567).

“Women’s individual and collective response to their disadvantaged position, particularly the recent women’s movement, have served to considerably expand the boundaries and nature of participation for women in spheres which continue to be largely male dominant” (Ertürk 2004: 9). One of these male dominated institutions in the society that women’s participation tends to increase is the military institution. Although women take place in the traditional male occupations, they still know that, they are women. But when men see women in the male occupations they conclude that the women have “lost their femininity”. In this situation the real threat is the loss of masculinity because the women can perform the job that is seen as the male job and also a job that is a part of the masculinity (Stiehm 2000: 224). Because of this reason, Stiehm (2000: 226) argues that, “even if women entered the military and police in rather small numbers, their mere presence would change how these forces were perceived, it would also affect how those forces saw themselves. Great self-consciousness is generated by having even one women present in an all-male group, and even though chivalry is an awkward way to relate to constituents and to follow members of a team, it is preferable to the raw sexism of the all-male group.” Women’s presence in the masculine institutions of the state such as government and the military is not “welcomed” if we are not working in the traditional supporting female tasks like secretary, lover or wife. Except these tasks we are not expected and not welcomed if we want to defend represent our country (Nagel 1998: 261). The

military women is disrupting both the traditional feminine and masculine role, so the presence of women in the military is problematic because men and their need to define masculinity is problematic, the problem, then, is not about simply women's presence in the military institution, it is a problem about the definitions of the femininity and the masculinity (Winslow and Dunn 2002: 650).

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN IN THE MILITARY

This chapter presents the theory on women in the military from two perspectives: the first part focuses on the feminist theories that examine the integration of the women into the military and discusses the extent to which women should integrate. The second part, therefore, focuses on the factors that affect women's integration to the military.

3.1. Feminist Theories on Women in the Military

In this section of the chapter III, the feminist theories on women in the military will be reviewed. There is no consensus among feminist scholars on women's integration into the military. Some are against the integration of women in the military, some argue for partial integration in regards to combat roles and some support the full integration of women into the military. According to Goldstein, there is no "feminist theory of war" there are simply arguments on war that are contradictory. As feminist political theorist Jean Elshtain mentions, these arguments are like a "polyphonic chorus of female voices...At the moment [1987], feminists are not only at war with war but with one another" (quoted in Goldstein 2001: 38).

Goldstein (2001) divides the literature on women's participation in the military into three approaches: liberal feminism, "difference" feminism and "postmodern" feminism. Carreiras (2004), however, divides these approaches mainly into two as, "the legitimation of the military force" and "the distinctiveness of women's relation to peace and war". Then, she divides the first one into three as, revolutionary feminist perspectives "the revolutionary tradition and right to fight"; liberal feminism

“citizenship and the liberal feminist perspective”; and finally radical and socialist feminism “anti-militarism and the radical standpoint”.

As I mentioned above, there are different terms for the same approaches, for example “peace feminism” and “essentialist feminists” refer to the same thing but every scholar uses a different term for them. When reviewing the feminist theories on women in the military, I basically see two poles. The first one is, “militarist feminist theories” and the second one is “anti-militarist feminist theories”. Militarist feminist theories contain both the arguments of “full integration” (women’s integration also into the combat positions) and “partial integration” (women’s integration into the military but in the combat positions). And anti-militarist feminist theories contain both “radical feminism”, which argues war and masculinity are interconnected and “peace feminism”, which defines the female sex as superior to the other because of its unique peace-making ability.

If a soldier is afraid or weak, is he a real soldier? Or, if a mother is politically active and fearless, is she a real mother? From these questions feminist theorists try to deconstruct the notion that women stay at home and men go to war. In this context, they also try to deconstruct the male as violent and the female as peaceful (Cooke 1993: 177-178).

3.1.1. Militarist Feminist Theories

Militarist feminist theories can be divided into two. Some of the militarist feminist theories extend the discussions of women’s involvement in combat positions, which I call “Full Integration” theories. And the others argue that combat positions are harmful for women so, they should be integrated into the military but not into combat positions, which I call “The Theories Partial Integration” theories.

3.1.1.1. Theories that Advocate Partial Integration of Women into the Military

According to Liberal Feminists, more women should integrate into institutions such as political parties, government and military. But their understanding of women's equality is up to the combat duties. These feminists argue that there are some harmful situations for women that fully integrate into the military, including into combat positions. According to them, these women in combat positions suffer more than their male counterparts. According to liberal feminists, if more women are involved in main institutions such as the military, the gap between the sexes in terms of rights will be closed. They argue that the gap between the sexes is not just because of biological differences, but also because of the differences derived from historical socialization processes. They mention that, if more women integrate into the military, discrimination against women in education and economy fields can be eliminated. They question the inherent peacefulness of women and the violent tendencies of men by saying that with the changes in technology the ones that can fight are not the ones who are physically strong (Carroll and Hall 1993: 17-19).

According to Goldstein (2001: 39), "Liberal feminists argue that women equal men in ability and that the gendering of war reflects male discrimination against women". According to liberal feminists women have the right to be involved in all social and political institutions. To discriminate women from power institutions like the military is unfair. Liberal feminists do not think that women's integration into the military can change the institution or its culture; they just include women as the subjects of the social life in international relations as state leader, women soldiers and in any other non-traditional positions.

As Mc Donald (1987) mentions, in western societies there is a wide spread notion that "peace" and "passivity" are the same. If a country is peaceful, it is a country that is not active, or passive. Besides that, women tend to be defined as "peaceful" and "passive" whereas, men are deemed "violent" and "active". As Spencer and others explain, the military is the mirror of a society. And if women are excluded from that institution and do not integrate as full participants, that means they are not in the frame that reflects the whole of the society. In another capacity, they are also

excluded from citizenship activities, which violate women's human rights. To exercise citizenship means to be a full member of a society.

In Turkey, because of the conscription system, the military has an opportunity to reach every male citizen. Besides this, these male citizens who fulfill their conscription also become literate during their military service. In this context, by excluding women from this institution, they are also excluded from citizenship rights. In this context, if women's full participation in the military happens, women have the equal rights with men in the society. Besides that, the passive woman/active man dichotomy runs the risk of being destroyed with the full integration of women into the military (MacDonald 1987: 17-21).

According to MacDonald (1987: 10-12), the integration of women into the military does not solve the problems associated with achieving women's equal rights with men. These problems continue to be a problem in the military. The implications for women in the military have always been different from men and women have been segregated within this institution.

The integration of women into the military means, on the one hand, the elimination of sex difference but on the other hand, it means the control of sexuality. According to Burrell, 1984 cited in Acker, 1990:151), before the big factories of the nineteenth century, in large organizations like armies, women was excluded and the sexuality of the members was under control of the organization. Excluding women was a way to control the sexuality. Sexuality of the members tried to be exercised outside the organization whether it is an army or a work place. This is because to differentiate the workplace and the home where the one can perform legitimated sexual activity.

Women's integration into the military is the only way to gain equal rights with men and the most important right is the "citizenship right". The critiques of the liberal feminism are because of this argument. If women can not change the institutions with integration that means the reproductions of the patriarchy in these institutions and women keep suffering from these institutions (Goldstein 2001: 39-41).

3.1.1.2. Theories that Advocate Full Integration of Women into the Military

Some feminist theorists, such as Stiehm (2000), argue that women can change the military institution by integrating into it. They also argue that these changes can happen only by the full integration of women into the military, including into combat positions. These arguments have incited much debate among militarist feminists.

According to Enloe (1988), modern societies do not need combat units anymore because war techniques have changed so dramatically over time. Instead, modern militaries depend on technology, not manpower. They need technically knowledgeable and strategically planned soldiers, duties that women can perform at a level equal to men. As Chapkis (1988: 109-111) mentions, if women keep up their traditional duties like nursing or administrative works, the traditional roles of women will be reproduced and women will remain dependent on men. These traditional roles also reinforce the concept that men in the military are there to protect the weak ones, namely women, children and the elderly.

Steihm (1988: 104) argues that, changes in the military structure will not change immediately by full integration of women, but as time progresses, the patriarchal structure of the institution will change.

According to Howes and Stevenson (1993: 212-213), although women are a minority group in the military it is possible that they can change the military organization, because their management styles are different from men. For example, women are less hierarchal; they prefer structures that are not like pyramids. Women groups are more compromise and less self-assertive. These characteristics are opposed to military organization but “women seem to be changing the uniformed military”.

According to Miller (2001: 103-105), feminists that are interested in women in the military tend to accept the policy for men as a norm and try to apply the same policy to women. But women in military do not want to participate in combat jobs and even have said that they don't know any women who want to participate. Miller further argues that, there is a gap between military women's needs and the feminist's arguments about them. Their idea is “serving in the military and in a combat role

should be voluntary for both men and women”. Army women are opposed to the idea that “women and men have the same abilities, but they also refuse to support policy decisions based on generalizations about the average man or woman. They think the military hierarchy and division of labor should be based on evaluations of good and bad leaders, skilled technicians and able communicators, small agile soldiers and soldiers with brute strength. If women were subsequently underrepresented in some fields, they would say, so be it. Many women soldiers believe that women who enjoy traditionally female occupations should not be ashamed of their jobs or forced into traditionally male occupations to meet a quota or prove a feminist point”. Military women think that feminist’s arguments are shared only by one segment of army women that are white officers (Miller 2001). Also feminist’s arguments always mention military women as “helpless victims of sexual harassment and yet potentially fierce warriors in battle”. They always tend to treat “military culture’s ideal men” as reflects all men in the military but they couldn’t identify men who do not fit that stereotype and women who do not see their coworkers as “enemy”.

3.1.2. Anti-Militarist Feminist Theories

According to Ruddick (1993: 109-112), someone can accept anti-militarist feminism if only he/she sees the war as an extension of patriarchy and vice versa. This is the main argument of “radical feminism”. In radical anti-militarism there is a notion that war and patriarchy are complementary and they reproduce each other. Radical anti-militarist feminists try to break the connection between war and masculinity. They argue that, the linkages of the women with the peace and the men with the war are because of the different socialization processes of the different sexes. Men learn to be violent and not sensitive “like women” in their process of socialization. Women learn to be nurturers and mother through their socialization process. This makes men’s roles more important than women’s roles in a society. In those kinds of societies men are the ones who have to protect women, the elderly and children.

Ruddick defines herself as an anti-militarist feminist, but she supports women assuming combat positions. She believes that women’s maternal experiences are the

most important medium to support peace politics. Women's caring capabilities can be used effectively for these peace politics. Because of such reasons, the presence of women in the military can change the structure of this institution (cited in Carreiras 2004: 138).

Goldstein defines radical feminism under the concept of "difference feminism" and argues that, "radical feminism sees women's oppression worldwide as rooted in patriarchy –male dominance of social life from the family to economy, the state, the international relations- and sees reforms and integration into men's space inadequate" (Goldstein 2001: 42).

In this context, according to anti-militarist feminists, the participation of women in the military reinforces male domination in the society. As long as the patriarchal structures do not transform, war cannot be eliminated and we will not see a peaceful and secure environment (Carreiras 2004: 134).

According to Goldstein (2001: 42-43), women not only learn to be the peaceful sex, but also they learn to be the dependent sex. Because of the women's motherhood properties women tend to be the peaceful sex, contrary to men and that property leads them to be dependent. Anti-militarist feminists argue that because of their motherhood, women are the ones who give life not take it. That is why they have a unique ability to make peace. This argument belongs to the "peace feminism". Women cannot change the military institution by integrating into it; they should be away from this institution to promote peace. Pacifist anti-militarist feminists also argue that women and men have different ways to create relationships with others. Men are afraid of being dependent on another people whereas, women are afraid of competition. Men like hierarchy and they always want to be at the top of this hierarchy. But women want to be in the middle of these relationships, they do not want to be isolated in this point.

As Kümmel (2002: 168) argues, "pacifist feminists" argue that females are the "peaceful sex" and that makes them superior to men. Women are the ones that must overcome war and armed forces. These feminists are opposed to the idea that by the

integration of women into the military might change the ideology and “undermine” the organization; they think the only consequence of this integration will be the “militarizing of women”. They also argue that in such a male dominated institution women may suffer from the violent behavior of men, sexual harassment, sexual violence and rape.

Pacifist feminists put “moral mother” as the opposite of “warrior women” and this “moral mother” plays an important role as a symbol for pacifist feminists (Carreiras 2004: 138).

All of the feminist perspectives, which are explained above, use “men” as the norm and try to develop a theory by using this norm. Some try to explain the women’s situation in the military by using the “sameness” discourse and the others use a “difference” discourse to explain the same phenomena. Because both of them use men as the frame of reference and try to develop a theory towards it, there is no consensus on the issue and these arguments of feminist theorists constitute a “polyphonic chorus” as Elshtain (cited in Goldstein 2001: 38) mentions.

3.2. Approaches to the Factors Affecting Women’s Integration into the Military

There are basically four models that focus on the factors that affect the women’s participation and integration into the military.

3.2.1. Segal’s Model

According to Segal (1995: 758), the “military may be the most prototypically masculine of all social institutions” so, either the institution or the women have to change for the integration of women to occur.

Segal (1995: 760-763) mentions that, there are three main variables that affect the nature and the degree of integration of women into the military. The first variable is the “military”. When there is a shortage of qualified men in the military especially in war times, women’s military roles are increased, especially their non-combat roles.

Also, “at the high end of threat to the society, women’s military roles seem to increase” including combat roles. “Women’s lives are risked if the society is threatened but there seems to be resistance to risking large numbers of women casualties unless there is a severe threat. Elites can assign women to combat units as symbols of national unity as long as there is no actual war; in the event of war few women may actually be deployed into combat in order to avoid negative public reaction” (cited in Segal 1995: 762). Military technology also influences the degree of participation of women into military. Technological changes are maintained as miniaturization of weapons, development of airpower and nuclear technology. Besides the technological changes, the development of contraceptives enables women to have fewer children. With these developments the specialization of the military tasks and the emphasis on the technological skill rather than the physical strength increased the participation of the women in the military.

Also, the accession system, voluntary rather than conscription, of the military is effective on women’s military participation and the nature of their military roles. “Women’s military participation tends to increase under voluntary accession systems” (Segal 1995: 765).

The second variable is “social structure”. The percentage of women in the labor force positively affects women’s participation in the military. As the women’s percentage in labor force increases, women’s military participation also increases. Occupational gender segregation in civilian structure is the same in the military if the segregation in occupations minimized in civilian jobs, the segregation in occupations in military also decreases. Another factor that effects the participation of the women in the military is the state’s economic situation; it affects women’s both civilian and military employment. The general employment situation of the society directly effects the situation of the military. If unemployment rates are increased, men tend to apply to military then this means women’s opportunities will decrease in military. Family responsibilities and the social construction of family also could be included in this variable. If family responsibilities increase for women they are less represented in armed forces. Military women usually prefer to give birth at a late age and tend to have fewer children. Also it can be said that, “the greater the movement

away from traditional family forms, especially those based on the nuclear family, the greater the representation of women in the military”(Segal 1995: 766-768).

The third variable is “culture”. According to Segal (1995: 769-770), the social construction of gender is a determining factor of women’s military participation. As Segal maintains “one force for traditional gender roles may be religious fundamentalism or conservatism, with tenets that place men and women in separate spheres of life (and women confined to the family). The greater the proportion of religious fundamentalists in a country, the less women representation in the military will be” (p.770). Because women’s social roles are affected by anything related with family, social construction of family is also important. “The greater the movement away from traditional family forms, especially those based on the nuclear family, the greater the representation of women in the military” (p.770).

Segal’s theory is important because it is the first theory that tries to explain the variables that affect women’s integration and also the degree of this integration into military but it is criticized to be inadequate and said that it only explains the situation of women in Western societies.

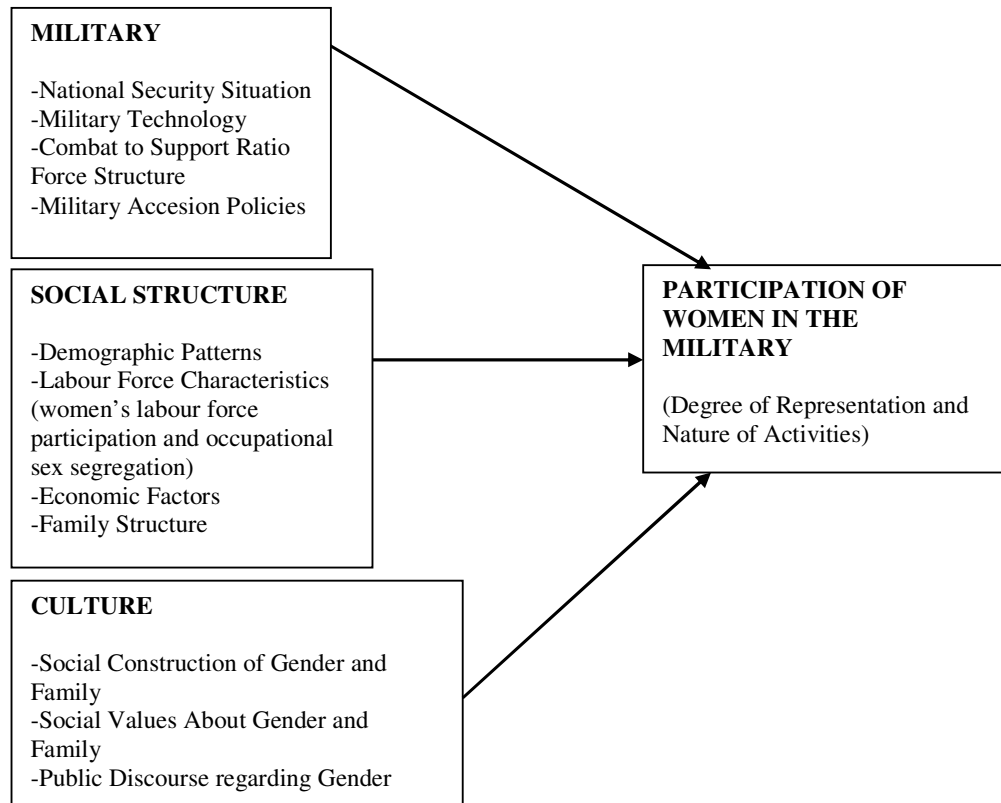


Figure 3.1 Segal’s Model of Factors Affecting Women’s Participation in the Military⁵

3.2.2. Iskra et al.’s Model

According to Iskra et al. (2002: 772) the limitations of Segal’s model are because of the research field. They argue that Segal only included women in Western democratic countries. To eliminate this limitation they made another research on Zimbabwe, Australia and Mexico and added “political” variable into the model.

As a new main variable the theorists added “political” variable. According to them this variable also has an influential effect on women’s military participation (Iskra et al. 2002: 772). “The variables included in this dimension are: civil-military relation; the political ideology of those in power, and subsequent public policies regarding

⁵ Segal, 1995: 759

minorities and women; and sources of political change other than armed conflict. In addition we believe the national security situation, listed as a military variable in the original model, is more fully explained as a political variable, as governmental and political policies and decision-making more closely define it” (Iskra et al. 2002: 790).

Instead of “military” Iskra et al. (2002) prefer to name that variable as “armed forces”, “in order to broaden the scope of this dimension in cross national analysis” (Carreiras 2004: 28). According to them, the “military” concept is broadening the meaning of the variable, when it is changed to “armed forces”; the term implies also the other “institutionalized activities” of military. They also added new sub-variables to “armed forces” variable. “Purpose or Function of the Armed Forces” sub-variable is one of these new variables.

According to Iskra et al. if the society’s purpose is to be on the offense, it defines women as the givers of life not the takers, and then this society limits the women’s participation into the military. If the society’s purpose is to be on the defense, then, women’s participation in the military would increase. And for this sub-variable, the proposed hypothesis is “The more offensive of aggressive the function or purpose of the armed force is perceived to be, the more limited women’s participation. The more defensive the armed force is perceived to be, the greater the women’s participation” (Iskra et al. 2002: 788).

Another sub-variable of “armed forces” is the “Ideology of the Armed Forces Subculture”. It is mentioned that, this sub-variable makes a distinction between the society’s views or military’s own perception on its structure. Women’s integration is affected from the society’s or military institution’s definition on this structure, as “elite combat warriors” or “egalitarian citizen-soldiers”. And the proposed hypothesis for this sub-variable is, “The more elitist and warrior like the views of the members of the armed forces, the more limited participation of women” (Iskra et al. 2002: 789).

The last new sub-variable for “armed forces” variable is “Organizational Structure”, and the proposed hypothesis for this sub-variable is, “the more the bureaucratic and hierarchical the structure of the armed forces, the less women will participate” (Iskra et al. 2002: 789).

In the “civil-military relations” sub-variable the theorists mention that, in the “progressive democratic regime” military leaders and political leaders are separate from each other, which means, there is a distinction between the power spheres of these two types of leaders. But in some countries, these power relations between two authorities are not well defined and they can cross each others power spheres. In these two types of power situations women tend to integrate themselves into the military in democratic regimes. And the proposed hypothesis is then, “In states with stable, well defined, legitimate civilian-led governments, women’s participation in the armed forces will be greater then in states where the military as an institution exercises substantial influence over the political process” (Iskra et al. 2002: 790).

“Political Ideology of Those in Power”, is another sub-variable that is mentioned under “Political” variable. The theorists argue that, if the political leader’ ideology focuses on equality the women’s participation will be more. For example dictatorship is a significant determinant on women’s military integration. Then, proposed hypothesis for this sub-variable is, “The more liberal the ideology of the political leadership in the state, the greater women’s presentation in the armed forces” (Iskra et al. 2002: 791).

“Sources of change other than Armed Conflict” sub-variable mentions that because of the patriarchal nature of the societies there are always barriers in front of the women to participate power institutions. As women feel the equal opportunities they will tend to integrate to NGO’s before the power institutions. So the proposed hypothesis is, “The greater the diversity of methods and opportunities for non-violent social change that exist in a historically patriarchal and discriminatory society, the less likely are women to join the armed forces” (Iskra et al. 2002: 792).

Both Segal (1995) and Iskra et al. (2002) mention that these variables are interrelated. Iskra et al. (2002: 793) argue that, because the military personnel are from the country they reflect the norms and values of the society. This argument shows how purpose, structure and policies of the military are influenced from the political dimension of the society.

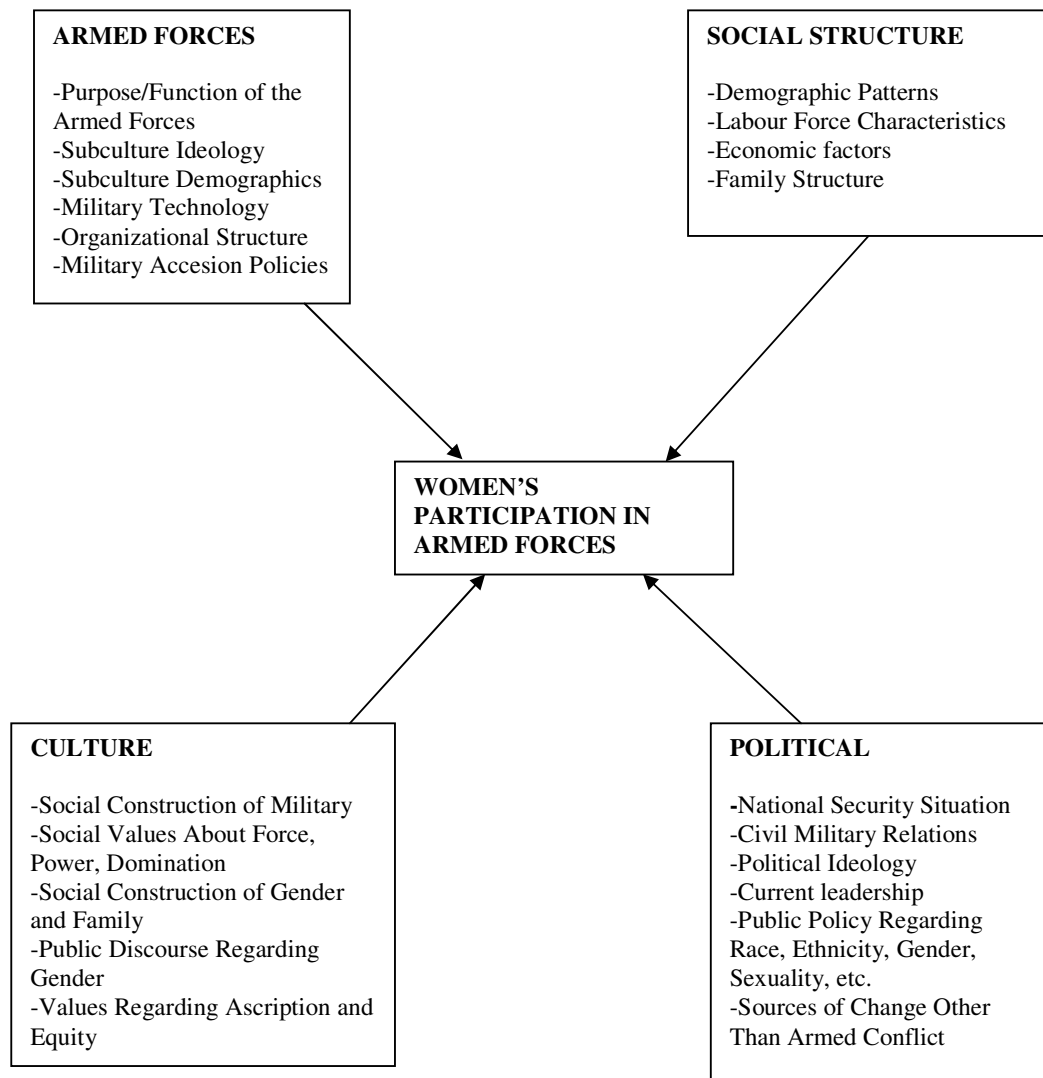


Figure 3.2 Amended Model⁶

⁶ Iskra et al., 2002: 786

3.2.3. Kümmel's Model

Kümmel (2002: 616-617) argues that Segal's model is inadequate to explain the factors of women's participation in the military. "The author proposes a reorganization of the various factors in order to include a fifth dimension: the international context, considering this a separate factor. The national context would then be subdivided into politics, society, culture, and the military itself. The inclusion of the 'international environment' dimension derives mainly from its importance in structuring the national perceptions of security threats" (Carreiras 2004: 32).

In the *politics* variable, the political system, the relationship of politics to the military and the provisions taken by the political sphere in terms of civil-military relations are the important sub-variables. According to Kümmel, the one who wants to study women in the military should also look at the positions of the political parties on the issue. Do those parties promote the issue? Are there any lobbies for women's military participation? What is the extension of the law's involvement? And also, how is the media concerned about the issue? (Kümmel 2002: 628).

The *Society* variable contains demographic trends, economic development, working population, scope of occupational segregation and family structures. The age and the birth structure directly affect the integration of women into the military. Because aging and declining birth rates cause personnel need in the military that causes the increase of the integration of the women into the institution. Economic crises may affect the integration of women negatively because there must be a personnel and weapon reduction in the army. In economic crisis periods, women not only have difficulties in military jobs but also in the labor market generally. High degrees of occupational gender segregation decreases the involvement of women, but in the societies where women can be in male dominated jobs would have chance to integrate easily (Kümmel 2002: 628-629).

The *culture* dimension also has some important sub-variables such as, "social construction of the family and the gender roles", "societal norms like masculinity, femininity and the family" and "the public discourse on gender roles". As a

consequence of the definition of gender and family roles in a society, importance of the social roles of men and women can be accentuated or minimized. This can lead to the establishment of non-traditional role models for women (Kümmel 2002: 629).

The *military* dimension contains “the image of war and warfare, the status of military technologies, the combat support ratio, the force structure, the present status of women’s integration into the military and modes of soldierly interactions” (Kümmel 2002: 629-630). The transportation and communication technologies have changed and these changes also effect the participation of the women in the armed forces. “the processes of the military’s bureaucratization, technologization, miniaturization and computerization are often interpreted as undermining the traditional male-warrior paradigm because they imply that sex and gender play a diminishing role in order to be a soldier. Pushing buttons are gender neutral; also, technologizaiton means increasing the importance of brain power to the detriment of body strength. Equally positive for the inclusion of women is the shift in military operations from aggression/defence/detterence missions to non-traditional missions such as peacekeeping and military operations rather than war” (Kümmel 2002: 630).

International Environment, the country’s perception of security threats influences the changes in armed forces and recruitment of women soldiers are included in this issue. According to kummel, in the war times because of the personnel need of armed forces women are driven to participate in the institution, but when the need is over, women are pushed back to their traditional places. (Kümmel 2002: 627-628).

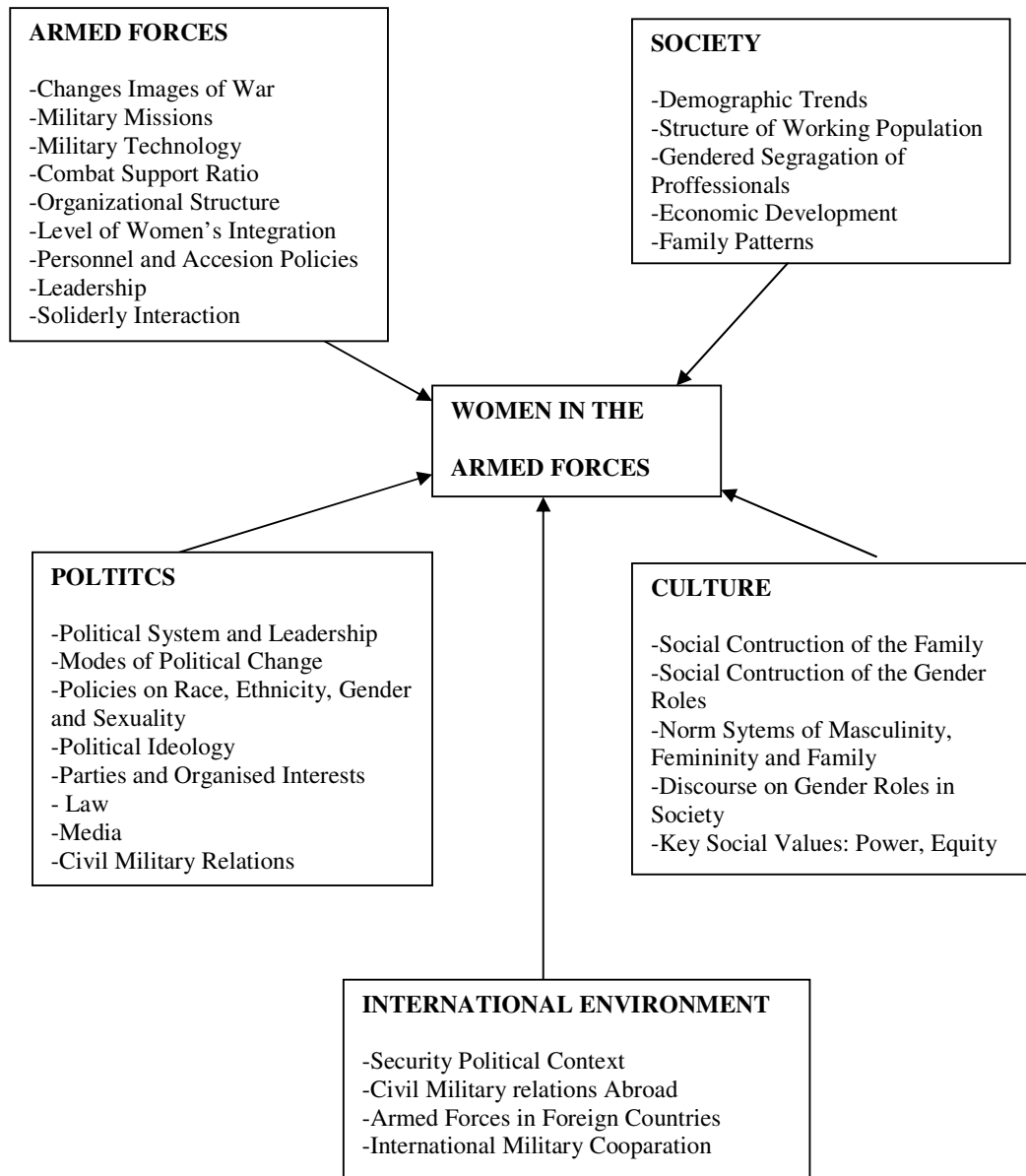


Figure 3.3 Factors That Effect Women's Participation in the Armed Forces⁷

3.2.4. Carreiras's Model

Although Segal's model is revised by Iskra et al. (2002) and Kümmel (2002), there are still weak aspects in the "factors that effect women's participation in the military" model. This analytical frame work that theorists try to make has an important

⁷ Kümmel, 2002: 631

character which “tries to be all-encompassing, including as many explanatory factors as possible” (Carreiras 2004: 33).

Because of these weak aspects of the analytical framework; Carreiras (2004: 35) proposed “some modifications to the original and expanded versions of the model. The objective is twofold: on the one hand, to work on some theoretical dimensions, not as much in terms of proposing new variables as other authors did (even if I will propose some) but by trying to conceptually elaborate some of the already proposed variables, ‘anchoring’ this reflection on concrete theoretical frameworks; on the other hand, to expose selectively some of the proposed hypotheses to empirical testing against an amplified universe of causes, using original data”.

According to Carreiras, to make an operational definition of the dependent variable, participation of women in the military (WMP), some theoretical attributions should be taken into account, these are; “gender in organizations” and “minority and majority groups’ relations”, Kanter’s work on “tokenism” (1977). Besides these contributions, also, “the theoretical distinction between women’s ‘simple’ and ‘qualified’ presence in social and political realms” should be taken into account to make an operational definition of WMP (Carreiras 2004: 37).

If look at the independent variables and the hypothesis of Carreiras’s Model, we see a separate box of “gender relations”. According to Carreiras (2004: 37-38), this separate box “corresponds to a concrete theoretical standpoint that stresses the importance of a general theory of gender relations as a background perspective through which to assess the framework of explanatory factors of WMP. It is intended as an effort to extend the reflection on the military as a gendered organization and investigate the relation between the gender order of society at large and the particular gender regime of the military.

The separate part of the model that is at the bottom, time variable, is seen as one of the most important indicators for the WMP, but according to Carreiras, this variable has not been studied deeply in any of the models. “There is a widespread idea, especially among some military sectors and policy makers, that time is a crucial

factor for gender integration and that the usually disadvantaged situation of military women when compared to their male counterparts is due to their recent arrival” (Carreiras 2004: 40).

The hypotheses for the Carreiras (2004: 41)’s model are: for the “political factors”, “The more women have a ‘controlling presence’ in society, the higher is the level of gender inclusiveness in the armed forces”, for the “military factors”, “The greater the percentage of conscripts in a country active forces (conscript ratio), the lower women’ numerical representation and the lower the level of gender inclusiveness in that force”, for the “social and economic factors”, “The higher the affluence of a society, the higher the level of gender inclusiveness in the armed forces” and “The greater the percentage of women in the labor force, the larger will be their representation and level of inclusiveness in the armed forces” and for the “time effects”, “The longer the presence of women in the armed forces the higher their numerical representation and the higher the level of gender inclusiveness”.

Different from the other models that are explained above, Carreiras’s study is not only about the societal factors that influence women to participate in the military, but also to “explore the impact of macro and organizational-level variables on the relationships, lives, options and expectations of military men and women” (Carreiras 2004: 42).

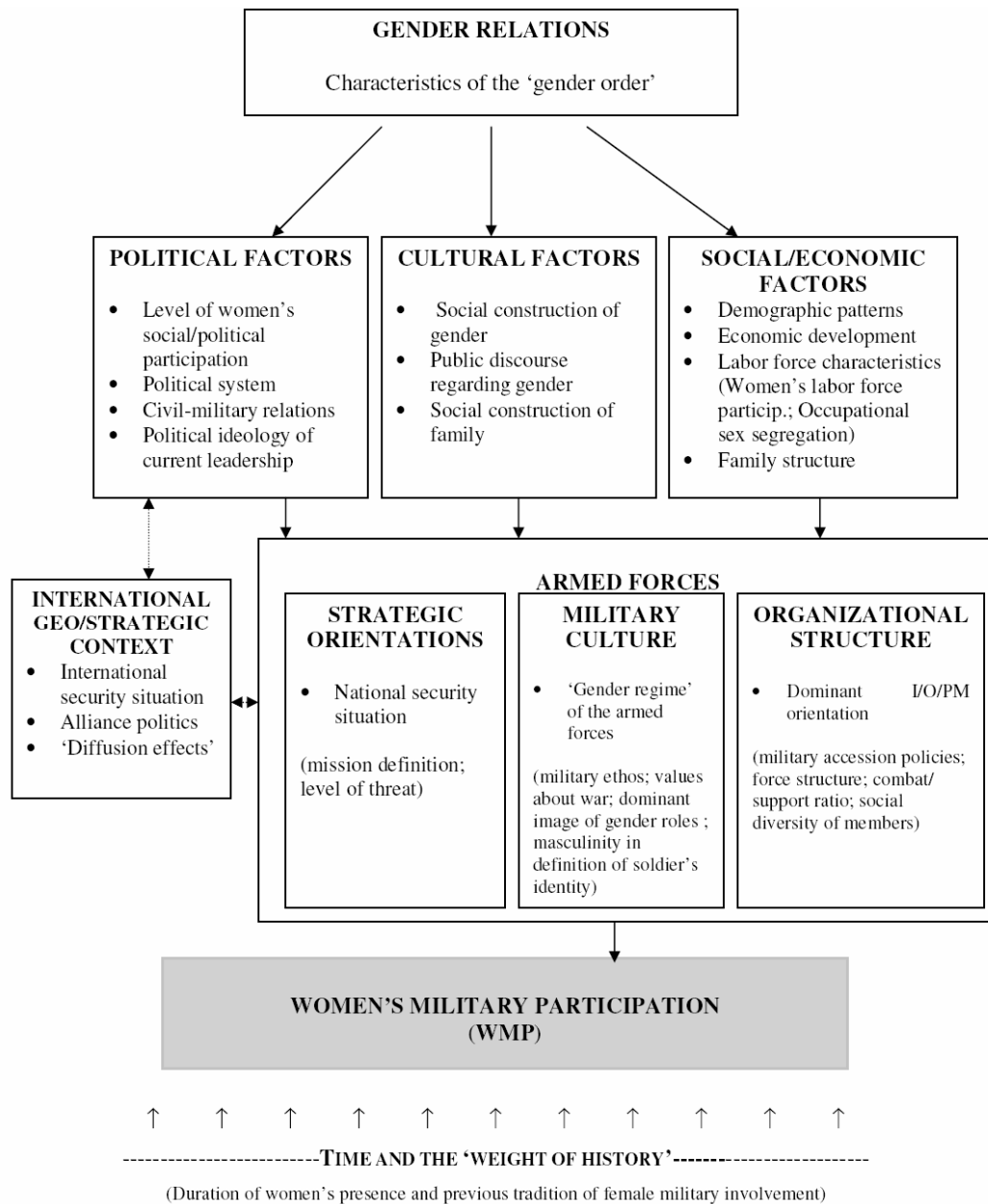


Figure 3.4 Factors Affecting Women’s Participation in the Military⁸

There are not many studies that focus on the women’s personal motivations in enrolling to the military institution. Carreiras used a “personal motivation” model in her research on “Women Portuguese Armed Forces” in 1994. In this study, most of

⁸ Carreiras, 2004: 36

the female officers, focused on the “the desire to work in a disciplined and structured atmosphere” with 87.9 percent, and secondly they mentioned “the desire to serve my country” with 87.2 percent and “the possibility of participating in a prestigious institution” with 84.5 percent and the “possibility of pursuing a career that was traditionally closed to women” with 84.0 percent.

3.3. Conclusion

Diverse theoretical approaches and models have been reviewed above. While the existing models are built on one another and therefore are complementary, some of the theoretical debates are irreconcilable with each other. Within this ongoing debate, several frameworks have shed light on this study. First of all, two concepts, “combat” and motherhood”, are very important for the women in the military and these concepts constitute core points for the women’s presence in the military institution. Because of the importance of these concepts, the militarist and anti-militarist feminist theories and the different perspectives within these theories are used in the data analysis part of this study. The debate on “combat position” for women constitutes the core of the militarist feminist theories and on the other hand, the “motherhood” concept is central to most of the anti-militarist feminist theories. The responses of the female interviewees in the study support the both anti-militarist and militarist feminist theories by focusing on the motherhood issues and positive and negative sides of the combat roles of the women in the military. So, it is impossible to argue that only one side of the debate is valid, there are relevant points from both anti-militarist theories and militarist feminist theories.

Secondly, the models that were developed to explain the factors that effect the integration of women into the military are also important for this study. In the historical review of the women’s integration into the military institution, the effects of the different factors are used for explaining the integration process in Turkish case. Because the models are developed one after the other, the latest and the most developed model is Carreiras’s, which was largely used in this study.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF WOMEN'S INTEGRATION INTO THE MILITARY

4.1. Global Review

As De Pauw (quoted in Goldstein 2001: 59) mentions, “Women have always and everywhere been inextricably involved in war [but] hidden from history... During wars, women are ubiquitous and highly visible; when wars are over and the war songs are sung, women disappear.” According to her, there are four types of women roles in war. These are; “classic roles of victim and instigator”, “combat support roles”, “virago roles that perform masculine function without changing feminine appearance” these roles are such as, warrior queens or all female units, and the last role is “warrior roles in which women become like men, often changing clothing and other gender markers” (cited in Goldstein 2001: 60).

According to Kümmel (2002: 617), “the history of including women in the armed forces and also in paramilitary groups is a long one. Whether as camp followers, nurses, revolutionaries, spies soldiers in disguise or as regular female soldiers and as supreme commanders, women have engaged in a multitude of classifications and trades and continue to do so. Yet the extension of military roles for women has not proceeded in a linear fashion. Rather, there are patterns or cycles of expansion and contraction to be observed. In addition to those roles, women have of course, been subject to the non-combat activities of military men; they have been wounded and they have been tortured, raped and utilized for prostitution.” He also mentions that in modern period which is between 1900-1945, women's role in military was as separate corps or they were totally excluded, in late modern period, which is between 1945-1990, women were partially involve to the military, and when we came to the

postmodern period, which begins in 1990s, there is a full integration of women in military (Kümmel 2002: 627).

Women's integration into the military, especially combat participation has always been a debatable issue. It has two different reasons as mentioned before, the first one is the women's weakness for the combat positions and the other one is the women's natural peaceful inheritance. According to Elshtain (cited in Carreiras 2004: 12), "stereotypes of men as 'just warriors' and women as 'beautiful souls' have been used to secure women's status as non-combatants and men's identity as warriors". Except defined as victims, supporters or the opponents, women have always been "excluded and omitted" from the battle fields (Carreiras 2004: 14).

In the beginning of the 19th century, with the end of the Napoleonic wars, women, including non-military supporters, have been excluded from the military. As Hacker (quoted in Carreiras 2004: 14) mentions, "as armies became more professional and bureaucratic –as they become in fact more exclusively military– they also become more exclusively male..." Because of the both majority by number and patriarchal culture, Enloe (quoted in Smith 1999: 63) remarks that, the militaries are exclusively male and this is the one of the most striking character of the army.

We first see women in military in 1915 as care givers for sick and wounded. Florence Nightingale gave the first idea for the nurses take active role in the combat zone in World War I. With Florence Nightingale the presence of women in the military again occurred and women served in both world wars in different tasks (Carreiras 2004; Williams 1989). But there were no women doctors in World War I. The most famous nurse was Edith Cavell because she changed all the wrong ideas about women such as fragile or dependent. She was the director of the nursing school, Brussels in Belgium and this school was converted to a Red Cross Hospital and welcomed every wounded from every nationality. Although the military hospitals were far away from the enemy, nurses were always under attacked of enemy especially when they are on hospital ships. Also nursing was not the only task of women. The First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) was leaving the task of nursing

to other group of women. They provided transport and took so much risk as ambulance drivers (Williams 1989: 12-13).

According to Williams (1989: 14), there were only one woman soldier in World War I, Flora Sandes. She first started to work for military as a nurse in a Red Cross ambulance unit. When the Serbs were driven back by the Bulgarian Army, Sandes refused to leave them and joined the retreat. They soon reached mountainous country that could not be passed in an ambulance, so she enlisted as a soldier. Sandes worked as an active soldier until 1922. Women were actually helping men, they were not fighting, in 1944 women begun to work in technical area like radio radar. As Carreiras (2004: 17-18) states when societies face the risk for their national security, women were not only welcomed by the military to join to the conflict but also promoted to take a place in the battle. This is generally happened in the revolution wars and also in national liberation wars. The common idea on the world wars, according to the women's positions, is in all sectors such as heavy industries, educational institutions and the armed forces, new opportunities opened for the women population. Although women participated in wars equal to men, when the conflict is over, they were expected to go to their traditional roles. As Williams (1989: 30) states, the women who worked instead of men in the industrial and other sectors which were seen as the men's jobs in the world wars' periods destroyed the idea of only men can work in technical areas. Also women were chosen to carry secret mission for the Resistance. They were aware that if they were caught by the Gestapo or Nazi Police they faced torture and death. Although women worked hard in military in those war years after returning home, men were welcomed as heroes and found work in almost every sector of the civil life but women got trouble finding civilian jobs, because they remained invisible.

In Russia, during the World War I, there was an exceptional implication for women in the military. There was a battalion called as "Battalion of Death" and this battalion was composed of all female soldiers. This was the first all female battalion in the history and established under Maria Botchkareva. "There was a wide consensus that, this moment represent a turning point in terms of female military participation" (Carreiras 2004: 15). According to According to Goldstein (2001: 72-73), "battalion

of death” unit is the most famous women soldiers unit in the history. The battalion’s leader, Maria Botchkareva first started as an individual woman soldier in Russian Army, after February 1917 revolution, the “battalion of the death” was organized with several hundred women. But unfortunately, “battalion of death” could never serve as all-female unit because in the war, several hundred male soldiers added to the unit and they fought together in the front (Goldstein 2001: 76).

In World War II, because of the shortages of the man powers, childless women were started to be employed in the Soviet militaries. 1943 is the peak year of Soviet women’s participation in the military. Generally they were employed as the medical specialists such as nurses and were often in frontline positions (Goldstein 2001: 65). In the same years the position is contradictory Nazi Germany women, they were “assigned to the home and the production of German children, while the men engaged in politics and war” (Goldstein 2001: 71).

The integration of women into the military has basically two parts. First one is “legal” integration which means when women and men incorporated as equals in the military. Second one is “social” integration, which corresponded to the “full acceptance of women as equals” (Winslow and Dunn 2002: 642). As Carreiras (2002: 687) mentions, the opening of the military ranks to women is considered as a trend which is general in Europe. “The whole process developed unplanned, a markedly contingent way. not only was there a total absence of previous preparatory studies, but even policy-makers admit that a true policy definition was lacking and that decisions were being made on an ‘expost’ basis, that is, a merely reactive attitude on the part of the services provided when dealing with the most immediate concerns involving the presence of women: uniforms, logistics, physical tests, pregnancy, maternity, etc.” (Carreiras 2002: 695). Smith (1999: 64) argues that, the reason of the women’s recruitment in small proportions is “to avoid challenge and change”, that means the women threaten the masculine structure of the army.

Israel army is the first army that recruited women by national law. In Israeli case, Yuval-Davis (1987: 186) argues that, “being formally a part of the military does not guarantee equally, either in terms of actual tasks fulfilled by women or in terms of

power they exercise.” Yuval- Davis (1987) also argues that, before Israel Army opened more combat roles for women’s participation, women were performing traditional female occupations, such as teaching, as they were doing in civilian work. The demands from the women in the army were “to raise the morale” of the soldiers by emphasizing their feminine characteristics and make the army “home away from home”. But Yuval-Davis argues that, the combat branch openings in the Israel Army did not diminish the sexual division of labor.

The first time in the history the largest number of women attended in Gulf War in 1991 from US and it was seen as the path to increase the number and the role of the women in the military. “Although women’s roles have expanded over time, history suggests that rather than a linear progression the pattern of their participation is cyclical. In times of war, women’s participation expands, but following its conclusion a ‘cultural amnesia’ taken place, by which women’s roles contract” (cited in Nantais and Lee 1999: 181-182).

According to Enloe (1988: 81), all NATO countries tend to change the military structures. The changes are not in the same way because all have different strengths of women’s movement. Also all 15 different societies have different historic ties between civilian life and military life, current regime, sense of national security, availability of young men for military. All these factors are effective in the change of the military. Goldstein (2001: 84) argues that, in the present days NATO countries “evolving year by year, with the policies and numbers shifting continually towards greater women’s participation. The different countries are generally moving along a common path in integrating women, through different speeds –from combat aviation, to combat ships, to submarines, to ground combat.”

4.2. National Review

During World War I In 1917, like in other countries, women in the Ottoman Empire organized a separate corp called “Women’s First Worker Corp” in Ottoman Army (cited in Altınay 2000: 269). Not only as corps but also lots of women’s NGOs were organized during the World War I, to support men in the battle fields. They were

helping to the military by collecting the needs of the soldiers such as blankets or under wears. They also worked as nurses at the back of the battles. These NGOs are the evidences of the women's movement in Ottoman period (Şen 1997: 58).

In Independence war of Turkey, it is known that women and men fought in frontlines together. Not only in frontlines as combatants, but also they worked as combat supporters, as nurses or in logistics. We see the "cross-dressing" samples of De Pauw's classifications in the Independence War, for example, Sergeant Halime (Kocabıyık), was a young girl, in her 20s, when the military called the youth to fight against the enemy. She shaved her hair and face and dressed like a man and joined the military with young men. After the war, she continued to shave every morning, dress like a man do and she never got married. During the war, she wounded and when Atatürk saw her, he wanted her identity card and understood that she is a female. After the war, she started be paid because she was injured in the war and looked after her family for long years. In the village everybody accepted that she was not a female because after the war she started to act like a men⁹.

Atatürk is the first leader who encouraged women's participation in the Turkish military. He gave the first "corporal" rank to Halide Edip Adivar and she became the first women with military rank in 1921. In 1934, Atatürk was asked if women could get the right to be officers after they gained the right to be deputy in the government. In one of the journals of Turkey in those years it is mentioned that, women must participate to the military like men because they are physically and psychologically efficient for this task and because in the modern nations, women should have equal rights with men and serving in the military for her nation is one of these rights (Hakkı 1934: 2). After the establishment of the republic, he encouraged Sabiha Gökçen to study in the Air Academy in Eskişehir and she joined to one of the internal operations, Dersim Operation, in 1937 as a pilot.¹⁰ For Gökçen, the biggest problem that could occur during Dersim Operation was to be captured. Because of this reason Atatürk gave her a gun and told her to shoot herself or the enemy if something happened like that to protect her and the nation's honor. She accepted this

⁹ "Kurtuluş Savaşının Elifleri", Milliyet, 30.08.2004

¹⁰ Çanakkale Deputy Zekiye Gülsen's letter to government for the presence of the women in the Turkish military, in 1970.

without questioning and after that, “she was not a young girl anymore; she was a young soldier” (Altınay 2000: 254). After Dersim operation, Gökçen also wanted to participate in Korea War in 1950, but because of the UN restrictions on women’s integration into the wars, she could not (Altınay 2000: 250). In 1938, Atatürk asserted that women should be commissioned as officers in the military but this decision did not come into effect until 1955, because it was seen too early by Fevzi Çakmak, who was the general staff commander of that period.

Military participation of women was seen as a part of the modernization process. Aside from the right to vote and right to be elected, to serve for the country was seen as citizenship right by Atatürk but, the commanders did not agree with the idea of him and consider it as early. According to Kardam and Ertürk, “...in the case of formation of the Turkish Republic, the modernization project entailed a break with tradition, but here too women became the medium through which change became articulated. From the dress code (outlawing of the veil in public sphere) to the right to vote and to be elected, women were given considerable space and rights in public life as markers of progress. However, the boundaries of this space and the rules that governed what women could and could not do was largely in the hands of the modern state” (cited in Ertürk 2004: 12). This statement explains very well the situation of women in the military. Although the founder of the republic saw the participation as a part of the modernization process, the military commander thought it was early to start the integration process.

Although there were women serving in their nation’s military forces all over the world, the Turkish Military Academy is the first military academy in the world, which accepted female cadets (Okyayuz 1955: 7; Savaş 1955: 15). Because the sex required being a cadet in Turkish Military Academy (TMA) was not specified in the TMA instruction book in 1927, a young woman named İnci Arcan applied and gained the right to be the first cadet in TMA in 1955, when this was heard by the Turkish media, the intellectuals began to focus on this issue. They were arguing that, “the efforts of the Turkish women in World War I and in Independence War can not be deniable and they should study in the military academies like their male peers”. But they were sharing the same opinion on the differentiation of the branches

according to the sexes. They accepted the notion of the military women to extend of the combat branches. One of the intellectual mentioned that, women should serve in the Turkish military, and take the non-combat tasks of the military men, because the men are healthy and strong and they should work in the combat positions instead of the non-combats ones (Pekli 1955: 19).

The acceptance of İnci Arcan to the TMA has always seen as the first step of the development. After several discussions and rejections, she gained the right to be educated in TMA. With İnci Arcan, three women for the TMA, six for the Air Force Academy and two for the Navy Academy were accepted. After their graduation, these women worked in combatant ranks. According to Arcan, the reason of their recruitment was to control the “all-female corps” that thought to be established in the Turkish Military, which means, to recruit women to do universal conscription as well as men was thought with the women’s enrollment in the military academies. As Arcan mentioned, she succeeded this acceptance by herself; she mentioned that, none of the women’s groups or organizations helped her during her application and during the period when female cadets and women officer acceptance stopped. Generally in all military academy integrations women worked by themselves without any support from the women’s NGOs. Military women issue, particularly, is never in women’s movement agenda. But, in my opinion, there may be no struggle for military women specially but this issue has always been affected by the women’s movements equality struggle.

In 1961, acceptance of women to all military academies stopped and existing female officers started to work as non-combatant officers with the article 926 of the Personnel Law. In 1968, the sex was specified as male to be a cadet in the military academies. The argument offered for this decision was that women could not work efficiently in combatant ranks because of their low physical strength and motherhood. Besides these, the fact that both sexes shared the same place for education was seen as culturally inappropriate. The main reason is seen as the 27 May 1960 revolution in Turkey by the retired female officers. 27 May Revolution has some special impacts for the Turkish Military. According to Bayramoğlu (2004: 75-76), 27 May Revolution changed the core structure of the Turkish Military. There

were a collective retirements and also personnel changes in the structure. Besides, with the revolution they tried to reconstruct command mechanism and rank pyramid. As retired female officers mentioned, while these changes were happening in the military structure in 1960, the General Staff Commander Cemal Gürsel and the other military leaders, who were the main actors of the 1960 revolution, changed the personnel law against the women and with the 1961 constitution the recruitments of women to the both military academies and as officers to the institution were totally prevented.

In 1983, not as cadets to the military academies but, as military personnel from the civilian universities women started to accepted to the Turkish military again. In 1992, acceptance of women in military academies resumed with %10 proportions (Durgun 2004). Because it is speculated that in 1990's NATO was pressuring its member states to accept women into the military. These speculations however have not been corroborated to date in the 1990's. The first graduates of this generation started to serve in 1996 and worked in combatant ranks. But because of the problems women faced during their service as combat officers in the detachments, it was decided in 2001 that women only work as non-combatants with the exception of the Gendarmerie and Aviation branches. In 1992 because of the needs for women officers in Gendarmerie branch, non-commissioned women officers started to accept in 2002 (Durgun 2004).

According to 2003 data, there are 1122 women officers in the Turkish Military. 598 (53.29%) of them are in Land Forces, 255 (22.72%) are in Air Forces, 222 (19.78%) are in Navy Forces and 47 (4.18%) of them are in Gendarmerie Forces (Durgun 2004). In Land Forces, which is the field of my research, there are 305 women officers that are graduated from TMA, and the ratio of them is nearly 35% according to 2003 data (Durgun 2004).

CHAPTER V

FIELD RESEARCH METHODS

5.1. Objectives

In Turkey, women's participation process to the military started in 1955, with the enrollment of women to the Military Academies, and in 1961, the women's recruitment stopped suddenly. Then in 1992, the recruitment of the female cadets to the Military Academies started again. Both in 1955 and in 1992, the implications for the women's combat or non-combat positions after their graduation from the military academies were not stable. In both periods, women are graduated as combat officers and then their branches were changed to non-combat after they started serving.

Due to the fact that there are very few research on "women in the military" in Turkey to build on, this thesis provides a descriptive account of the experiences of women in the military and the attitudes of the men towards their participation. However, to extend possible the study attempts to establish conceptual relationships, make linkages between variables as well as between theory and empirical observations. In this sense, it tries to provide analytical insight to the descriptive material. It is envisaged that such an approach can be the basis for future research and analysis on the issue.

This research covers women who are studying in the Turkish Military Academy (TMA), the active female officers graduated from the Turkish Military Academy (TMA) as well as the retired female officers graduated from the (TMA) and Turkish Air Force Academy (TAFA). Four of the six retired female officers graduated from the Turkish Air Force Academy. The reason to choose different periods of women from the TMA is to examine within a historical perspective the Turkish Military in

order to understand the similarities and the differences of the experiences of the different generations of women in the military.

This study tries to answer the following questions:

1. What are the experiences of the women in the military institution, which is predominantly a male institution, in their educational and occupational processes?
2. What are the similarities and differences in the experiences of the different generation of women in the military?
3. What are the individual factors that motivated women to enter such a masculine institution?
4. What are the attitudes of the military men to the participation of the women to the military?

To answer these questions first of all the women in the military is divided into three groups;

First Generation: The first generation is the group of women that entered the Military Academies¹¹ between 1955 and 1961. This was the first period that Turkish Military accepted to recruit female cadets.

Second Generation: The second generation is the group of the military women that entered to the Turkish Military Academy from 1992 onwards.

Third Generation: The third group is the female cadets who are currently studying in the 3rd and 4th grades of the Turkish Military Academy (2003-2004 academic year). The reason to separate the 2nd and the 3rd generation is to emphasize the

¹¹ Four of the retired women officers are from the Turkish Air Force Academy, and the two of them are from the Turkish Military Academy.

differences between the educational lives of the female cadets and the occupational lives of the female officers clearly. And this generation is the generation that follows the implication changes in the women's positions from combat to non-combat for the second time, in 2001.

To examine the attitudes of the men towards the participation of the women in the military, two groups of men are chosen. The first group is the male cadets that are the classmates of third generation of women in the study sample. The second group is the male officers who are currently the team commanders of the female cadets in the TMA.

5.2. Data Gathering

The data in this study is gathered through a research permission granted by the Turkish Land Forces Command, within the context of the "Research Methods" course during the 2003-2004 academic year, first semester, in the Turkish Military Academy, Crime Research Department.

The main method of data collection is based on "structured interviews" (questions are in the appendix A, B, C, D and E) and supported by "participant observation" technique which has lasted 10 months as a graduate student in the TMA master programme.

This is a "case study" based on qualitative data that aims to identify the patterns of social relations and the situation surrounding the experience of women in the Turkish military. As such, the thesis is a descriptive assessment of the situation rather than statistical generalization, instead of the statistical generalizations.

I interviewed 50 women and 43 men for the purpose of the research of which 33 are female cadets, 33 are male cadets, 11 are female officers, 10 are male officers and 6

are retired female officers¹². The interviews were conducted between December 2003 and May 2004.

There are 5 different groups of interview questions for each group. I gave the interview questions of the cadets and the officers to the Turkish Land Forces Command and the Turkish Military Academy for clearance. There are 58 interview questions for the female cadets and male cadets separately, 62 interview questions for the female and male officers separately and 81 interview questions for the retired female officers.

Because of the difficulties in reaching the retired female officers who are few in numbers, I used “snowball technique”. I reached one female officer retired from Turkish Air Forces by personal contacts and then she directed me to the first woman who gained the right to enroll in the Turkish Military Academy and then the second interviewee directed me to her classmate, who lives in İzmir. When I got to İzmir, there were 4 more retired female officers from the Turkish Air Forces. All these women graduated from the Military Academies during the first period of the recruitment. The interviews were done in the women’s homes and the interview in İzmir was prepared as a group interview due to the practical constraints.

The female officer interviews were done in the working places of the female officers, in an empty meeting room, because of their preferences. Three of the interviews were done as a group interview with two female officers, because of the time related restrictions of the female officers. The military bases of these women are chosen by the Turkish Land Forces Command, including combat and non-combat positions, and according to the work load of the female officers, the interviewees were chosen by the commanders of the bases.

The reason to choose the 3rd and the 4th year cadets is because the occupational military branches of the officers, as combat or non-combat, are defined at the beginning of the 3rd year of the academy. All the female cadets were interviewed in

¹² Although a historical analysis is done for the experiences of the women in the Turkish military, the current situation of male attitudes towards the presence of women in the military is presented. That is why retired male officers were not included to the research.

the 3rd and the 4th year of the Academy. The Turkish Military Academy reserved me a meeting room in the Regiment Commander. The interviews were conducted in the free time of the cadets which is between 4 and 6 pm. or after the dinner and before the sleeping hour in the TMA, which is between 7 and 10 pm. The male cadets were chosen by the TMA, from the same classes with the female cadets. After the female cadets' interviews finished the male cadets' interviews started and the interviews with the male cadets also conducted in the same meeting room, in the same hours.

The male officers were chosen from the "team commanders" of the TMA, who have female cadets in their teams. The interviews were conducted in the same room according to the free hours of the male officers, after the male cadets' interviews had finished.

The length of the interviews was between 30 minutes to 3 hours according to the interviewees' willingness and desire to talk.

None of the interviewees' names are given in the research, including the retired female officers although the retired female officers are not connected to the Turkish Military anymore. I developed a strategy to disclose their names. I wanted from them to choose two letters from the Turkish Alphabet, so the initials of the cadets are not real. By the same strategy although I have obtained all the names of the officers, I changed their initials. Besides these, none of the cadets' interview date, class and working position will be given in the study, by following the same principle, according to the desires of the female officers, none of the officers' rank, base, marital status, graduation year, interview date or any other information that can help to identify the officer will not be given. Because I do not want to put anybody at risk, I keep the names of the interviewees anonymous.

Although there is an ongoing "ethic debate" on the participant observation¹³, I believe that one can not provide enough information about the social relations just by questionnaires in isolated institutions such as military. That is why; I decided to do

¹³ For further information in Bulmer, Martin (ed.) (1982), "Social Research Ethics", Mac Millan press, London and Mauthner, Melanie et al. (ed.) (2002), "Ethics in Qualitative Research", Sage Publications, London.

observations as supplement to the interview technique. I decided to make a participant observation to get the internal dynamics, such as the male- female relations, the attitudes of the men in the military towards the woman and to feel the pressure of the discipline and the strict rules and the loneliness at the same time to understand the female cadets' and officers' experiences better.

The participant observation that I did was between September 2003 and July 2004. I did not have a covert story to make this participant observation. I applied for the one of the master's programmes in the TMA and was accepted to the Crime Research Department. I was the only woman in the department and also in the class.

In this study, by using the participant observation, I did not try to direct the group to a subject and I did not give any private life information about the people in the group. Besides these, the same principles are used for the officers in the group which I used for interviewees.

5.3. Difficulties of the Research

The first and the biggest difficulty was to get a permission for a research on the women in the military. The procedure took very long, and some of my interview questions had to be changed before the clearance could be granted.

The second difficulty was to get into the group. They did not accept me at the beginning; I was spending every day, except weekends, in TMA, but had no body to talk to. They even did not sit next to me for couple of weeks. They did not see me as one of them; I was not only a woman but also a civilian in their classroom.

The third difficulty was to get familiarized with the terminology of the group. At the beginning it was not possible for me to understand their conversations. This was also an obstacle during the interviews in order to avoid misinterpretation due to the terminology gap I felt; it was also necessary to spent extensive time in the TMA.

The forth and final difficulty was to get used to the rules and the discipline of the TMA. As a civilian student who spent 7 years in the civilian universities, the rules were very strict for me. I could not understand the reasons at the beginning and try to resist the rules, but as time passed, I stopped thinking like a civilian and started to believe in the same ways as my classmates. As a sociologist, I was quite aware of the issue involved in “going native” and tried hard to maintain my objectivity. Although, at times I may have identified with the values surrounding my research site, the objectivity of the outcome of my research has not been compromised.

5.4. Research Field: Turkish Military Academy (TMA)

5.4.1. History of the TMA

Developments in the technology and science also affected Ottoman Empire in XIX century and because of the changes in the military technology, it was decided to abolish Janissary Corps and develop a new school for the military men. Because of this construction attends, in 1826 a new school opened and named as “drill field” because of the Ottoman Empire-Russian wars in that period the “drill field” closed in 1828 (Ünal 2001: 7-8). In 1835, with the command of 2nd Mahmut, a new school opened in İstanbul which is called as “Mekteb-i Harbiye”, War School. In 1841, the first cadets graduated from the War School. With the developments in 1985, War School gained a four years graduate school status. Until 1908, the priority was given to “infantry” and “cavalry” branches. Because of the ongoing wars, the school used a fast programme to raise good officers for the battles. The schools place changed from İstanbul to Ankara, in 1920, because it was thought that Ankara was safer in that Period. At the end, the school moved to the new building that was built specially for War School in Ankara, in 1936. With the 2000 law, the Military Academies statue has started to count as four years under graduation Programmes like civilian universities¹⁴. The cadets from the Turkish military Academy are graduated from these branches: as combat branches, Infantry, Artillery Armor, Signal, Aviation, Air Defense Artillery, Engineer and Gendarmerie, and as non-combat positions, Quartermaster, Personnel, Ordnance, Finance, Cartographer and Transportation.

¹⁴ www.kho.edu.tr/khobilgi/tarihce/ , 30.12.2004

The classification of the branches of the Turkish Military and the restrictions for the female officers are like below.

TABLE 5.1 Categories of Roles in Armed Forces (Jenkins 2002: 254)

	Category	Examples
1.	Non-Combat	Military nurse
2.	Combat Service	Clerk, Cook
3.	Combat Support	Radar Operator
4.	Combat	Pilot
5.	Direct Ground Combat	Tank Crew
6.	Special Forces	Marine,Commando Ranger

According to Jenkins (2002: 254-255), historically women’s roles are limited to the non-combat roles especially in nursing. During the World War I, because of the man power limitation, women started to serve in combat services in the fronts with their male counterparts. From the World War II, women were taken back from the front lines and they started to serve in combat support roles. Combat roles are still defined as their “direct offensive” identity, because of this reason, women officers are still not recruited in combat roles in many countries. The difference of the direct ground combat from combat is “the high probability of physical contact” with the enemy “with individual or crew weapons” (quoted in Jenkins 2002: 756). This role is in the hands of the men in the military although with the huge technological developments there is no need to direct ground combat roles anymore.

5.4.2. The Structure and the Education of the TMA

In 2003, there were 3340 cadets totally in TMA, 57 of them were the female cadets. There are 24 squadrons and 96 classes. One squadron is composed of 4 classes and 2 team commanders, which means there are totally 48 team commanders in TMA.

A daily life of a cadet starts at 6 am in the week days. In 6:30 am, cadets go to morning sport every day until 7:15 am. At 8:15 the lessons start until 15:30 pm. Between 15:30 pm and 19:00 pm, it is called as “free time”, but the cadets can never consume their time by themselves, there are lots of “social clubs” and “sport teams” the cadets can attend. They eat their dinner at 19:00 pm and then between 20:00 pm and 22:00 pm they should go to their classes to study. At 22:00 pm they have to go to their corps and sleep¹⁵. They are not allowed to go out of the TMA in weekdays; they can go outside of the TMA in weekends, but have to come back to the TMA. The ones whose families live in Ankara can stay at home on Friday and Saturday nights.

The cadets usually choose the “social club” and “sport team” by themselves, but sometimes they are forced to choose the one that is chosen by the regiment commander. This is usually happens to the female cadets, according to them because the Regiment Commander wants them to be seen everywhere, their names are coming with a command and they have to attend to these social clubs. These social clubs are; “military developments introduce and research club”, “garden and environment club”, “media and public relations club”, “horse riding”, “speaking and writing club”, “English Speaking club”, “marbling Club”, “Maquette Club”, “Model Plane and Rocket Club”, “Music Club”, “Protocol Club”, “Picture Club”, “Chess, Go and Abalone Club”, “Theatre Club”¹⁶.

There are also sport teams. These are; military pentathlon, football, modern pentathlon, swimming, shooting, handball, triathlon, chess, athletics, folklore, basketball, cross, taekwondo, table tennis, tennis and volleyball¹⁷.

Besides the lessons that cadets take in the TMA, they also have “physical training” lessons, which take the cadets’ whole afternoon in one day of the week day. The cadets go to the field that is in the TMA borders and try to improve their physical abilities every week with four teams. The cadets also go to İzmir, Menteş in summer for physical training camp. In this camp and also in the TMA physical training the

¹⁵ www.kho.edu.tr/gunlukyasam/ , 30.12.2004

¹⁶ www.kho.edu.tr/aktiviteler/kulupler/index.htm , 30.12.2004

¹⁷ www.kho.edu.tr/aktiviteler/spor/musabaka/index.htm, 04.01.2005

female and the male cadets have different standards to perform. The standards also differ from higher class to lower¹⁸.

The branches of the cadets are become evident in the 3rd year of the Academy. The branches are chosen by the computer based system, mixing the leadership, discipline grades and cumulative of the cadets, the health of the cadets, the quota of the branches and the cadets' choices¹⁹.

5.4.3. How to Apply?

Most of the cadets in the TMA are coming from the “military high schools”, which are located in İstanbul (Kuleli Military High School), İzmir (Maltepe Military High School) and Bursa (Işıklar Military High School). The other cadets were coming from the civilian high schools. In 2004, the acceptance from civilian high schools stopped for male cadets, only female cadets can apply from civilian high schools from this year. As Birand (1989: 47) mentions these military high schools education system is like the civilian four years “Anatolian High Schools”, which are free, although their education is in English, have a similar quality of education with the “private high schools” and takes their students by a general exam. These military high schools are boarding schools and besides the general high school education, they have strict “physical training” and basic “military knowledge” education.

The prospective cadets must be Turkish citizens, and they can not have children, can not be married or engaged. Their family also has a clean background, which means if there is a family member(s) who enrolled in illegal activities, the person will not be accepted by the TMA. The person's health and the body structure must be accurate for the TMA, if there is a disability, the person is not accepted; besides the person has to speak Turkish perfectly, without any disabilities. They have to get 250 points from the university exam but this grade must be from the “natural sciences section”

¹⁸ www.kho.edu.tr/alay/Askeriegitim/sbe.htm , 30.12.2004 for detailed information see www.kho.edu.tr/askeri/sbe/sbe_dersleri/index.htm and www.kho.edu.tr/askeri/sbe/standartlar/index.htm

¹⁹ www.kho.edu.tr/khobilgi/idari/org_alaykligi/siniflandirma/index.htm , 30.12.2004

of the exam, not from the “social sciences section”. The person can not be above 20 years old. Finally the person should be in accurate weight and height, not above or below the standards. There are physical, psychological and health tests for the applicant and also the person goes through a survey and an interview, which are all done by the TMA²⁰. If the applicant is accepted, he or she goes to a “adaptation camp” and they also try the prospective cadet there, and if the applicant changed his or her mind, there is an opportunity not to enroll in the TMA²¹, they can also quit the TMA after the first year of the academy but after that they have to pay a lot of amount of money as they promised in the contract.

²⁰ www.kho.edu.tr/khobilgi/basvuru/index.htm , 20.06.2004

²¹ www.kho.edu.tr/alay/Askeriegitim/index3.htm , 30.12.2004

CHAPTER VI

EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES OF WOMEN IN MILITARY

6.1. General Profile of the Research Sample

As already indicated above, a total of 93 individuals have been interviewed for this research: 33 female and 33 male cadets in their junior and senior year of the Academy, 11 female and 10 male officers and 6 retired female officers. The age of the female cadets' ranged from 19 to 24, female officers' from 24 to 28, retired female officers' from 64 to 68, whereas, the male cadets' age ranged from 21 to 25 and the male officers' from 26 to 30.

6.1.1. The Educational and Occupational Information of the Female and Male Interviewees

All the female cadets from the 3rd and the 4th year of the Turkish Military Academy are interviewed. By the end of the 2003-2004 academic second semester, there are 14 female cadets in the 3rd year and 19 female cadets in the 4th year of the academy. 9 of the female cadets are in "ordnance", 9 of them in "quartermaster", 7 of them in "personnel", 4 of them are in "finance", 2 of them in "gendarmerie" and 2 of them are in "aviation" branches. The male cadets are also from the 3rd and the 4th year of the academy that are from the same classrooms with the female cadets. Their branches are different from each other, 10 of them are from "infantry", 3 of them are from "gendarmerie", 2 of them are from "air defense artillery", 1 of them is from "artillery", 1 of them is from "armor", 2 of them are from "aviation" 2 of them are from personnel", 7 of them are from "quartermaster" and 5 of them are from

“ordnance”, which means, 19 of them are from the combat positions whereas, 14 of them are from non-combat positions.

The ranks and the graduation years of the female officers will not be mentioned in this study according to the requests of the female officers themselves. Also because it is seen in the same position with the female officers, the male officer’s ranks and the graduation years will not be mentioned. There are 11 female officers from Turkish Land Forces and from different ranks including combat positions and 10 male officers work as “team commander” in the TMA, who has female cadets in their teams, have different ranks also including combat positions.

The 4 of the retired female officers are from Turkish Air Forces and the 2 of them are from Turkish Land Forces. All the retired female officers’ rank from Turkish Air Forces is “personnel” which was changed from “quartermaster”. And all the retired female officers’, from Turkish Land Forces, rank is “cartographer” which was changed from “signal”.

6.1.2. Marital Status

Most of the female officers, except for 2, are married and chose to marry at an early age, usually right after graduate from the TMA, the reason for that is to have an opportunity go to the same city to work with their husbands. All of the married female officers and the retired female officers choose to marry to an officer. They usually meet in the TMA, and start dating while studying although it is forbidden for female and male students to have that kind of relationship. When we look at the marriage range of the male officers, we see that, half of the male officers are married, which constitutes 5 male officers. None of them are married to an officer. Cadets are not allowed to marry until they graduate from the TMA.

6.1.3. Parent's Occupations

The most common occupational status of mother reported by all female interviewees was “housewife”. Whereas, the most common job for the female cadets’ and the female officers’ fathers is, “non-commissioned officer”. There is no “non-commissioned officer” responds from the retired female officers, but there are again “officer” responses from them for their father occupational status.

When we look at the occupations of the male cadet’s and officers’ parents, we see that the most common job is “housewife” for their mothers and the most common occupation for the male cadets’ and officers’ fathers are “worker”.

According to the mothers’ occupation we see, no difference between the female and the male interviewees. But when we look at the fathers’ occupations of the interviews, we can see that, although the most common occupations for the female interviewees’ fathers are “non-commissioned officers” or “officer”, the most common occupation for the male interviewees’ fathers is “worker”. This can be interpreted in two ways: the first one is the easiness of the information accession to the applications of the TMA, because the information and application policies is first announced in the internal internet pages, which are close to the public accession, and the second is the knowledge of the TMA education and training programme. As will be discussed later, although there is admiration to the female cadets and officers, there is also a lack of knowledge in the means of the TMA education generally and particularly to the female cadets and officers in the public.

6.1.4. Perception of Parents’ Class Position

Especially in Turkey, because the education in the Military Academies has more opportunities, such as laboratories, sport saloons, than the most of the civilian universities and it is free. These properties make the military academies more attractive for the families from middle and lower middle classes. Because it is costs very much to support the university education needs of their children in another city, especially if they have more than one children, families especially from lower and

lower-middle classes, encourage their children to study in the military academies. Although it is a public university, a student has lots of economic needs, such as money for a place to stay during the education, money for the books, and money for the food. But in the military academies, every need of the cadets is supported by the academy itself. Also, another reason of the attractiveness of the military education is the job guarantee right after the graduation. As it is well known, it is not enough to graduate from a university to have a job. The families want their children to study in the TMA because of these reasons. The reasons that are explained above may not be the reasons for the female interviewees, Because of the reason that, the female interviewees' family backgrounds are different from the male interviewees', so the motivation to study in the TMA may be different from the male interviewees.

TABLE 6.1 Self Perceptions of Class Backgrounds

Income Level*	Female Cadet	Female Officer	Retired Female Officer	Male Cadet	Male Officer	TOTAL
Upper Class	2	None	None	None	1	3
Upper Middle Class	3	2	1	7	2	15
Middle Class	25	8	5	23	7	67
Lower Middle Class	3	1	None	2	None	6
Lower Class	None	None	None	1	None	1
TOTAL	33	11	6	33	10	93

* In this study the income level is not taken into the account, the interviewees were asked class perception of their families.

As we can see from Table 6.1, most of the interviewees mentioned that their families belong to the “middle class”. They interpreted the class situation according to the income levels of their parents. The statements of the female interviewees can be confirmed with their parent’s occupations, as it is mentioned before, their fathers are mostly “non-commissioned” and “commissioned” officers that can be included into the middle class. Some of the female cadets mentioned that their families belong to the upper and upper-middle classes. This may be from the rank differences of their fathers from the fathers who belong to the lower ranks in the military, such as the non-commissioned officers.

Because only 33 of the 3340 cadets were interviewed, to make a generalization for the family classes of the male cadets is difficult. Because the interviewees tend to classify their family classes according to the income level, most of them overlooked the occupational patterns and tend to put their families in the “middle class” level. Although there are differences between the father occupations’ of the male and female interviewees, both group tend consider their families to the middle class stratification.

There are 25 different cities that female cadets and officers are coming from to enroll in TMA, except Ankara and İzmir, the other cities can be considered as small cities. When we look at the male cadets and officers backgrounds according to the city that they are coming from, we see that, 29 different cities, again except Ankara and İzmir, they can be considered as small cities. It can be mentioned that, the female and male cadets and officers are coming from the similar city backgrounds to enroll in the TMA. These cities are all from different geographic regions, especially from the relatively small cities of the country.

6.2. The Attitudes of Women in the Military towards the TMA

6.2.1. Motivations for Enrolling in the Military Academies²²

In assessing the “personal motivations” of the female cadet’s active and retired officers²³, I used Carreiras’s (2002) model, which is explained under the “theoretical perspectives”. Some of Carreiras’s concepts such as, “access to good civic training” were not relevant to the experience of the females interviewed. Similarly the variables the “better professional opportunities than civilian life” and “no employment alternatives” concepts were also not relevant for this study because the respondents in the sample had no work experience prior to enrolling in the academies.

Assessment of the responses in the current study reveals some differences from Carreiras’s study.

²² “Military academies” concept is used instead of the Turkish Military Academy because of the 4 retired female officers who graduated from the Turkish Air Force Academy. Therefore the term Military Academies encompasses both Turkish Military Academy and Turkish Air Force Academy.

²³ I made some modifications in Carreiras’s model, for example she gave the percentages of the responses, whereas because I did not ask these items to my sample, I classified the answers according to Carreiras’s model, I also changed the categories names with keeping the frame original.

TABLE 6.2 Factors Motivating Enrollment of Females in the Military Academies²⁴

Motivations		Cadets	Active Officers	Retired Officers	TOTAL RESPONSE ²⁵
Institutional Factors (core dimension)	Disciplined and structured atmosphere	1	1	None	2
	desire to serve the country	2	None	2	4
	participating in a prestigious institution	5	2	None	7
	Access to good civic training	None	None	None	0
Institutional Factors (lifestyle dimension)	Possibility of pursuing a career that was traditionally closed to women	4	1	1	6
	To escape routine life	1	1	None	2
	Attractiveness of the uniform	4	1	None	5
	Possibility of travel	1	None	None	1
Occupational Factors	Job security	1	1	None	2
	Good professional opportunity	None	None	None	0
	No employment alternatives	None	None	None	0
Circumstantial Factors	The opportunity for independent life	None	2	1	3
	influence of friends and family	9	3	4	16
	Failing access to university	1	None	None	1
	Possibility of education at low cost	None	1	1	2
	Family force*	5	None	None	5
TOTAL RESPONSE		34	13	9	56

* This factor is added by the researcher.

²⁴ The framework is taken from Carreiras (2002: 705) which is used for analyzing the “Military Women’s Motivations for Enlistment” in 1994 for Portugal.

²⁵ The total column and row in the table 6.2 represents the response frequency; some of the respondents gave more than one answer for their personal motivation.

As can be seen from the Table 6.2 the most prevalent personal motivation for enrolling in the military academies is “influence of friends and family” with 16 responses. It is also the most common response in every generation. This category implies the positive attitudes of the friends and families of the cadets and officers towards the Turkish Military generally, and to the military academies education particularly. This positive influence of the family is not only because of the relatively better education than the civilian universities, but also because of the job guarantee right after the gradation, which is one the most problems of the people who have university degree. The military academies are also seen as the best opportunity for the middle and lower classes families, as already mentioned before under the “general profile” of the interviewees. Besides, because there is a positive attitude towards the Turkish Military institution generally, the military occupation is also seen as a prestigious occupation.

The second common response is “possibility of participating in a prestigious institution” with 7 responses, which was not among the responses of retired officers. If we take these two responds together, we can directly see the importance of the military institution for the Turkish culture and the positive image of the military for the public. The third common answer is “possibility of pursuing a career that was traditionally closed to women” with 6 responds. This answer is given by all the generations. This answer can be interpreted as implying the open-mindedness of the military women in every generation. All women who entered to the Military Academies are well educated and idealistic women. “Attractiveness of the uniform” and “family force” are the forth common responses. Both of them again can be understood by the positive image of the military for the Turkish culture. The latter one can have a relation with the economic situation of the families, who wants their daughter to be well educated.

Although the “job security” and the “possibility of training/education at a low financial cost” answers are relatively few, the interviewees mention these factors in advantages of the studying in Turkish Military Academy, which will be explained below. When we look the “job security” concept deeply, we can see that by this concept not only the occupation itself is seen as secured; there are also the additional

opportunities of the military institution included, such as the summer camps, military social constructions, military housing, etc. Although an officer is retired, she/he and her/his family continue to use these fringe benefits. When we consider the salary of officers, it is not necessarily higher than that of other public servants; however, what makes the military carrier attractive is with the other additional fringe benefits and opportunities. This is the reason of the desires and the positive responses of the families to the enrollment of their daughters to the military academies understandable.

When we look at the table 6.2, we see that there are more factors that were mentioned by female cadets than active and retired officers. As I mentioned before, the first generation of the female officers were the pioneers of the women in the military. It can be clearly mentioned that, they did not know much about the military institution and its opportunities, that is why the factors that motivated them to enroll in the military academies are less than the active officers and the cadets. The active officers are again can be considered as the pioneer of the second generation, who enrolled in 1992, and again it can be said that there are less factors to motivate them than the third generation. But because the third generation has role models before their period, they knew more about the military institution and also it was mentioned by the female cadets that the TMA made a good advertisement about the institution and the opportunities, so they have more factors that motivated them to enroll in the TMA than the other generations.

There are few responds to the “the opportunity for independent life” from active and retired female officers, but it is interesting that, none of the female cadets mentioned this factor as a motivator for their enrollment in the TMA. This may be because there are more opportunities for the women who want have a university degree. It can be said that, there is less social pressure on women from the previous periods who want to study in university in a different city both from their families and from the public. It is also interesting that, the “family pressure” factor was just mentioned by the female cadets. They mentioned they applied to the TMA, because their families wanted them to do so. Although it cannot be generalized, it can be said that these families are from lower-class levels and because they can not effort their daughters’

university expenses, they forced their daughter to enroll in the TMA. It is also mentioned by the female cadets that, because their fathers are officers, they forced their daughters to enroll to the TMA. “The attractiveness of the uniform” factor also mentioned mostly by the female cadets, this can be because they saw more female officers in their uniforms before their enrollment and this could influence their motivation.

6.2.2. Family Response

Although most of the female cadets and officers mentioned that their families’ responded not only positively when they told them that they wanted to be an officer, but that they also encouraged their daughter’s enrollment, due to the similar reasons as those of the “personal motivations” of the female cadets, officers and retired female officers. On the other hand there are also some families that did not want their daughter to enroll in the Military Academies, because of reasons indicated in Table 6.2. But they mentioned that after the families saw that their daughters are happy, they got used to it.

TABLE 6.3 Family Responses to Daughter’s Enrollment in the Military Academies

Family’s Response	Female Cadets	Female Officers	Retired Female Officers
Positive Responses	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Job security in the future. 2. The positive image of the military within the public. 3. Minority of the women officers. 4. They just respect my decision. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The positive image of the military within the public. 2. They just respect my decision. 3. Because we do not have male child in the family. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They were open-minded people. 2. They were admiring to the female officers, there was few at those days. 3. My family is full of soldiers.
Negative Responses	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is not an appropriate job for a woman. 2. It is a disciplined job. 3. High Risk Occupation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is not an appropriate job for a woman. 2. They were sure that I will be regretful at the end. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They wanted me to care my family and children. 2. Because they did not want me to study in another city as a boarding student. 3. It is not an appropriate job for a woman.

As we can see from the Table 6.3, it is clear in every generation female cadets' and officers' positive responses are directly related to the positive image of the military within the public. And the most common answer for the negative responses of the families is because it is not a proper occupation for a woman. Families thought that to be an officer was an obstacle for the care giving to the family and the children.

One of the retired female officers, İA, expressed that the resistance of her family was very strict. They even did not sign the "contract" that is required before applying to the TMA. In the last day, when she was crying in the street, because they did not sign it, she ran into one of her teachers from the high school, and she signed it for her. So, she could enroll in the TMA.

It can be mentioned that, there is not a big difference among the generations. The positive responses and the negative ones are similar to each other. The most common positive response is again because of the positive influence of the Turkish Military on the Turkish society and the most negative one is because to be an officer is not a traditional female occupation in every generations. As it is explained before, there is a close link between masculinity and military and in such a patriarchal society like Turkish society; these negative responses are seen as ordinary. It is, somehow, surprising that the positive responses are more than the negative ones, although, as it is mentioned before, the most of the female interviewees' fathers are from military, their responses are positive towards their daughters' enrollment.

6.2.3. Expectations of Women Prior to Enrollment

Responses of the different generations of women interviewed revealed that they had very little information regarding what a military occupation entailed.

According to the responses from the different generations of female officers, it is understood that although they were impressed by the "military image" before they attend; they did not know the details about the Academy included the military occupational branch differentiation of the female and the male officers. The third generation mentioned that, the TMA's advertisement was very impressed them but

they did not give enough information about differentiation of the branches. This means they just applied without knowing which branch they can work in. They also had no information about how many women are in the Academy.

The following quotation from the interview is indicative of a lack of clear understanding of what was expected prior to enrollment:

I had no idea before I started studying in TMA. I even didn't know the branches of the women, can they be combat or not. I also didn't know that the women are minority in the Academy. (OS, A Female Cadet)

This apparent lack of knowledge about the military career was not due to the personal ignorance of the women concerned but more due to the insulated nature of the military institution. Many of the interviewees indicated that they had virtually no access to real information about the military. Although there are some information on the TMA and its education in the webpage of the Academy, I agree with the female cadets and officers that this information given is not enough to explain the situation inside of the Academy clearly.

The answers of the retired female officers are similar with female cadets' and officers'. They were the ones who broke the chain and integrate into the military. They did not have any examples, role models, before them. Although the answers are similar with the others their position is different from them.

I had no more expectation than finishing my school and starting my occupation. I had a mission: to apply and gain the right to study in TMA as a first female cadet and I had to finish this mission completely. If I had an expectation from the military institution, I would wait until I became a general. I had a 27 years occupation life in military, of course sometimes we lived hard and negative times but my occupation life was great. (IA, A Retired Female Officer)

From these answers that are given by different generations of female officers, we can understand that, because of the isolated structure of the military institution, none of the generations have any information about the education and the implications towards women in the military. For the first generation, it is impossible to develop expectations because everything was started with them, such as the uniforms, the dormitories and even the implications towards women. Because they were accepted

without any preparations every implication was developed with their experiences. This is also valid for the first year of the second generation female cadets, who graduated from the TMA in 1996. Because after 37 years, the military academies started to accept female cadets again without any preparation and without taking the opinions of the women from the first generation, the female cadets of the second generation felt themselves again as the first ones and because they did not have any role models, they did not have a chance to expect something from the TMA and its education. But for the last generation, everything should have been clear and well known by the cadets before they enrolled in the Academy. The military institution is not clear enough about the implications towards women in the military institution and in the academies.

6.2.4. Military Discipline

As it is mentioned in the Chapter II, one of the characteristics of the military institution that make the military institution different from the other large institutions is its disciplined education and structure. As Spindler (1948) argues, this disciplines training requires obeying the rules without questioning.

Most of the male cadets in the TMA are from “Military High Schools”, and all of the female cadets come from civilian high schools²⁶. The military high schools give military education and also military discipline with the other lessons. Male cadets learn the rules of the military from in an early age. Because of this reason, most of the male cadets claimed frequently that the female cadets are not disciplined. It is very difficult to get used to the disciplined structure of the military institution as a civilian. It is usually argued by the men who are against the presence of women in the military that because of the strict rules and the strict discipline character of the military institution, the women have hard times to adopt the structure of the military unlike men.

²⁶ From the year 2004, the recruitment the male cadets from the civilian high schools is stopped. This means all of the male cadets in the military academies are from the military high schools from 2004.

According to the female cadets, officers and retired female officers, the men are prejudged against female cadets and officers. Most of the female cadets argued that they grew up with discipline in their family, therefore, it was not difficult to get used to the discipline of the TMA. And also they mentioned that, most of their fathers' occupation can not be overlooked at this point. It is important to have a father who is from military for the disciplined life.

Because of my father, I have always a disciplined life. Sometimes it is hard to do the things that I find irrational in the TMA. The most important thing for a cadet [it does not matter if it is female or male], is to get out from the Academy in weekends. The biggest problem happens when I can't go out because of the irrational reasons. (FO, A Female Cadet)

The female cadets and officers also mentioned that the problem is not the discipline or the rules of the TMA. The problems are the upper male cadet's force over them and the usage of their ranks in the means of discipline to discriminate and oppress the female cadets.

I get used to the discipline. I changed a lot since I have come to TMA. For the first year the disciplined education of the TMA was hard for me. The upper class cadets were using their ranks to oppress us. They wanted to talk to us but they couldn't because they didn't educate with females until that time. So, they thought they could take the attention by reproaching (AU, A Female Cadet)

The female cadets mentioned additionally that they also act in a disciplined way in their civilian life. They mentioned that they got used to discipline so much that they have the rules also when they go out from the Academy, for example at their parents' home, in holidays. They also mentioned that this discipline also makes one of the differences between their civilian peers, which will be explained below.

This discipline isn't just in the Academy. You have to be careful when you "go out". Somebody from the Academy, a cadet or an officer, can see you "outside". You have to be careful of your dress, hair, make-up when you are outside. I didn't pay attention to those kinds of things before. (OS, A Female Cadet)

About the discipline and the rules retired female officers mentioned that, they had no problems about the discipline and the rules of the Academy. Also, female officers mentioned that after graduation their disciplined life continued. They also mentioned

that they were more comfortable if everything is planned and organized in their civilian lives.

My parent's discipline was over the TMA discipline. I was really comfortable with the rules and the discipline of the TMA because my parents had very strict rules. For me the most important thing was to finish the task that I started. I didn't get any punishments when I was in TMA as a cadet and when I was working as an officer. (IA, A Retired Female Officer)

Most of the male cadets mentioned that the female cadets are more disciplined than them but they always try to find an excuse for that. The most reason that is shown about their discipline is the "because they have tolerance from the commanders, they do not get to many punishments". This is because they think that female cadets are very relaxed in the TMA and have a tolerance from the commanders, means they have a privilege because they are woman. According to them, the female cadets do not get use to the discipline or can not obey the rules, instead of what should be done; the rules are revised according to the female cadets' needs by the tolerances of the commanders. That is why they do not have problems in obeying the rules. As it is mentioned before, they are seen as not disciplined like the male cadets.

Besides the "tolerance excuse" the male cadets also mentioned that because they do not know the unwritten rules of the military culture, they try to make the commands properly. This makes them in a privilege position because they show that they are trying too much and try to not make mistakes. So they become discipline automatically.

The third reason is the most similar one with the female cadet's responses. The male cadets mention that women try not to make mistakes and try to be disciplined because they have the pressure of being a minority.

There are also some male cadets that think the female cadets are not disciplined like the male cadets. The reasons for this response is given as the "they are not familiar with the rules of the military". These male cadets think that because the female cadets are coming from the civilian universities different from them, they can not get

used to the discipline and the rules of the TMA easily, especially in the first year of the Academy.

They have problems with the discipline of the TMA, because they are women. The military high school makes you love the military, the TMA makes you love to be an officer and, then, you learn to an officer after the graduation. They missed the first step, the military high school. (SS, A Male Cadet)

Women in the military are from families that tended to be highly disciplined, and this discipline in their families make them get use to the academy more easily as it is mentioned above. Although the male cadets prejudge the female cadets as undisciplined, the problem that is mentioned by the most of the female interviewees is not the discipline or the rules of the TMA, it is the upper class male cadets' behaviors towards the lower class female cadets in the name of discipline, such as reproaching without any reason, to oppress them.

6.2.5. The Advantages and Disadvantages of Studying in the Military Academies

There are different responses regarding the advantages and disadvantages of studying in the TMA from the different generations of the females that were interviewed; the difference of the responses can be because of the different periods that they study in the TMA. There are also some similarities in the responses of the different generations. The similarities can be because the positive image of the military is still the same with the older periods. We can see the similar positive answers with the “personal motivation” answers of the women. The advantages of studying in the TMA are also can be seen as the reasons of the “personal motivations”.

TABLE 6.4 Opinions of Different Generations of Women on Advantages and Disadvantages of Studying in TMA

Opinions	Female Cadet	Female Officer	Retired Female Officer
Advantages	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To have variety of opportunities both in school and after school. 2. To have a good education with a low financial cost. 3. To have a Prestigious job. 4. Job security after school. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To have economic independence. 2. Prestigious job. 3. Job security. 4. Fair job. 5. To learn self-confidence. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prestigious job. 2. Everybody proud of you. 3. To have a privilege to wear a uniform. 4. To have a good education with a low financial cost.
Disadvantages	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Because of the lots of activities there is no time for myself. 2. To be far from the family. 3. You have to give priority to the school. 4. It is a difficult job for a woman. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To have few women around to chat. 2. It is a difficult job for a woman. 3. To have few time for yourself. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not always a fair job.

As we can see from the answers of respondents in Table 6.4, one of the most given answer for the advantage is “to have a good education with a low cost”, which is not mentioned under the personal motivations very much. The other common advantage that is mentioned by every generation is to be an officer is “a prestigious job”. This shows again, the positive image within the society towards military institution. Second and third generations mentioned that it is a fair job. But the first generation mentioned that the only disadvantage of the job is that it is an unfair job, because they struggled for all their rights in the military and because they think that although they could be “generals”, the commanders did not let them. That is why they mentioned that you can not always get rights equal to men. The third generation mentioned that, there are always “informal barriers” that causes the retirement of the female officers in that period. All of the retired female officers mentioned that they decided to retire by themselves, nobody forced them to do so, but they expressed that, they knew if they did not retire, they could not be in higher ranks because of the formal barriers for the female officers in that time. They also mentioned that today’s female officers are luckier than them, because in that period they were not allowed to

take the “staff officer” exam but the female officers have this chance to have positions in the higher ranks of the military today.

6.3. “Female Officer” Comprehension

6.3.1. The Attitudes of the Male Cadets and the Officers

According to Gherardi (1995), the insiders of a culture have different responses to the newcomers. These responses are generally as “accepting”, “assimilating” or “respecting the diversity” of the newcomers. The first response is “accepted” friendly, which means the newcomers are accepted as *guests*. The second response is again “accepted” but this time the acceptance is hostile, which means the newcomers are treated as the *marginal* and this brings stigmatization. The third response is “contested” friendly, in other words the newcomers are regarded as the *holidaymakers*, which means they are seen as the ones who are just “passing through”, not stable in the environment. The fourth response is “contested” as hostile, *the position of the snake in the grass*, which means the newcomers who do not confirm and try to challenge the traditions become the enemy of the local group. The fifth possible response to the newcomers is “imposed” friendly, *the newcomer*, which corresponds to the newcomer can be positioned as unilaterally as a friend or enemy, an opened ended position, which means the newcomers are judged how they can integrate to the system. If they can integrate as the group wanted, they are accepted if not they are rejected. Finally, the last possible response is “imposed” hostile, *the intruder*, in other words, the intruder is the newcomer who forces the others to accept her as one of them, as a member of the team.

The Gherardi’s (1995) typology for the newcomers is a good illustration for the situation of the female cadets and the officers in the TMA or in the Turkish Military institution. There are 6 different possible responses for the women in men’s world and these 6 different responses can be seen in the military institution. But as I mentioned before, the military institution is different from the other organizations and has some unique characteristics such as, discipline, hierarchal leadership or unit cohesion. Because of these special characters of the military institution, the

categorization for the newcomers in men's jobs of Ghearardi is true but not enough to explain the situation of the women in the military institution.

According to Carreiras (2004: 299-300), there are various attitudes of the male officers towards the women's military participation (WMP), is different from each other. She used Bastistelli's "Typology of the Italian soldiers' Attitude towards Gender Integration", which is conducted in 1997, to explain the reactions of the men in Portuguese and Dutch armies. She revised the typology according to the study she made. I revised the concepts; expand them according to make it fit to the Turkish context.

I had three questions to prepare the categories. The first one is "what do you think about women's participation to the military?", and according to this question I decided the "reject the WMP" or "accept the WMP" categories. The second question is "what do you think about women and the combat positions?", and according to this one I decided the "full participation" or "partial participation" categories. By "partial participation" I mean non-combat or combat support positions and by "full participation" I mean the roles of women in the military including "combat positions". And finally my last question is "what do you think about the necessity of the women's education in TMA?" and with this question I tried to learn the male attitudes towards the equal education of women in the military. Because my research is just on the officers and cadets, who is studying or graduated from the TMA, I included the education in the TMA, when I was classifying the categories.

The male cadets and officers, who reject the participation of the women to the military, are divided into two. The "sexist" type considers the presence of women is negative for the organization (Carreiras 2004: 301). They are against the presence of the women in the military because they think that women are inferior to men in every meaning and can not perform the job as efficient as men do. And according to the "traditionalist" type, "the ideal female image is considered in compatible with military functions and their military participation is discarded" (Carreiras 2004: 302). According to the "traditionalists", to be an officer is a traditional male occupation. Both of the rejection types, reject the presence of women in the military, in both

combat and non-combat positions, they also reject the women's enrollment in the TMA, because of the same reasons.

The male cadets and officers who accept the participation of women to the military is divided into two by "the accepting of full participation" and "the accepting of partial participation". The "integrationists", support full integration of women into the military and think that the presence is good for the organization (Carreiras 2004: 303). The "integrationists" are the ones who think that women and men should be equal in the military. They also support the education of the women in the TMA, and think that they can perform combat positions. The "pragmatists" are the ones who mention "women's difference due to their physical and psychological weakness" but support partial integration (Carreiras 2004: 302). In this research they are the ones who accepted the partial integration, which means only in the non-combat positions, of women if only they have the same education in TMA with men because they think that TMA gives the notion of to be an officer. They were also against the officers that come from outside the TMA, who graduated from a civilian university. They support the equality of women and men to extend of the combat positions. They argued that the women can not perform in the combat positions because of the physical and psychological weakness. The second group who supports the "partial participation" of women to the military is the "macho" type. This type argued that the "women's presence is acceptable only in support functions such as logistics and administration" (Carreiras 2004: 302). According to them women can not perform the same standards with men. In this study the same standards also includes the "TMA education". So, they were the ones who accept the women's presence is only in the non-combat positions and reject their education in the TMA because they argued that the non-combat units do not require the physical training that much and they can get the other information on their unit from a civilian university. The last type, which accepts the "partial participation", is the "gentleman" type. Gentleman type shares the same ideas with traditionalists but favors the presence of women in the military only in support functions (Carreiras 2004: 303). In this study they were the ones, who accepted the presence of women in the military but reject their education in the TMA. Their reason for rejecting the education in the TMA is because of the TMA is not an appropriate school for the women. They were the ones who are sorry for the

problems that female cadets have in the TMA and argued that the female cadets do not need to study in the TMA to be an officer, because of the problems that they have in the TMA.

TABLE 6.5 Turkish Male Officers' Attitudes towards the WMP

Attitudes Regarding to WMP		Male Cadet	Male Officer	TOTAL
Rejects the WMP	Traditionalist	1	1	2
	Sexist	5	None	5
Accepts the WMP	Integrationist*	3	3	6
	Pragmatist**	8	4	12
	Macho**	9	1	10
	Gentleman**	7	1	8
TOTAL		33	10	43

*Accepts the full integration of the women in the military.

**Accepts the partial integration of the women in the military.

As we can see from Table 6.5, most of the male cadets and officers accepted the presence of women in the Turkish military. When we put together the responses of the male cadets and officers together, the acceptance has two dimensions. On the one hand, the presence of women in the military is seen as the guarantor of a “modern Western military” and a “modern nation”. As I mentioned before, the military is seen as the mirror, as an example of the society that it structured in. So, the gender equality in the military organization means there is as equality between men and women in the whole society. On the other hand, the presence of women was seen relevant by some of the male cadets and officers, who accept the WMP, in some tasks, such as searching the women terrorists in some missions.

Most of the male cadets and officers accepted the WMP, but not in the equal context. Most of the male cadets and officers argued that women should be in the military with “partial participation”, which means women should be only in the non-combat positions. This shows that, there is a strong acceptance of the “occupational gender segregation” in the military. The combat positions are seen as the men duty, because of two reasons. The first one is the physical and psychological weakness of the women and the second reason is the working situations of the combat positions. It is mentioned by most of the male cadets and officers and confirmed by the female interviewees that the combat positions have more direct relationships with the privates, which is seen as the most important problem for the women in the military.

There are also separations between the ones who accept the WMP. Most of the male cadets and officers who support the “partial participation” of the women in the military, argued that they do not have to study in the TMA. That means, they support the presence of these women in the military but not at the Academy. There are two reasons shown for this argument. The first one is the inferiority of the women to the men, physically and psychologically, and the second is the TMA does not have an appropriate education for a woman. They mentioned that, because women do not work in the combat positions, they do not have to study in the TMA with the physical training programme. They also mentioned that, the military institution can also save its budget more for the male cadets because the budget that is used for the female cadets is irrelevant.

So, if we look at Table 6.5, although it seems like the most male cadets and officers are accepting the WMP with “partial participation” and with the TMA education, the real situation is not like that. If we put together the numbers of the “macho” and “gentleman” types, which rejects women presence in TMA, we see that the majority is in these groups with 18 responses. So the fact is, most of the male cadets and officers accept the presence of the women in the military but rejects their study in the TMA.

6.3.2. The Properties of the Female Officer

Female officers and cadets mentioned different properties of female officer and these answers are similar in different generations. They also mentioned that every woman can not be an officer. These qualities are parallel with the difference between a civilian and an officer woman which will be explained below “self identity perception” concept.

Female cadets and officers emphasized especially that the woman should be “strong” in every meaning, both physically and psychologically, and “patient” to study in the TMA and to become an officer.

Every woman can not be an officer. She should be patient. Even to be in the same place every time can be boring. She should be physically strong. She should be successful both in lessons and the physical training. (MS; A Female Cadet)

Besides these, there are also some other properties that are mentioned by female cadets. These are; she should be disciplined, she should know how to act in every situation, she should not judge and obey the rules of the military institution, she should not live a crazy life, self-confident and she should be a “greed” woman to compete with the men.

The retired female officers mentioned the similar things with female cadets and officers, besides they added the “leadership” necessity to be an officer. One of the retired officers explains it in details in her answer:

Every woman can not do this job. First of all she has to have leadership property, because she will give orders to her lower ranks. Secondly, she have to be strong psychologically, she should be strong when somebody dies next to her. She should be smart. She should be disciplined. She has to know the responsibility of the uniform. Finally she has to be strong physically. If she has all these properties, she can be an officer. (IA, A Retired Female Officer)

To be disciplined and strong both physically and psychologically are the necessities that every generation mentioned to be an officer.

The male cadets' opinions about the "female officer comprehension" are different, some of them directly rejected the "female officer" concept, and say "a woman can not be an officer". Others mentioned that, as similar to the female interviewees, the female officer should be "strong both as physically and psychologically" and patient. Besides, they mentioned that, to accept a female cadet, she should be "one of them". To be one of them concept is used in two ways: the first usage is to be like a man and lose her femininity and the other usage is to be trustworthy. A male cadet, YO, describes it with his respond to this question:

If I was a female cadet, I prefer to be like us [male cadets], if they act like us, we will be happy, she can do car and football chats with us. If she be like a man no one can oppress and suppress them. (YO, A Male Cadet)

To be one of them also means, not to use the femininity to take a privilege. Because the disciplined education is difficult not only for the female cadets, it is also difficult for the male cadets. If a female cadet is using the opportunities that the commanders ready to give because she is a woman, she can not be from one of them; it is seen as having "double standards, she has to prove that she is trustful enough to protect the solidarity among the cadets by rejecting the double standards. On the other hand, because of the masculine character of the soldier, as Kimmel (2000) argues, one could not be both a woman and a cadet at the same time. If she is a successful cadet, she can not be a successful woman or vice-a-versa. So, to be one of them, as it can be seen from the quotation above, the female cadet should be and chat like a man, if she wants to be accepted among the male cadets.

6.3.3. Self Identity of the Female Officers and Cadets

6.3.3.1. The Superiority and Inferiority Perceptions between Sexes

Because women have biologically lower physical strength than men and can pass the exams in the Military Academies with a lower degree compared to men because of their different standards that are explained before in the Chapter IV, they are always judged because of the “unfair” situations in other words, double standards are created. But, women are superior to men, in the means of “flexibility” of their bodies, which is also a biological ability like physical strength, but this never counts in these exams. According to Segal, because women always compare their standards with men’s’, they always feel themselves “less worthy” (cited in Carreiras 2004: 106).

This is also true for the female interviewees in this research. They frequently mentioned that they feel themselves inferior to men regarding to the physical strength. They argued that the male cadets are better at physical training, besides, that the female cadets see themselves inadequate in military knowledge. Because the female cadets come from the civilian high schools unlike most of the male cadets and they are lack of the military knowledge that is given in the military high schools.

The female cadets mentioned that they are better at, administrative jobs and writing, preparing the boards on the walls, which are also related to the “occupational gender segregation” concept in the military, which will be mentioned below under “negative discrimination” title. Besides, they argued that they are more patient and disciplined than male counterparts. Also, they said that their shooting abilities are better than male cadets. They showed the difference of the muscle and the brain structure of the woman. According to them, because female body is more sensitive they are better at shooting. Besides, they argued that the physical tests, which they have to go through before the enrollment, are easier than the real physical training of the Academy.

I'm inadequate in physical strength. It's because of the difference between the enrollment tests and the actual physical training in the TMA. The physical tests were very easy. When I can't do it properly, I feel myself very bad. (UB, A Female Cadet)

Most of the female officers mentioned that the female officers can compete with the male officers. They argued that in non-combat positions there is no difference between women and men. They accept, like the female cadets that male officers are better at physical strength and implied that their inadequacy is in physical strength. They argued that the female officers are better at "bringing a different point of view" to the problems they said that is why they can solve the problems easier. Most of them also mentioned that the female officers are tidier and do their tasks in detailed ways which give superiority to them.

I think physical differences are the differences which can be closed with training. The gap can be closed by the training started from the childhood. I feel myself inadequate in physical strength. But the female officers are superior than males because they are more patient, can think calmer, can bring another point of view to the problems. They are also superior according to the private life. Although we have all the responsibilities of the family life, we can manage both the work and the housework responsibilities together. (ZO, A Female Officer)

The male cadet's and the officer's responses to the inferiority of the women in the military are similar to the female interviewees' responses. According to the male respondents, the women in the military are inferior to the men in "the military knowledge", which is a consequence of not coming from the military high school, and the "physical strength" issues, which are considered as normal by both female and the males.

The male cadets and the officers also implied that the administration hostess duties are done better by the female cadets and the officers, which shows the internalization of the traditional "occupational gender segregation" both by the female and male interviewees.

6.3.3.2. Perceived Differences of Women in Military and Civilian Life

The female cadets mentioned a variety of things when they were asked to define the differences from a civilian woman. Most of them said that the biggest difference is the physical and psychological strength. They feel themselves “calmer” and more “mature” than their civilian peers. Another difference is the freedom of civilian women to dress as they wish. They feel the pressure not to wear attractive clothes, which are also forbidden by the TMA administration.

Civilian women’s femininity is more than ours. They can look after themselves, their dresses, their jewelries. For example, my hands are full of veins but yours are not. I forget my femininity when I go training. I feel like a man, actually not like a man, I feel like a soldier. To be a soldier doesn’t mean that you have to be a man. (BU, A Female Cadet)

They also said that they can not get along with their civilian friends as they used to before the TMA, because their interests and the subjects are different from civilians. They also mentioned that civilian women do not understand their problems anymore. They also say that they use a different language than civilians, so the civilians do not share the same humor. The female officers also mentioned that they can not sit and chat with civilian women, even with their colleague’s friend’s wives.

We can’t talk to civilian women easily. They talk about cooking, sewing, etc. but we don’t have that kind of hobbies. We always talk to these civilian women’s husbands, who are our friends. But it sometimes causes problems. We don’t have anything to share with their wives. (PU, A Female Officer)

According to Birand (1989: 159), because they are educated different from each other, cadets and civilians can not get along with each other. When they were children, they were playing football in the neighborhood; the one who goes to the Military Academy is the one who changes. When they meet again they can not understand each other. The cadet considers the civilian as undisciplined and the civilian considers the cadet as idealistic and tough. The same thing happens also for the female cadets and officers. They frequently mentioned that, they can not understand their civilian peers and get bored when they are with their civilian friends.

They also mentioned that they have some “masculine behaviors”. According to Stiehm (1988: 99), “military culture is so steeped in maleness that it is impossible to separate the ‘male’ from ‘military’ elements in military values and customs.” This means that women in the services appear to look and act like men more than civilian women. Here we can again see the successful officer or successful woman dichotomy. Kimmel (2000: 505) mentions that, women create four different strategies to struggle against the negative experiences that they live in the military. One of the strategies that they create is “emphatic sameness”, which means to downplay the gender identity as woman, because if they are not seen as woman, they can be seen as successful cadets and officers. Like the male responses to accept the female cadets as one of them that are explained before, the female cadets try to look and act like men to show that they are good at this job, like their male counterparts.

The retired female officers also expressed the “discipline” and the “toughness”, which is used as the masculine character as the female officers and cadets, notion very frequently.

When I started working as an officer, wanted to work with me and said because they were afraid of me. It is because of the toughness that the TMA gave us. We always had that pressure over us, not to let anybody say something to you and more importantly to your rank... (MS, A Retired Female Officer)

The women in the military are not only judged because they are doing a so-called male occupation but also their feminine identity is also judged. “The male identity of the organization is strongly evident through sexualized behaviors and norms, such as male attitudes of paternalism...” (cited in Winslow and Dunn 2002: 651).

The male cadets and the officers mostly think that the female cadets and the female officers are acting like man. Although the male cadets accept them as one of them, when the females act like men, they do not accept them as women anymore. When I asked them to give examples they counted some characteristics, these are; talking tough, commanding tough, power obsession, they are not beautiful like the civilian girls, not clean, more rational, swear, not kind, but they are superior than their civilian peers in the means of patience, have responsibility, courage and maturity. As it is discussed before under the “uniqueness of the military institution” title,

Hollingshead (1946) mentions that, the military education makes its members more matured than their civilian peers, that is why “maturity” concept is underlined as a difference from the civilian women by both female and male interviewees that much.

6.3.4. Gender and Leadership

Leadership is an important issue for the Military Academies, there are lessons on military and also the cadets are encouraged to attend to international leadership symposiums. Because right after they graduate, most of them will work directly with the privates from every educational levels, they try to give an effective leadership concept to the cadets in four years.

As it is discussed in Chapter II, Offermann (cited in Scott 2003) mentions some factors that constitute a leader prototype such as, charisma, masculinity, strength, intelligence dedication, tyranny, sensitivity. Some of these properties were mentioned by the female interviewees when they asked about leader properties. When they were asked about the relationship between “leadership” and “gender”, they gave various answers. Most of them said that there is no relationship between the “gender” and the “leadership”. The important thing for the leadership is not the gender it is the personality.

The female cadets gave three different answers to the “leadership” and “gender” relation. The first answer is that “women can be a leader”, the second answer is “leadership is not related with gender” and the third one is “women cannot be leaders like men”. The first and the third group of the answers focused on the “difference” and the “similarity” properties between women and men. Both take the male properties as the norm and try to explain gender and leadership relation from this point of view.

One of the female cadets from the first group said that:

We can command and direct the privates like men do. We are even better at dictate our opinions and we are more disciplined than men. So, women can be leaders because of these reasons (YZ, A Female Cadet)

The second group of the female cadets argued that it is the personality and the character not the gender, which is important about “leadership”:

Leadership is not gender related issue, it is related with character. If a man can be a leader, a woman also can be a good one. (AU, A Female Cadet)

The third group of the female cadets mentioned that because women are more emotional than men they can not be leaders like their male counterparts:

The female officers don't have the properties of a leader. Women can act emotionally. A good leader should be tough and calm. If I see an injured person, I think, I feel nervous. (UB, A Female Cadet)

It can be mentioned from the responses of the different groups, the first group of the female cadets underlines the similarity, whereas the third group underlines the difference.

Different from the female cadets, the active and retired female officers have two different ideas about “leadership” and “gender” and they argued that, women can be leaders because of two reasons: one group argued that in leadership, gender is not important; it is the character and the personality. Besides, they mentioned that it is an ability that comes with birth and can be developed by education. Whereas, the second group argued that, women also have leadership properties like men do and underlined the similarities between men and women such as, the knowledge and ability to command.

About leadership and gender relation when I asked about their relationships with the lower ranks males, they gave different answers. Most of the female interviewees mentioned that, when they are commanding the male from the lower ranks, they do not see them as men; they see them as genderless ranks.

When I was commanding the men from the lower ranks, I didn't see them as men, because I didn't want them to see me as a woman. There is no sex in the military. I command to a rank, a brain. (IA, A Retired Female Officer)

Some of the female officers mentioned that they feel themselves satisfied when they are commanding men from the lower ranks:

It is a very good feeling to command men from the lower ranks. Women are always seen in the second status all over the society. If I can make them obey my orders, in a proper or improper way, it is the revenge of all the women in the society. (JL, A female Officer)

Most of the male cadets and the officers mentioned that the female cadets and the officers cannot be leaders. The relationship with the privates was shown as an obstacle for their leadership. They informed that, although women can be good leaders in the civilian life, in military, they can not be leaders because the privates, who do their conscriptions and come from all geographic and socio-economic status parts of Turkey, do not accept them as their leaders and do not listen to their commands, especially under fire. In my opinion this is one of the main evidences that shows the strong patriarchal ideology of the military institution and the privates that come from different parts of the Turkey. In other words, it also reflects the patriarchal ideology of the society as a whole. Although a woman can be an officer with a higher rank from the privates, these privates still see women inferior and do not accept their leadership. This situation is mentioned both by the female and male active officers and also by the female and male cadets. There is a double burden for the women in the military. In their educational life their male counterparts, from the same status, and also in their occupational life their lower ranks do not accept them.

Besides the privates' acceptance of female officers as their leaders, the physical strength inferiority of women was shown as an obstacle for women's efficient leadership. It is mentioned by the male interviewees that, if a military leader wants their privates to do something, she or he have to be better than them. A woman can not be better than any of the privates regarding to the physical strength, and privates do not accept a leader that is inferior to them.

6.3.4.1. The Relationship with the Men from the Lower Ranks

The female cadets mentioned that some of the male cadets from lower classes do not respect them. Lower class male cadets do not listen to their commands or they do not salute upper class female cadets when they are passing through, which is a strict rule in the TMA. When I asked what they do in such situations, some of the female cadets said when the male cadets do not salute them, they do not show any reaction, and some of them said that they stop them and ask them to salute. If the male cadets still not salute, they complain to the team commander and ask for their punishment. The punishment usually entails ban on weekend leave, which is seen as the strongest punishment for a cadet. Some of the male cadets prefer punishment over saluting, which is the serious resistance for the female cadets' presence in the TMA.

It is also confirmed by the male cadets. They expressed that they salute the upper rank female cadets and the officers but they do it unwillingly. They informed that at first it was very hard to salute them because they are women, but now they think that it is a part of the "professionalism" and started to salute. The other reason mentioned is, instead of being reproached in front of every body, they prefer to salute.

At first it was very weird to salute a female; I was running away instead of saluting when they asked me to do so. It was for one month. We were calling our higher rank as 'brother', should I call upper class female cadets as 'sister' or what? (MK, A Male Cadet)

The male cadets, who do not salute the female cadets from upper classes, also mentioned that, this is because of the influences of their friends. The "collective behavior", which the female cadets and the female officers mentioned frequently as the reason of the discriminative behaviors of the male cadets in the TMA, shows itself clearly here. To act against the female cadets is a way to prove each other how trustful they are. They also discriminate the ones who act against this notion.

I sometimes don't salute the upper class female cadets because of my friends. For example, when we see an upper class female cadet, every body starts to tell each other that the one who salutes is not a man. So you can't salute although you think that it is wrong. (SO, A Male Cadet)

About the salutation issue, the female officers gave the similar answers to the female cadets. They mentioned that, if a soldier passes without saluting them, they first try to understand if it is a conscious or unconscious act, like absentmindedness. If it is an unconscious act, they said that they just warn and do not make more things. If the soldier did it unconsciously, he apologizes and salutes immediately. If they sense that it is conscious act towards them, they give legal punishments and reproach them in front of everybody which is the most degrading thing for a soldier, because it is a woman who reproaches him in front of everybody. They also told me that, even sometimes they beat the privates.

One day one of the privates in the base didn't salute, when I asked him why he didn't salute me, he was chewing a gum; smiling and his hands were in his pocket. He said 'they didn't tell us that we have to salute the woman'. I told him that he is not saluting my gender, he is saluting my rank, but he didn't and I beat him. (HB, A Female Officer)

The retired female officers again focused on the "motherhood" concept when I asked the relations of them with their lower ranks. The first generation women tend to combine the leadership issues with motherhood as the explanations of the anti-militarist feminists. As antimilitarists argue, because of the female ability to become mothers make them naturally more peaceful than males, who are inherently violent. Because, they combine the leadership with motherhood, they tried to solve the problems with their lower ranks in a peaceful ways, instead of punishments.

I always behaved nice to the privates because I'm a mother. I still start crying when something bad happens to them. They are still my sons. Some of the male commanders were beating them, I was getting really mad. (GO, A Retired Female Officer)

Of course we had difficult times with the lower ranks especially with the privates. But I always behaved well to them. For example, I had a soldier who was bringing tea in the base for us; I suddenly realized that he had never brought me tea... I asked him why he didn't and he said "we don't serve to the woman". There was also one of my male officer friends around and he told me to say it to the commander so he could be punished. I didn't. I asked that soldier if he knew how to read and write, he said no. I started to teach him reading and writing, and he started to serve me tea. After he finished his conscription, he wrote me a letter telling that he had a daughter and he gave my name to his daughter. Also, the problem was not just the privates; some of the male officers also refused to salute, they were acting like they didn't see, just not to salute us (TA, A Female Retired Officer)

None of the male officers had to do these kinds of favors to make himself accepted as a leader. For a female officer, it is that much more difficult to make herself accepted.

6.3.5. Public Attitudes towards Women in the Military

The military institution has a positive influence on the Turkish society. It is seen as the protector of the modern Turkey, for both internal and the external enemies. Turkish people are always told that, every Turkish person is born as a soldier, that means every man, and even woman is ready to protect their nation, whenever it is necessary. Because of the importance that is given to the military institution, the members of the Turkish military also have a great importance in the Turkish society. The families are proud of their sons, when they enroll in the military service.

Are the positive public attitudes towards the military institution as general different for the female officers? When I asked about it, they mentioned that especially older people show a great respect to them. But, it is clear that, it is still a new notion to have female officers in the Turkish Military. The female interviewees mentioned that, the people tend to believe the positive experiences that the female cadets live, but do not believe the negative ones, like the hard physical training that they have. They even do not believe that the female cadets do the same things with male cadets. They expressed that, the attitudes of the people toward them are generally very positive.

Most of the female cadets and the officers mentioned that they do not tell that they are cadets or officers. They said it has two reasons; one of them is because of the security issues. The other reason is the curiosity of the people about the military; they said that people ask too many questions to learn that the women do at TMA or at work. They also mentioned that, when they are in their uniforms, everybody looks at them. They expressed that it is also very annoying.

From the answers of the cadets we can say that because people do not know very much about the military institution and particularly about the female officers in the military as it is explained before. Because it is still a new phenomenon, the people

tend to ask and learn about the female cadets and officers and try to learn generally what is happening inside the institution. But because of the male soldier image, they do not believe that the female cadets have the same difficult education with men.

CHAPTER VII

GENDER INTEGRATION IN THE MILITARY

7.1. Gender Related Problems

7.1.1. Physical Environment

The female cadets gave different responses for the problems of the physical structure of the TMA. The first problem is related to the difference in location of the dormitories and the education corps for the female cadets. The difference of the dormitories and the education corps also cause some time related problems for the female cadets. They mentioned that they always have to run from one place to another and sometimes they can not be in the place where they have to be on time because of the difference. They expressed that the male cadets do not live such a problem because they always live in the same corp.

The difference of the corps is also one of the reasons that male cadets and female cadets can not get along with each other. Although male cadets have no chance to see inside of the female cadet's dormitories, they created some speculations that the female cadets have better dormitories, which will be explained below. The male cadets think that female cadets have better opportunities in the TMA than they have. The second problem is the distance between the toilets to the classes, because there are few women's toilets. And the third problem is the narrowness of the special rooms for the female cadets that are used by the female cadets to dress up and put their personal belongings when they are in their in their education corps, which is called as cloak-rooms.

Female cadets' dormitories are different from the rest of the corp. It brings some problems, if the female cadet is also a piece of the whole corp, why we have to sleep in a different dormitory, in a different place? Female cadets should be educated and sleep in the same corp, like males do. (KT, A Female Cadet)

Most of the male cadets are not aware of the problems that female cadets have because of the physical structure of the TMA. They mentioned that the opportunities that female cadets have, are better than male cadets' in every ways.

Their opportunities are better than ours. They have everything. We have more toilet problems. They have internet in their dormitories; they can use them at night. Also the commanders do not search their dormitories as much as they search ours. (EO, A Male Cadet)

On the contrary, some of the male cadets are aware of every problem that female cadets have with the physical structure of the TMA. They mentioned that, the female cadets have problems with the distance of the toilets and the classrooms, to have separate corps, unlike male cadets and they have to rush in every minute, they have one room to dress up. They showed the reasons of these problems as to be minority gender in the TMA.

The physical structure of the TMA is clearly designed for the males. They now just try to add the female cadets into this structure. Because they are minority they have lots of problems with the structure including toilets and the separate corps. (AB and MK, Male Cadets)

Some of the female officers also mentioned "toilet problem" in their bases, when they are asked about the problems that they have because of the physical structure of their bases:

This building doesn't have women's toilet. When somebody is inside, you have to wait until him to come out. Besides, we don't have showers, after the sport we have to wait until we go home, every day (BP, A Female Cadet)

Although this building is new, I don't have a place to change my clothes. We are six people in the same room, when they are changing I have to go out from the room, when I'm changing they go out. This causes discussions among us. There is no women's toilet in this building; I have to go to another building which is far away from here. (EF, A Female Officer)

According to the last respondent, although the buildings are new, they did not think about the female officers when they were planning them, which shows how they overlook the presence of the women in the military. Not all of the branches but some of them especially the combat branches have these kinds of problems, because it is accepted by the military institution that although the women have integrated into the military, the combat positions are still the men's areas and women can only be welcomed if they work in traditional women's occupations. Same thing happened to me for one year. We had classes in a different place from the TMA, in a base²⁷, which has few female officers, although the buildings are new and very modern, the women's toilet was very far from the classes and also locked every time, only the waiter and the female officers have the keys of the toilets. So, when I wanted to go to the toilet because I can not find the waiter or the female officers, I have to go to the men's toilet, which was very annoying. I have to ask one of my friends to check inside and wait for me at the front of the door not to run into a male officer inside.

7.1.2. The Problems in the Training Camp (Menteş)

There are three different answers for the gender related problems that occur in the training camp. The first problem is the toilet issue in the field, which is worse when the female cadets are in their menstruation periods, because they have to wait hours to find an opportunity to change their pads.

They mentioned that generally there is no problem about telling that they have their period and get 3 days off from the training. But sometimes the period can be longer than it supposed to be and they have to go to the training and this causes some problems in the field. They also told me that it is not always very easy to tell that you are in your period, it depends on the personality of the commander.

I was in my period when we were in the field training, I told my friends not to come and let anybody to that side. When I was changing my pad there, I heard that somebody was coming and I shouted out, 'who are you?' I thought he was one of my friends or a soldier, but he was the commander. He reproached me because he thought that I was the stand guard of the camp and I was afraid of the

²⁷ Because of the intelligence restrictions, the name of the base is not given.

sound. And I couldn't tell him that I was there just for my toilet need.
(NB, A Female Officer)

The other problem is to swim with men. Generally, the female cadets are alone when they go to the swimming with their corps, which is composed of nearly 130 men. They also mentioned that the problem is not just swimming with them; it is also doing push-ups and sit-ups in the middle of the corp with the bathing suits. The female cadets mentioned that, the males are looking and they are making fun of the female cadets, for example because of their weights.

The last problem is the place of the female cadets' tents, which is far away from the center of the camping area. This again causes time related problems like in the TMA because of the difference of the education corps and the dormitories, and also because they can not get the commands from the first hand, sometimes there are misunderstandings in the commands and they are punished.

Because the tents of the female cadets are far away from the center, we can not reach to the team commanders when there is a problem, this causes some communication issues. We are punished because of the difference of the camping areas in Menteş. (AE, A female Cadet)

According to Nuciari (2002), working and living conditions in the military are harsh and far away from the normal life, so women can have difficulties adopting to these conditions, for example in "feminine hygiene" and "bodily privacy" in camps, during training or missions. The female cadet's and officer's responses confirm Nuciari's statement.

All of the female cadets that I interviewed said that they have some health issues, especially gynecological problems, such as longer periods, cists and vagina fungus. They mentioned that, the reasons are to swim in the same pool with the male cadets, the difficulties of the training, such as carrying 10.5 kilograms rifles and the unhygienic situations they have in the training camp, Menteş.

These statements of the female interviewees confirm the reasons that are shown for the resistance of anti-militarists regarding the women's military participation and

some militarist feminists, who support the women's integration to the extent of the combat positions.

The retired female officers could not give an answer to the problems that are lived in the training camp because four of the retired female cadets are from the Turkish Air Force and they did not have a training camp like Menteş, they said they were doing their physical training at school. The other two retired female cadets graduated in 1957, two years before the training camp was constructed in Menteş.

When I asked to the male cadets and the officers that what kind of gender related problems different from the physical strength difficulties, that female cadets have in the training camp, half of the male cadets was aware of the problems that female cadets have in the Menteş whereas the other half was unaware of these problems. The ones, who were aware of the problems, gave the same examples like the female cadets did. They mentioned that because they are women they have to be more careful of their health, because they will be mothers in the future. The dichotomy of the female cadets, the successful cadet versus successful woman, is again here underlined by the motherhood concept.

The ones who are unaware of the female cadet's problems in Menteş focused on the physical difficulties. They mentioned that they help the female cadets and also they have extra tolerance in Menteş from the commanders.

7.1.3. The Difficulties of Working in Detachments

As I explained in Chapter III, there is a consensus in the extent of the women's military participation among the militarist feminists. Although, one part of the militarist feminists, like liberal feminists argue women's partial integration, the other part, like Stiehm (1988), argue that the full integration into the military is necessary to gain the equal rights with men. In both perspectives, the core point is women's combat and non-combat positions. As I have already mentioned before, full integration includes combat positions of women in the military, whereas, partial integration supports the integration of women to the extent of combat positions in the military. In this part of the research, I tried to find out the opinions of the female and male interviewees on that issue.

The arguments on women's combat or non-combat duties in the military are a little different from the feminist debates in the Turkish context. In combat versus non-combat discussions, it is not only the physical and psychological differences and inadequacy of the women in the combat positions; it is also the physical situations of the detachments and the dominant patriarchal ideology of the Turkish privates. About the physical situations, it is mentioned that everything is designed for the male officers in the detachments. There is no separate toilet, shower or room for the female officers. The male officers always mentioned that if a female officer has to go to the detachments, the commander of that base has to change everything according to a female officer. The other problem is about the privates, who do their conscriptions, it is mentioned that, the privates are from every part of the Turkey and from every levels of education, sometimes uneducated. The male officers argued that the privates do not listen to the woman commander's commands, especially when they are under fire. They also mentioned that, there are long missions that are done in the fields with the privates; it is very hard for a female officer to stay in a mountain for long periods of time and with a large crowd of privates.

Although the female cadets have not seen the detachments yet, the things they heard from the older generations and the things they live in Menteş, they have opinions on

the working conditions in the detachments, which are similar to the female officer's responses.

Even in Menteş, we have to move together go to the toilet. The detachments physical structures are not ready for women. I can't even run when I need to attack, properly, besides, the privates that we will orders are the uneducated privates, you have to shout, you have to swear. We can't even give commands our lower class male cadets here... (OU and CO, Female Cadets)

The female officers expressed the similar problems with the female cadets by giving more detailed examples about working conditions and the problems they face in the detachments:

When I was working in a detachment, one of my upper rank male officers was sleeping with the lower rank males, although he had his own room. The reason was me, he gave his room to me because I'm a woman and I can't stay with men. The inadequacy of the dormitories in the detachments is one of the problems. They try to give the best possibilities to the female officers without looking to the rank. The male officers were giving the dirty clothes and the under wears to the privates to make them wash. But I couldn't. I have to take 15 under wears with me, if they said we are staying 15 days more what could I do? (FP, A Female Officer)

When I was in the detachment, I make the privates open the doors and I was controlling the inside of the rooms. When there is a soldier who is sleeping, his friends were making him up. It's not something very difficult. if he is naked, he can dress up. Will he eat me? The men don't trust themselves, if there are this much of control over the female cadets and the officers that means men don't trust themselves. (TA, A Retired Female Officer)

When I asked the same question to the male interviewees, they focused on the "relationships" with the privates as they did in the leadership concept. They mentioned that, because a commander in the detachments has to be interested in and because there are missions in the mountains a female officers can not work efficiently in the detachments.

But, there are also some male officers who think that the female officers can work in the detachments. They also showed examples from the experiences that are successful in the detachment duties. They expressed that, these kinds of opinions makes the distinction between the male and the female officers and make the female officers inferior to the male officer. This is also seen as the main reason of the double

standards. Some of the male officers think that, although as an officer the women have the same opportunities with me, like equal budgets, they are not going to detachments and work in the same difficult conditions with men; this is seen as an unfair implication.

7.1.4. The Marriage and the Children

As Caser (cited in Carreiras 2004: 119) argues, military and family are “greedy” institutions, because both of them require strong expectations such as loyalty and time. But for women military is greedier, because women tend to spend more time to their families than men and they are expected to give emotional energy to their families. Even, the military couples share the responsibilities of the family; it is still greedy for the women.

All the female officers and the retired female officers mentioned that, they choose to marry to an officer. The reason that is showed for this decision is, a civilian husband can not understand the working conditions and the relationships with the officers in the working place. Besides, they mentioned that because of the designation nature of the military job, a civilian can change city easily. So, it is more rational to marry to an officer.

Although they expressed that a civilian man can not understand the working conditions, most of the married female officers and retired female officers expressed that all the responsibility of the housework is on their shoulders. But also there are some female officers that mentioned that they are sharing the responsibilities with their husbands. Usually, the retired female officers mentioned that because of their period was more conservative, they were the ones who served in the home.

We didn't share the responsibilities of the house work; I was the one who was doing the housework. His first wife was the work, I was the second one (MS, A Retired Female Officer)

According to the “personnel law” of the Turkish Armed Forces 128th rule, the female officers have right to use “maternity leave” 3 weeks before and 6 weeks after the birth. Also they have the right to use maternity leave 6 months after the birth

without any payment. This law is seen as one of the “affirmative actions” generally for the working women and especially for the female officers. But if we look from a different point of view, the “maternity leave” without a “paternity leave” is unfair for the female officers, because if we think that an officer couple are in the same rank, with the “maternity leave” she loses one rank and becomes a lower rank from her husband, and not only lower from her husband, but also from the generation that she was graduated with. So, the marriage and the children can be considered as the turning points for the female officers from this point of view.

When I asked about the children issues, the female officers and the retired female officers that have children mentioned that, they have problems on looking after the children, just one of the female officers has a child and she told me that, when she and her husband have to work at night the child care becomes problematic. She mentioned that, usually her mother looks after the child, but because she lives in the same city with her parents now, when she has to move to another city, it will be problematic again.

The retired female officers mentioned the same thing. One of the retired female officers described the problem about the children in a very detailed way.

The biggest problem, was the money when my first child born. Because the rents were very expensive in Ankara in those days, we were spending most of our salaries to the rent, when she was born; I had to run to the home in the lunch breaks and feed her, and go back to work. She stayed in her playpen for one year, and when she was one years old, she fell out from the playpen and injured. (IA, A Retired Female Officer)

7.1.5. High Level of Women’s Visibility

According to Laws, tokenism is “likely to be found whenever a dominant group is under pressure to share privilege, power or other desirable commodities with a dominant group that is excluded” (cited in Carreiras 2004, 78).

According to Carreiras tokenism is defined mostly as the experiences of the women who are minority in a work place. Visibility, contrast and assimilation are typical

token responses. High visibility of token brings pressures on performance with it. Not only to be visible but also token wants the others see their successes that is why they show high performance. But token can be afraid of this success and it can be used against them, so they can also choose to be socially invisible. “Visibility and publicity are thus a two-edged sword for tokens, since they are both representatives and exceptions: on one hand, they are considered exceptions and unusual examples of their kind, especially when they succeed; on the other hand, they serve as symbols of their category when they fumble” (Carreiras 2004: 80). It is mentioned because they face lots of pressures, they choose to make themselves and their achievements invisible.

According to the responses that are given from the three generations, we can clearly say that the problems on visibility of the tokens are same for all three generations. They are always in the front of the eyes, which I mean, ever body is searching for the mistakes that the female cadets and the officers do. The faults of these women are always seen bigger than the faults that male cadets and officers do. That is why they feel themselves under pressure and why they try not to make any mistakes and to be careful every time.

The female cadets mentioned that their team commander always tell to be careful hundred times more than male cadets do, this is because the visibility, as a male team commander mentions, “The female cadets are visible like a one drop of oil in a glass of water in TMA” (CL, A Male Officer)

The female cadets and officers always used to give encouragement to the males in hard tasks. For example one of the female cadets, SR, told me that, because every body is afraid of jumping from 7 meters into the pool, the team commander makes her jump over and over, to show the male cadets that “even if a female can do it, they can easily do it”. It is also told by the retired female officers, which shows that the “visibility” issue has not changed over years; it was same for the first generation of the women in the TMA. One of the retired female officers told me that:

In physical trainings we had to be the first ones who have to do the jumping or flipping before the males. They had to see us first doing

this kind of stuff. We were really greed, we were making it, we couldn't be the commandos but we could do the sports in the TMA.
(MS, A Retired Female Officer)

Not only the mistakes are visible, According to Carreiras (2004: 287), “if a woman is praised it is said to happen because she is a woman and not because she performed well”. A good example for this statement is one of my experiences from studying in TMA; when I got the highest grade from one of the lessons; one officer tried to find excuses for this, and said at the end that the teacher gave that high grade to me because I am a woman.

There are also another consequences of the visibility, for example they have to be ready for every question in the lessons because the teachers always points them to answer the questions, this makes extra pressure on the female cadets, because they try not to do mistakes and have to study more than the male cadets.

If no body raises their hands for the answer of the questions, the commanders in the lessons always points us to answer it, they say immediately ‘yes, female cadets’... (SR, A Female Cadet)

In the courses that I was taking in the graduate programme in the TMA, same thing happened to me although I was not a cadet, and the professors are not commanders. The professors always try to make me answer the questions, besides my friends were also trying to include me to the discussions by saying that “I don't know what our female friend think about it...” I felt the same pressure with the female cadets; I tried to prepare every lesson properly, to answer all the questions, because I knew that they will ask me at the end.

Another problem about tokenism is mentioned by Kanter as “contrast” which is the highlighting or exaggerating the differences between the majority group and the token group. The consequences of the contrast are social isolation or exclusion from the informal network. “Many women, especially when they were the only one, felt lonely and excluded from socialization in the men's group, either because they were not invited or because they were not really interested in sharing ‘*boys' talk*’ or activities such as ‘*drinking and smoking in the bar*’, or ‘*watching porno movies*’.” (cited in Carreiras 2004: 287). Many of the female cadets mentioned that they feel

very lonely when they are all alone in a class. Especially in the first year of the Academy, they prefer to have one more female cadet in the classroom. Because many of the male cadets in the classroom know each other from the military high schools, or even they do not know each other they have things to talk to each other. When I first started to the graduate programme in TMA, there were nearly 70 male officers in the classroom in the orientation training, and none of them were sitting next to me in the class. I was waiting for my civilian friends to talk. After the orientation programme, I left all alone with nearly 35 male officers. I was trying to talk to them but they seemed like they did not want to. One day, when I was in elevator with a male officer, he said me that “you should be feeling lonely, sorry for that but, there is a bad tradition from the TMA education. If somebody talks to you everybody assumes romantic connotations” and he stopped talking when we got out from the elevator. Some of the male officers were really kind not to leave me alone, especially the ones in my age, some of them were just did not care about my presence, they simply ignored me. After months later, we started to talk and eat lunches together; all of the male officers got used to my presence in the class. But there was still some “contrast” consequences, for example they were going to play basketball, although I asked if I could play with them, they directly mean that they were going to play with man to man, I have nothing to do with them.

All the female cadets and officers mentioned that, at first they put a resistance to their presence but when they start to know each other, of course not all of them but some of them got used to the presence of them and became friends. They also informed that it is mostly up to the female cadet, if she is friendly, helpful and shows that she has the same opportunities with them, not any privileges, their acceptance is faster. According to my opinion this is all true, for example at the end of the year, I had really good friends from the TMA and we went to play tennis numerous times.

7.2. Patterns of Solidarity

7.2.1. Male-Male Solidarity or “Brothers in Arms” (Male Bonding)

To discuss the solidarity types in the military institution I have to begin with the male-male solidarity, or “brothers in arms”, or “male bonding” as in the literature, because the other types of solidarities were compared with this type by the all interviewees.

According to Yuval-Davis (2003: 201), the males can endure the hardship of war and the pains of the wars by “male bonding”. Besides the love of the country and the payments, the daily life of the soldiers is connected to the trust between the soldiers. The “male bonding” concept refers to the “biologically based behavior that plays a key role in human society.” (cited in Goldstein 2001: 195). It is also mentioned that, male bonding can occur in the small groups, and this bonding becomes more powerful by degrading male-female solidarity. According to Goldstein (2001: 195), this explains “why groups of men are often misogynistic and why it is hard women to participate in all-male settings, including war”.

It is argued that, because of this male bonding it is hard for the women to participate the combat positions, because it is thought that the female in a combat unit can be harmful and destroys the solidarity of that unit. The reasons are, besides to be a woman, the females are physically inferior to men, they have menstruation periods and the pregnancy issues, which were mentioned also both by the females and the males in the occupational gender segregation section that will be discussed later.

When we look at the male-male solidarity closely in the TMA, although there are some separations on the arguments of the female cadets and the officers, there is a strong male solidarity was informed by the male cadets. There are basically 6 different groups that cadets come from to the TMA. The first three are the “military high schools”, Işıklar in Bursa, Maltepe in İzmir and Kuleli in İstanbul. The fourth group is constituted from the cadets that come from the Turk Republics like Turkmenistan. The fifth group is the males who come from the civilian high

schools²⁸. And finally the sixth group is the females that come from the civilian high schools with a high grade from the university exam, who the male cadets call as “*harbiş*”²⁹.

The three of the “military high schools” always compete to each other, and also the male cadets call each other with the nicknames of the schools, for example they call the ones from the Işıklar Military High School as “Adem”, the ones from Maltepe Military High School as “Mal” and the ones from Kuleli Military High School as “Şaban”. But at the beginning of the TMA, although there is a competition between the schools, there is a natural bonding between the men from these Military High Schools.

Although the male cadets from the Turk Republics, who the male cadets call as “*monç*” to underline that they are not from one of them, and the men from civilian high schools have hard times to gain acceptance from them, they can meet in the same point and get along each other. And all these men in the TMA find a same enemy for themselves at the end, who are the females from the civilian high schools. And the hidden contract is signed between the male cadets.

I am coming from a civilian high school. In the first day of the school, a 4th grade male cadet was talking, and there were female cadets in front of us, suddenly he said ‘do you know what we call the male cadets who hang around with the female cadets? Jaws. And we don’t like the jaws’. The first thing that I learned about the TMA was this. (JK, A Male Cadet)

The male cadets are divided into three by the relationships with the female cadets. These groups are; 1) Jaws, 2) Objective Group and 3) Anti Jaws Team³⁰. The first

²⁸ From the year 2004 the administration is stopped to accept male students form the civilian high schools.

²⁹ In Turkish the male cadet is called as “Harbiyeli” which means the student in the Military Academy and the female cadets is “Bayan Harbiyeli”. Because the male cadets want to have fun about the female cadets they call them “harbiş”, it is also a way of degrading them and imply that they are strangers.

³⁰ These terms are from the 1996 generation who graduated with the first second generation female cadets.

group of male cadets, Jaws³¹, is the ones who help to the female cadets and also have a girlfriend from the female cadets. There are also some “hidden jaws”, which means, the ones who are jaws but because of the pressure in the school they can not tell this to anyone. The second group, the “objective group” is also seen as the “potential jaws”. And the third group, which is the minority but the dominant group in the TMA, is the ones who show a strong resistance to the presence of the female cadets in the TMA. These are the ones who cause problems for the female cadets mostly. According to a male officer, FP, they sit at the back corner of the classes and they are the “illegal leaders” of the TMA. These male cadets constitute the “hegemonic masculinity” in the TMA, with the domination of the female cadets and also other male cadets.

None of the male cadets that are interviewed mentioned that he is a “jaws”. But according to the other male cadet’s responses, there were some “hidden jaws” in the respondents. The reason they hide this reality is because “jaws” is seen as the degrading term. This is seen as the betraying the whole male group, so they prefer to say the “objective group” instead of “jaws”. On the contrary, it is understood that they proud of themselves while mentioning that they are from the “anti jaws team”. There were 9 male cadets who mentioned that he is from “anti jaws team”. The rest of the male cadets mentioned that they are from the “objective group” of the male cadets.

The connection of these groups with the solidarity is evaluated by the relationship with the female cadets. The male cadets, although they come from different backgrounds, have to divide into groups because of the female cadets. The ones, who do not want to have a nick name as “jaws” in the group, although they want to help to the female cadets and create a friendship with them, can not because of the dominant “anti jaws team”. They are seen as the ones who betray the whole group. This is also seen as betray to the “institution culture”. They also mention that the relationship with the female cadets, even the presence of them in the TMA, destroys the “brothers in arms” notion. Because it is mentioned that, there can be fights

³¹ The reason to call them as Jaws is from the “shark movie” they said that because the male cadets movements is similar with the shark It is said that the male cadets walk around the female cadets like a shark, to hunt her.

between the two male cadets because of a female cadet, and this is bad for the male bonding.

When a 4th grade male cadet has a girlfriend from the 1st grade, and when a 2nd grade reproached her, the 4th grade one reproaches the 2nd grade male cadet without a reason. So the friendship and the commandership intervened. As a consequence of this intervention the solidarity among male cadets is destroyed. (YO, A Male Cadet)

The influence of this fear is very strong; although they graduated they can not leave this feeling at back. I could observe this fear in my close friends. One day when we went to the small mall, in the TMA, which is called as the “jaws café”, with two of my male officer friends to buy some stuff from the stationary store, they hurried not to see any body around; they scared because of to be called as “jaws” by the male cadets who might have recognized them.

As mentioned in Chapter II, under the “unit cohesion” title, not only the physical or psychological inferiority of the females destroy the unit cohesion, it is simply the presence of them in the unit.

7.2.2. Female-Male Solidarity

As Goldstein mentions, the scholars divide the small group cohesion in to two. On of them are the “task cohesion” and the other one is “social cohesion”. “*Social* cohesion refers to group members linking each other, whereas *task* cohesion means they work together smoothly in a small unit” (Goldstein 2001: 199). Social cohesion decreases with the increase of differences of the member’s values and behaviors. On the other hand in task cohesion the reasons that members get along with one another are discipline and leadership. The members in this kind of solidarity are together just because of the task responsibilities.

If we look at the relationship between male and female cadets, it can be clearly mentioned that the solidarity between male and female cadets is “task cohesion” in TMA. According to the female cadet’s and officer’s, there is a solidarity between male and female cadets in the TMA, when there is an external factor for that, such as when they have to do something just because of the team commander wants

something to be done collectively. Besides this situation, they mentioned that there is no solidarity between the female and male cadets, like the one among the male cadets.

I can't say that there is solidarity between the female and the male cadets. But I also can't say that there is no solidarity. Normally our lives are very separate from each other. We can act collectively when there is a problem with the officers. The solidarity is against the outside problems not to solve the inside problems, it is like you can get mad and shout at your younger brother but you can't stand when somebody stranger shouts at him. (FE and CE, Female Cadets)

Every female cadet and female officer mentioned that they got the most help from the male cadets in the training camp, Menteş. According to Nuciari (2002), the solidarity between the units without focusing on the gender, is arises when "the life is at risk and stress reaches its extreme peak" like the one in the Menteş.

Besides this help, the male cadets that are from the "objective group" of the academy, are helpful for the lessons and the military knowledge. The female cadets mentioned that they help male cadets, if they are close enough, for their relationships with their girlfriends and also with the lessons. The female cadets mentioned that when you ask for help the male cadets do not reject it.

When they were graduated from the TMA, the female officers mentioned that the relationship and the solidarity between the male officers and the female officers are better when we compare with the times while they were cadets. They informed that they are gaining help from their male colleagues. The female officers mentioned that because they start to think more individually instead of collectively like they did in TMA.

On the contrary, the female cadets and officers expressions, most of the retired female officers mentioned that they had no problems on solidarity in their periods. The male cadets were acting like their brothers without discriminating them. The retired female officers informed that, because they showed that they are qualified enough for the job the male cadets and the officers accepted them as their counterparts.

A retired female officer, İA, is more critical about their relationship with the male cadets in their period. Although, MS and İA belongs to the same period, İA mentioned that the male cadets were not helping them; even they were trying to put them in trouble in every task.

They didn't help us because they saw us as their rivals; they wanted us to be unsuccessful. In the night trainings, they were jumping over the ditches and when we didn't see them and fell in to it, they even weren't helping us to get out. They were hiding our hats to make us to be punished from the commanders, but we had always extra ones. They were rivals they weren't helping us. (İA, A Retired Female Officer)

The retired female officers also mentioned that, after their graduation, the relationship with the officers became more stable because they have ranks. But they frequently mentioned that, the relationship is better because they put a distance to all their colleagues. They had just a work friendship nothing more. This is again reflects the "task cohesion" which is mentioned before.

Most of the male cadets mentioned that there is no solidarity between the female and the male cadets. This is because they can not trust to the female cadets, as much as they do to the male cadets, because of the male solidarity that is explained before. Some of them mentioned that as they become older, the solidarity increases.

For example, when there is a crime a male cadet can take it over himself if your discipline grade is very low. But a female cadets never do that, she also never do it for a female cadet. This is the male bonding... (CK, A Male Cadet)

Most of the male cadets mentioned that they help the female cadets in Menteş, the training camp. They have to help there because the tasks are done collectively, so they can not act individually. The reason to help in the fields is because of the "task solidarity" not the "social solidarity". So, the idea that they have about the female cadets is not changed there, it is just because of the responsibility. Some of the male cadets informed that, although they want to help to the female cadets, they are scared to do so because of that anti jaws team pressure.

A male cadet will be discriminated if he tries to help to the female cadets. One day, when we went to each lunch, one of the female

cadets forgot her purse and wanted to borrow some money from me, I was nervous and looked into my friends eyes to ask if I can or not. (KL, A Male Cadet)

7.2.3. Female- Female Solidarity

The military framework defies sisterhood and dictates hierarchy among women. This was clearly articulated by most of the female cadets, who mentioned that there is no solidarity among the female cadets like the one among the male cadets. The lower cadets expressed that it is because of the upper female ranks oppressive behaviors towards the lower female ranks. Although there is a “brotherhood” concept between the male cadets, there is no “sisterhood” notion between the female cadets. They expressed that upper female generations do not help lowers. Also, it is mentioned that the hierarchy among women is stronger than men and upper generations of females do not tolerance the mistakes of the lowers. They informed that there is a strict rank separation between the female cadets.

There is not solidarity among the female cadets; there is a strong rank differentiation. Because the lower class male cadets don't listen to the commands of the upper class female cadets, they come and shout at us to prove themselves. (AB and KL, Female Cadets)

According to Carreiras (2004: 293), the “cohesiveness” is the reason for “the rejection of one’s kind, constitutes an attempt at detaching one self from the stereotypical characteristics associated with one’s social category.” In Carreiras study on Portugal and Dutch women in the military which is conducted in 2004, the women in the military mentioned that they prefer to work with men and they informed that the women are “conflictive” and “jealous”. Same arguments are seen in this study. The female cadets mentioned that they prefer a male team commander instead of a female one, because females are very hierarchal and do not help much in the problems. The reason of this is explained as the women’s demand to integrate in to the system completely. That’s why “they act like men even more than men”.

Female officers are not trustful. I can't tell anything to my female team commander, because I know it will not stay between us, everybody will hear it. Male officers are more kind. When I tell a female team commander that I am in my period, she forces me to go running, she says 'you are not a woman, you will be an officer'. (SR, A Female Officer)

What SR told is a typical example for the token theory, “rejecting of one’s kind”. The female officers want to show that, they can act same like the male officers, as disciplined and hierarchal. While they are trying to do this, female cadets think that the female officers exaggerate it to prove themselves. Because the female team commanders are women, because their mistakes are more visible than the male officers, they face the same visibility consequences with the female cadets and try to make every thing properly.

The female officers mentioned that although solidarity can be created among the female officers after the graduation of the TMA, they still prefer to work with their male counterparts because they think, “jealousy” remains among the female officers. The reason of solidarity after graduation is because the problems that are lived in TMA among the male and the female cadets are no longer exist after graduation, which means the problems are no longer available among the female and the male officers in the occupational life. There is no need to “reject of one’s kind”. The solidarity of the female cadets and the officers among themselves are connected to the problems that are lived with the male cadets and the officers. They are still the minority group in the working life as women, but the attitudes of the male officers, especially in the headquarters, are more non-discriminative, besides there are “civilian employees” and “contracted officers”³² in the headquarters. Although the female officers are still the minority group as women in the working life, because there are civilian employees and contracted officers that are seen more inferior than the whole TMA graduated officers, they are more discriminated. The TMA culture became stronger than the gender in that situation.

³² Contracted officer implication was started in 2001; they are the four years university graduated people, work in the same conditions with the officers, including combat and non-combat ranks. They can be mostly “colonel” in the military. Civilian women can also be “contracted officers” in the same rules with the female officers. The TMA graduated officers call these contracted officers as “poşet” which means “nylon bag”, again to degrade and to imply that they are strangers.

The reason of the jealousy among the female officers is mentioned by a female officer, PU;

They make the female officers compete more than their male colleagues. It starts with the commanders from the TMA, and we can not get over this psychology easily. (PU, A Female Officer)

It is again because of the “token” group’s consequences of the minor group of the female officers in the military. They want to be as successful as their male colleagues, and because of this success they compete with their female colleagues, the norm is again the male officer, they want to be like the male officers and try to eliminate each other to become more like man.

The retired female officers mentioned that they were never be rivals to each other with the female cadets and the officers. Besides, as the retired female officer IA mentioned, if there is an argument between the female cadets or the officers they never reflected these arguments to the male cadets or officers. It is clear that they have a stronger solidarity among the female cadets and the officers before they retire, the reason for this may be because of being the first generation and to have the responsibility of this task, because they knew that if they fail in this task the rights that they have gained for the first time can be taken back, that is why they did not compete each other and even created a strong solidarity not to let them took the rights back that they have gained by a difficult process. The rights were taken back at the end, in 1961, but it was not the female officer’s or the cadet’s faults. The political reasons were in the scene without their responsibility, although they fight too much not to give their rights back, they could not be succeeded. The second and the third generation of the women in the military can be regarded as more conformist than the first generation. They do not show much reaction to the negative implications that effect their positions and the future of their military career and also according to the retired female officers they even do not want to learn about the first generation of the women in the military in this country. According to one of the retired female officers, IA, they even do not want to know their “roots”; they do not show any effort to meet with these women from the first generation. It can be said that, the second generation is not curious about their past and they accept the patriarchal norms of the

military institution. According to my opinion, lack of solidarity among the female cadets and the officers can also be shown as an evidence for this situation.

7.3. Discrimination

7.3.1. Positive Discrimination (Affirmative Action)

This concept explains the policies in the favor of the groups (like ethnic groups and women) on the fields like work and education (Marshall 1999:597-598).

If we consider the policies for female cadets in the TMA we can see some positive discrimination implications such as, female cadets do not stand guard outside their dormitory after 22:00. Also female cadets do not train for three days and do not swim five days during their menstruation period. Also, female cadets' physical training standards are lower than males.

Most of the female cadets mentioned that, the lower standards and their exclusion from the training programs in their menstruation periods are totally “positive discrimination” implications. But besides these, the female cadets informed that, they do not accept the tolerance on the physical training they always try to do their standards. Besides, they are against the female cadets that do not use the tolerances of the commanders in favor of themselves. Because when the female cadets try to extend the limits of these positive discrimination implications and try to use the system in their favor, there are problems occur in the relationships with the male cadets. They also mention that if you show that you are in the same situation with the male cadets and you do not have any privileges because you are a woman, they accept to be your friend because, the male cadets have already accepted the female cadets can not perform the same physical strength as themselves.

You have to show that you are trying. Generally, the female cadets in the sport teams run away from the physical trainings. When every body is walking, if you go back to the base with the jeep, they will never accept you. You gain they respect as long as you try, they help you when you have difficulties in physical training. (CG, A Female Cadet)

Carreiras (2004: 291) mentions that, “accepting protection means accepting to be different, which, in turn, leads to rejection by male peers.” In this research we can see the same thing, most of the female cadets mention that, the male cadets think that the female cadets can reach every thing easily, in any case, and these female cadets become critical about the other female cadets that accepts these kinds of tolerance from the commanders or the other male cadets. Besides they criticize the male cadet’s resistance “acceptable” and “understandable” (Carreiras 2004: 292).

I went to the commando training when I was having my period. There are female cadets who use 3 days off in their periods. I think it is very irrational, and if I think it is irrational, it is very normal that the male cadets think it is irrational. (BU, A female Cadet)

Some of the female cadets expressed that, they find the positive discrimination implications relevant because they are different from the male cadets; on the other hand some of the female cadets thinks that, when the female cadets try to use these implications in their favor very much, it underlines the difference and because the male cadets generalize it to all the female cadets, as one of the “visibility” consequences, it deforms the solidarity and the friendship between them.

In contrast to the female cadets, female officers mentioned that, they do not have any positive discrimination implications, accept the maternity leave, which is more negative than positive for an officer, as it is discussed before. Besides the maternity leave, there are no implications in favor to them. Some of them mentioned that they wish they could have some affirmative actions, especially for the ones who are married.

They don’t think that a female officer is also a housewife. They just see you as an officer. I expect a tolerance in this mean for example. I don’t want the commanders see us just as an officer; we also have some other responsibilities at home. (BP, A Female Officer)

The retired female officer mentioned there were no affirmative actions in their time. They even could not tell anybody that they were in menstruation periods, because they found it shameful to tell to the commanders and they just do the training although they are in the period. They also did not inform that they were pregnant and they kept worked till the last month of the pregnancy. There were also some so-

called positive discrimination implications for the female cadets in their time, like riding, because it is opposite to the nature of the females to ride a horse, but the female cadets did not accept them and have all the trainings with the male cadets. Most of the male cadets informed that there is a big tolerance from the commanders to the female cadets. They mentioned that the lower standards of the “physical training” are already a “positive discrimination”. Most of them expressed that it is normal for a female cadets to have lower standards that they have, but the thing their resistance was the female cadets demand to extend the limits of these standards. The male cadets mentioned that the female cadets even do not perform their own standards and the commanders tolerate them. They argued that this is not a positive discrimination but rather a “double standard” for the female cadets. This “double standards” lead the male cadets’ act discriminatory to the female cadets because they argued that the female cadets are using the system in favor of themselves. Especially, about the “double standards” they informed that, although they can pass the exams without performing their own standards, the male cadets always fails if they can not perform the standards.

If they don't want to run in Menteş, they just don't by finding an excuse. But male cadets have to run if they don't die. (MG, A Male Officer)

If they come to the TMA, we have to equal in every situation. They act differently to the female cadets. I will accept if they perform their own standards, but they don't even perform their own. (OM, A Male Cadet)

The male cadets also mentioned that not only in the physical standards, they are also helping the female cadets in the lessons. They mentioned that the questions are always given to the female cadets. Every of the male cadets who mentioned this fact, said that they have never witnessed a situation like this but they heard it from the others. According to this issue, the male officers informed that, there is no such thing like this; it is all speculation, because of the male cadet's jealousy on the female cadet's success. Even one of the male officers said that, this speculation comes from their class. This is because of the visibility consequence of the token group again; when the female cadets are successful the male cadets need to find an excuse to their success.

In contrast to the male cadets' responses to the tolerance issue, the male officers, who are working as the team commanders, which mean they are the ones who are educating the cadets in the physical training, told me that, they do not tolerate the female cadets' mistakes. They informed that, of course they do not let them carry heavy things for example, but when the issue is the physical training they pushed them to perform their own standards. They explained it with the equality of the cadets, and they also said that, when they let the female cadets not to perform their standards, the male cadets desire not to do their standards.

Some of the male officers mentioned that, the tolerance is not from them in the means of the physical training it is usually occurs from the administration, which means the "double standards" issue is not the matter of the relationship between the team commanders and the female cadets, it is because from the administration. When the female cadets try to use these favors for themselves, although this is a right for them, the male cadets get annoyed, because these issues underlines the differences between the female and the male cadets, the equality disappears, as the male cadets mention. As a consequence of this, the discriminative attitudes of the male cadets occur.

7.3.2. Negative Discrimination

Negative Discrimination generally means implications that are unfair. In gender studies, this term is used as sexist discrimination towards women (Marshall 1999: 101).

7.3.2.1. The Discriminative Attitudes of the Men in the Military

The attitudes of male cadets against female cadets can be considered as negative discrimination, because as mentioned by both female and male cadets and female officers, male cadets act like female cadets even do not exist. They think only men can be soldiers, the military is not an appropriate place for women. Also, they think it is unfair that they become officers in eight years, while women can reach the same status in four years.

It is mentioned that, most of the male cadets swear when the female cadets are around just to disturb them. The female cadets informed that, some of them makes it consciously because they know that female cadets are suffering from those swears.

“Some of the male cadets think that the way to be a man is swearing. They want to prove each other that they are real men.” (AB and KL, Female Cadets)

Most of the arguments between the male and the female cadets are because of the different standards that female cadets have both the physical standards and the stand guard implications for the female cadets. There are different stand guard implications for the different sexes. Because the female cadets do not stand guard outside of their dormitories after 22:00, the male cadets have to stand guard, instead of the female cadets. Another problem is the speculation that the female cadets are always given the questions before the exams. The female cadets reject this speculation. This is again one of the consequences of the “visibility” that is explained under the “gender related problems” title before.

The female officers mentioned that the discriminative attitudes of the male cadets stopped after they have graduated, the reason shown for this is the escape from the “collective behavior” which is dominant in the TMA and start to become an individual when they start working as an officer. This is also directly related with the escape of the male cadets from the “hegemonic masculinity” of the group which is called as “anti-jaws team” that is explained in details before, after the graduation. Because the “anti-jaws team” reflects the norm and the culture of the institution, they can not reject this “collective behavior” when they were cadets.

All the female officers mentioned that after they graduated from TMA, the relationship between male officers has changed.

After we started our occupation, the male officers started to talk to me, even the ones who never talked in the TMA. They mentioned that, all the things that they’ve done were mistakes. They accept us after graduation. (JL, A female Officer)

After graduation the relations with males became more intimate, because after graduation they became more rational. They have collective consciousness in the TMA. None of them can support his own ideas. None of them support you in an unfair position. But after graduation they became matured. (ZO, A Female Officer)

A retired female officer, IA, told me a story from her occupational life. She said, there was a task about the NATO countries, although IA worked very much on it, when it comes to the point to go to the meeting for a foreign country, they told IA that because she is a woman, her participating to that meeting is inappropriate. She replied that “I thought that we were doing our tasks with the brain not another organ”, but she could not go to that meeting although she was an expert on that subject and prepared every thing for that meeting.

As I explained before, the tolerance of the commanders and the demand of the female cadets to expand the limits of the tolerance in favor of themselves, the male cadets create some negative, discriminative attitudes towards the female cadets. As female cadets mentioned above, the male cadets act like even the female cadets are not present. This is also confirmed by the male cadets. They informed that, the male cadets, although they are from the “anti jaws team” or from the “objective group” of the groups, they do not talk to the female cadets unless they do not have to. The first group wants them to feel bad, whereas the second group can not talk because of the pressure among the male cadets. In both ways, they act like the female cadets are not there.

The male cadets also mentioned that, some of the male cadets swear consciously when the female cadets are around just to disturb them. These are the cadets usually from the “anti jaws team” and the ones who try to show that they are not “jaws”. Whereas some of the male cadets do not swear and try to be polite when the female cadets are around, these are the ones usually from the “objective group” of the groups in the TMA. These male cadets are blamed as not being honest by the others, because they swear when the female cadets are not around. They also mentioned that when the female cadets are around, when the female cadets are in a class, the chat is not as good as when they are not around, because every body limits himself to be polite especially the commanders who come to teach to the class.

The military sphere is rude because there are all men in it. The chat is not good and enjoyable when the female cadets are around, the commanders behave and speak differently in the classes whether there are female cadets or not. (CK, A Male Cadet)

Some of the male cadets informed that in the first months, until they get used to the presence of the female cadets in the class, they try to limit themselves about swearing unconsciously, they just think that they should so, but as the times pass and if they could create a close friendship with the female cadets they started to not think about the words that they say, and feel free to swear. They said that it is directly related with the relationship that is created among them.

I experienced the same thing when I wanted to take a course. They took a course from that professor before, and they told me that “It is better for you not to take this course, because he swears a lot and if you take it, the classes will be boring because he will limit himself not to swear”. One of my close friends from the same class said me that “don’t worry nothing will change because we will tell the teacher that you are such a *delikanlı* [youngster] girl that you will not care about swears”. When we started to take the classes I observed that at the beginning of the classes he and the student in the class tried to limit themselves but as the time passes, they started to swear freely in the classes, because they got used to my presence in the class and started not realizing me because they saw me as the one of them.

When I asked about the most problematic issues between the female and the male cadets they informed me that, the arguments are mostly from the “double standards” that they have and their usage of the tolerances towards themselves. They gave the example of, although they have lower standards they do not even perform their standards. The other reason is the rules that are applied differently to the different sexes, which is also similar to the “double standards”, but not related to the female cadets directly, because the “regiment commander” puts these rules, the application is not in their hands. Finally as the third problem, they implied that although they will have the same opportunities, including the payment, they are not going to the work in the same positions and situations with the female cadets, when they graduate, because the women will not work in the combat positions, so they argue

that their tasks will be more difficult than the female officer's tasks but they will be in the same status, they criticize it as an unfair situation. When I asked about the male officers, who are also in non-combat branches they responded by showing the excuse that they are graduated from the "military high schools" and they are not working in the combat positions because they have health problems. The female cadets are coming from the civilian high schools, besides they do not have an excuse other than their gender, such as a health problem, and they work in a safer position. They do not argue the female officers should work in the combat positions, they argue that it is unfair to have the same opportunities although they do not work in the same conditions.

7.3.2.2. The Occupational Gender Segregation

According to Reskin and Padavic (1994: 45), occupational gender segregation generally refers to the concentration of men and women in different occupations. Sometimes it may expand to the physical separation of the sexes. There may be some situations that women and men in the same place but doing different jobs. In short, occupational gender segregation can happen when women and men are working in different industries, different occupations different departments and also in different rooms (Cockburn 1988: 29).

Occupational gender segregation brings out the concepts of "men's work" and "women's work". According to Game and Pringle (cited in Bradley 1989: 9), women's works are seen as usually indoor works, easier than men's work, clean, safe, physically undemanding, repetitive, boring, requires dexterity rather than skill, has domestic associations, lack of mobility, being tied to a particular work station, it requires beauty and glamour. Whereas men's works are outdoor works, requires strength and physical force, may be heavy, dirty, dangerous, highly mobile, requires skill and training, highly technical, usually based on mechanical or scientific knowledge, it requires creativity, innovation, intelligence, responsibility, authority and power. "Women's work includes unskilled work in manufacturing, routine clerical and sales employment and all kinds of public sphere caring and provisioning, cooking, cleaning, nursing, etc" (Crompton and Sanderson 1990: 25).

There are two types of gender based occupational segregation. One type of the occupational gender segregation is “horizontal segregation”, which refers to the different types of occupations that women and men do. Horizontal segregation is maintained by the concentration into sex typed jobs such as feminine and masculine. Occupational order ranges from higher to lower level and men’s works are usually seen higher than women’s works. Besides the concentration of women and men into different sex typed occupations, horizontal segregation can also be happen because of the “crowding of the women” into low level occupations. There is a little distinction between two. Crowding into low level occupations because of the women’s lack of qualifications and market opportunities also reflects the nature of the female labor supply (Crompton and Sanderson 1990: 32-33).

The second type of occupational gender segregation is “vertical segregation” which means men and women are work in the same job categories but men are concentrated in higher grade and higher paid occupations or have more chance to promote within the occupation (Hakim 1996:149).

According to Firestone (1992), in the military, opposite to the civilian jobs, “women in military perform the same overall duties as men and compete for jobs and ranks within the military as soldiers rather than women. (...)A key difference between the roles of women in civilian organizations and those in the military exists: military roles are decreed by federal statute and military policies.” The payment and the status of the female officers are same as the male officers there is no “vertical segregation” in this means between the female officers and the male officers. But the discrimination of the female officers from the combat positions, except gendarmerie and aviation ranks, cause “horizontal segregation”, because the “staff officer”³³ quota for the non-combat positions is lower than the combat positions, and because there is no alternative for the female officers except non-combatant positions from the beginning, causes the “vertical segregation”.

³³ This is a position to be a general. There is a very difficult exam for this position and if you can pass this exam, you study two years in the “Harp Akademisi”, different from the “military “academies that the cadets study, and after this training you become a “staff officer” and after this position you can be a general. The quota for the non-combat positions is lower than the combat positions for “staff officer” position.

The discussion is again directed to us to the discussions in the feminist theories on “combat versus non-combat” positions of the women. As Carreiras (2004: 97) discusses, “the initial physical status of the recruit sets the patterns for the stratification within the military structure since those with better physical profiles are traditionally designate for the more prestigious and rewarding combat careers, while those with lower physical standards are tagged for support and administrative functions. Since opportunities for promotion and career advancement of depend on the performance of functions in combat or line units, being assigned to these areas obviously increased one’s status and probability of reaching the higher ranks.”

Because the military institution is seen as one of the core institutions and because integration of women is a very slow process, generally all the military institutions try to keep women from the combat positions. Because the traditional warrior is seen as “man” and women are seen as the one who gives care and the nurturance (Winslow and Dunn 2002: 641). This can be excuse of the institutions to keep the women away from the higher ranks in the military institutions, which also means keeping away the women from the decision-making levels.

In this research, except the retired female officers, the female cadets and the officers did not mention any thing about the occupational gender segregation phenomenon. They concentrated on the physical and the psychological difficulties of the combat positions and the privates’ attitudes towards the female officers in the detachments when their opinions are asked about the decision on the differentiation of the branches in the military institutions. Most of them considered this segregation relevant and estimated this decision as an “affirmative action” for the female officers. The only thing they were against is that, they have not told about the positions until they started to the TMA; there were no information on the differentiation of the branches before they enter to the elimination exam.

Some of the female cadets mentioned that because they have the same training with the male cadets, and because before they applied to the TMA, they accepted everything, they should be combat officers, if they have the qualifications for the combat positions.

I have the same training with the male cadets, I also want to be a team commander, I don't accept the low physical strength arguments, I can do physical training better than most of the male cadets in my team. (FO, A Female Officer)

The retired female officers were more critical about the occupational gender segregation, and they were more idealistic about their tasks. As they told me, they believed that they had a task to do. This can be because they had to struggle for their rights. The position of the female officers and the cadets are seem to be more stable now, and these women from the second and the third generations did not fight for their rights, they were just chosen to be officers by the military institutions. This may be why they show no reaction to the occupational gender segregation. Of course there are some exceptions in this issue, a few women, 2 of the female officers, legally gained their right to remain as combat officers, after the after the branches of women changed in 2001, from combat to non-combat positions, except Gendarmerie and Aviation ranks. Although the women's movement in Turkey is more powerful nowadays, when we compare it with the 1950s, the second and third generations seem to be more conformist in the institution, as it is mentioned before. This also shows the insulated character and the strength of the patriarchal ideology within the military institution. That is why; the second and the third generation do not struggle for their rights and reproduce the patriarchal structure of the institution by internalizing it.

As a retired female officer from the Turkish Air Forces mentioned, the commanders from the higher ranks were trying to eliminate the female officers from the institution, and they did not let the female officers to be pilots, means combatants, and they tried to eradicate the female officers notion with the retirement of their generation before they could reached to the high ranks.

They couldn't fire us from the Academy, so they decided not to give us the pilot positions. They eliminated us with our very small mistakes, but they didn't make the same thing to the male officers. I tried very much to be a pilot, also my commander wanted me to be a pilot, but when my commander went to ask about it they told to him it is a command from the higher ranks, the female officers will not be pilots. They tried to eliminate us slowly; they waited us to be retired.

And it happens exactly as they wanted. (GO, A Retired Female Officer)

IA, one of the retired female officers and also one of the first female cadets in 1955, tried to change it very much legally by applying to the courts. But she could not change the laws. In 1961, not only the position changes happened for the female officers, but also the female recruitment to the military academies stopped until 1992.

7.3.2.3. Glass Ceiling

“The ‘glass ceiling’ is one of the most compelling metaphors for analyzing inequalities between men and women in the workplace” (Baxter and Wright 2000: 275), this metaphor is using for the situation of the women who can promote to the higher levels with their male colleagues but some how, they “hit” an invisible barrier an obstacle for the future promotions. According to Morrison et al. (quoted in Baxter and Wright 2000: 275-276), the definition of the ‘glass ceiling’ is “a transparent barrier that kept women from rising above a certain level in corporations... It applies to women as a group who are kept from advancing higher because they are women”. Under this glass ceiling women can promote but above this barrier there is no promotion for the women, it prevents the vertical mobility of the women. It is not just an obstacle for the promotion; it is also an obstacle for the women to get to the power and the decision making processes. Martin (cited in Carreiras 2004: 88) defines the ‘glass ceiling’ concept similar to Morrison et al. (quoted in Baxter and Wright 2000: 275-276), “those artificial barriers based on altitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management level positions.”

The “glass ceiling” concept explains the arguments of the retired female officers. They argue that, they could not promote to the higher ranks because they were women.

The reasons showed to the stop of the female officers recruitments, such as pregnancy and the menstruation periods, were all excuses not to promote female officers to the higher ranks. I heard that, one of my

female colleagues had given a petition to take the staff officer exam. Our commander was shouting out 'this is enough, you gained unfair rights, now you want another right', and I said that 'because we are also graduated from TMA, we have the same rights with you', they considered that right as unfair... (MS, A Retired female Officer)

The retired female officers mentioned that, in their period they did not have to take the "staff officer" exam. They informed that this generation is luckier than they were, because they have the right to take that exam. But they are suspicious about the results of the exam. They have mentioned that, they would not let the female officers pass this exam.

They should promote a female and a male officer equally if they have the same requirements. In our situation the reasons to change our ranks was because to hinder our chance to be staff officers. I know this because I experienced it. (İA, A Retired Female Officer)

When I talked to the husband of İA, he mentioned the same thing. He told me that, "İA was very successful, because the commanders did not want her to promote, they started to disturb me to make us upset, so I retired very early, from the captain rank."

The female cadets and the officers have the same idea with the retired female officers. They mentioned that they have no hope to promote to the higher ranks, such as general rank, but they told me that they will try to do so.

Most of the male cadets and officers informed that it is very difficult to pass the "staff officer" exam. But if they can pass it they mentioned that the higher ranks will not let them promote easily. They argued that maybe there can be one or two woman generals just to show that the Turkish Military is a modern military, similar to the acceptance of a very few numbers of women to the TMA.

7.4. The Negative Implications of the TMA Administration

Besides the negative discrimination implications of the Military Institution, which are mentioned by the female cadets, officers and the retired female officers, such as occupational gender discrimination and the "glass ceiling" in general, this part focuses on the so-called "negative implications" of the TMA, mentioned by the

female and male cadets and female and male officers. These implications make the distinction between the male and the female cadets. The first implication that is mentioned as “negative” is the strict rules of the TMA for the female and male relationship. The female and male cadets mentioned that there is a strict separation of the male and female cadets in the TMA, and by this means the “social solidarity” is prevented by also by the TMA rules.

There is so much pressure on the female and male relations in the TMA, because the female cadets are coming from the civilian high schools and used to have boyfriends, it is very hard for female cadets to get used to these strict rules. You are bored from the discriminative attitudes of the male cadets and besides you can't talk to the ones who accept to talk to you. (SE, A Female Cadet)

As we can understand from the responses of the female officers and the retired female officers, there is no difference between the generations, in the means of the pressure over the female and male cadet's relations. It is also mentioned in the one of the journal of the Turkish Military Academy³⁴ that, the friendship is forbidden among the female and the cadets; it is informed that they are brothers and sisters in the military.

You can not go somewhere and sit with a male cadet. They consider you as you are going out with him, although you don't. They don't punish you directly, but you take a punishment because indirectly, for example, they say that your cupboard is not tidy, and you can't go out at that weekend. (RP and NB, Female Officers)

The second negative implication of the TMA, which affects the solidarity negatively, is the difference of rules for the different genders. Some of the rules are not applicable to the female cadets, for example, although they use the same places together, the stand guard duty of that places are the male cadets' tasks, because the female cadets do not stand guard out of their dormitories at nights. This causes some problems and arguments between the cadets. Although it is not the female cadet's fault, the male cadets act like they are so.

The third negative implication is the demand of the TMA, to show the female cadets everywhere. The female cadets mentioned that, because the number is small, the

³⁴ “Türk Kızları Silah Omuzda Nöbete Girdiler”, 1955, published by Turkish Military Academy, pg.34

demand to show them everywhere causes some problems, for example they can not attend to the classes and this also causes arguments between the female and the male cadets, because the males consider them as doing nothing in the TMA. Because of this demand, they also force the female cadets to attend to most of the social clubs that they do not want to. Also the female cadets mentioned that because they want to show every body that the TMA has female cadets, they feel like the “things in the shop window”, they are the ones who always the hostesses for the guests of the TMA and they are the ones who always holds trays and gives flowers to the guests. These implications make the female cadets feel like they are there, just to show that the Turkish Military also have women officers. This is also mentioned by the male cadets and the officers, and this implication makes the traditional gender occupations stable and stronger. Besides, because of these implications, the male cadet finds right to make fun of the female cadets and try to degrade them with the tasks that they have to do.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Over the past two decades, there has been a growing of interest on “women in the military” among feminist scholars, which has become particularly pronounced since the first Gulf War (Feinman 2000). As mentioned earlier, this war saw the largest number of woman participation in history.

When the women’s history started to be recovered by the efforts of the women’s movement, it was also seen that, there are many of women included into the wars in various capacities with men from the beginning of the history that were overlooked until the efforts of the women’s movement. According to feminists who study this subject, there are different factors that effect the recruitment of women into wars, and then followed by the integration into regular and irregular armies.

One of the aims of this study was to examine within a historical perspective the recruitment of women into the Turkish Military and the factors that affected the process. In accordance with this objective, the historical background of the women’s military integration in Turkey is examined in the light of factors that affected were instrumental with the Independence War of Turkey. In this war, women were active in the battlefields in various capacities, and this was encouraged by the society. As mentioned by the several feminist scholars (Segal 1995; Iskra et al. 2002; Kümmel 2002; Carreiras 2004), especially in war times women’s military participation level increases, including their combat roles however, when the threat is over, women are sent back to their homes, which was also so in the case of Turkey. Although, Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, encouraged women’s equal participation in the military as an integral part of the modernization process in the 1930’s this was regarded to be too early by the military leaders. After Atatürk’s death, this issue was

largely forgotten and the women's groups during that period did not reflect on the matter.

Women's equal participation in the military was perceived by Atatürk as an integral part of modernization, first like the right to vote and be elected. Women's presence in the military was also a "citizenship right" for him like other rights. As mentioned within this thesis "citizenship right" issue stands at the core of the "feminist militarists" arguments. Militarist feminists argue that, women should integrate into the military, because to serve for the country is one of the citizenship rights and if women are excluded from the military that means they are also excluded from the "full citizenship". But, there is no consensus among these feminists, one part agrees there should be a full participation including combat positions, but the other part argues that combat positions are harmful for the women and the participation should be partially to the extent of the combat positions.

Like the debates among the militarist feminists, in the Turkish case the debates are on the same point: combat positions. When a young woman, İnci Arcan, struggled and gained the right to be a cadet in the Turkish Military Academy, it was seen as the part of the modernization process, İnci Arcan and the other female cadets were appreciated because they were modern girls, and it was seen as a consequence of the modernization period; but to the extent of the combat positions. When they graduated, again with the struggles of those women, they gained the right to be combat officers. In 1960, with a revolution, the recruitments of the women to the Turkish military stopped. As mentioned by some of the feminist scholars (Iskra et al. 2002; Kümmel 2002; Carreiras 2004), the political factor is also affected in the integration process of the women into the military. Especially in developing countries like Turkey, the politics and the military is interconnected, a change in one of them affects the other (Arat 1991). With the 1960 revolution, some serious changes started to happen in the military, like retirements, or changing in ranks and the recruitment of the women was also stopped with these changes. The reasons for the stop showed were the inefficiency of the women in the military because of their low physical strength and "motherhood" responsibilities. The "motherhood" concept stands in the core of the "anti-militarist feminists" arguments. Some of them argue

that, the peace feminism, women are inherently peaceful; they can not be the takers of life, because they are giving birth so they are seen as naturally peaceful and because of this reason superior sex. On the other hand, the other part of anti-militarists, radical feminism, argue that, the motherhood concept is shaped by the socialization process, so the women are not naturally peaceful, they learn to be mothers with the socialization process and they can kill to protect their children if it is necessary. If we can see from the different points of anti-militarist feminists' views, the motherhood concept, like combat concept, is used frequently as the contra-argument of the anti-militarist scholars and the ones who do not advocate the presence of women in the military. Especially the first argument of the anti-militarist feminists, peace feminism, brings us to the "biological determinism", which is a dead end of the discussions. In other words, if we accept the first argument that women are naturally peaceful as the peace feminism argues, that means we accept the inferiority of the women, which comes with the biology, in every field and this will bring no equality for women's rights.

As the worldwide, the debates did not end with the exclusion of the women from the military. The debates again started in 1983, with the recruitment of the women in the military from the civilian universities once again, because of the, NATO countries impacts. We see how international factor affected the integration of women into the military as Kümmel (2002) and Carreiras (2004) argues.

In 1992 the recruitments of women in the military academies started once again and in this second generation "combat positions" again played a major role in the decision making process for the extension of the women's integration. First the integration was decided to include the combat positions for women but then in 2001, women are excluded from the most of the combat positions again, except aviation and gendarmerie branches.

If we consider the differences and the similarities among the three different generations, we see that, there is no big difference among them, although it has been 50 years since this process started. There is still exclusion of women from most of the combat positions, which directly affects their presence in the higher ranks of the

military institution. Although there are different factors affecting the different generations, the consequence is always same. Extension of the women's presence in a male dominated institution is decided by the men. As mentioned before, the military is the most masculinity institution. It has a special kind of masculinity, military masculinity, which is protected from the changes, happens outside of the institution by the isolated structure of the military. The military masculinity stands on the exclusion of the women from the institution, because women are the ones who need to be "protected" within the boundaries of the nation. If there is no one to "protect", the reason of the military presence collapsed.

Apart from the historical background, to demonstrate the women's experiences and the personal motivations to integrate into such a masculinist institution, as well as to investigate the male attitudes towards the integration of the women into the institution are the other objectives of the thesis.

From this research we can see that, there is a great positive attitude in the society towards the Turkish Military Institution. This is also the main reason that motivates the women's enrollment in the military academies. This positive attitude also leads the families of the women to encourage their daughters' military academy participations. Another reason for this encouragement is the opportunity to access to the free and relatively better education with the job guarantee right after the graduation. These factors that motivate the women's military participation also confirmed with the opinions of these women on advantages and the disadvantages of the military academies. These factors are mostly important for the middle, lower-middle or lower class families. Most of the female cadets mentioned that their families are from the middle class, with mostly housewife mothers and commissioned or non-commissioned officer fathers. Then, it is surprising then for the third generation that, although they had opportunity to have information from their fathers they expressed that they did not know the situation in the TMA. For the first two generations of women it could be hard to get information because they were the pioneer ones of their generations and did not have prior examples. But for the third generation, it should have been easier. When I had a chance to have an informal chat with the new candidates in their application process, I saw that, although most of

them were aware of the difference in the branches, they were unaware how many female cadets would have been accepted and also they were unaware of the negative attitudes of the male cadets towards the female cadets in the TMA.

As I mentioned before, the education of the military academies is highly disciplined and it is not easy to get use to this discipline as a civilian. But, the women who attended to the military academies accepted and got used to the discipline quickly. This may be because of their family backgrounds. Most of their fathers are working in the military as commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Because they grew up in a disciplined family and knew the military structure well before they applied to the TMA, the discipline was not a big problem for them. This discipline issue was one of the core points for the most of the military men, who rejected the presence of the women in the military. Because most of the male cadets were coming from the military high schools, they started to be educated with the discipline from their very early ages like 12 or 13. They argued that, the person who did not spend these ages in the military academy can not get use to the discipline of the academy easily. Although they expressed that the women in the military have problems with the discipline because of their civilian backgrounds, it is surprising that, they considered the female officers as disciplined and matured from their civilian peers. When the subject was working with a female officer, they mentioned that they prefer to work with a military academy graduated female officer instead of a female officer that is graduated from a civilian university. From this point of view, we can consider this as the priority of the institution culture to the gender issues. It shows how the solidarity works in the institution and confirms the argument on the importance of the task solidarity instead of the social solidarity.

Solidarity has also a great importance for this study, because the male interviewees rejected the women's presence in the military, especially in the military academies because the women destroy the unit cohesion among the male cadets. As it is mentioned before, there are three different groups in the TMA, which are considered as they were constituted because of the presence of the female cadets in the academy. These groups are: jaws, objective group and anti-jaws groups. The anti-jaws group is the one that can be considered as the "hegemonic masculinity" group in the military

academy, because this group dominates both the female cadets and the other male cadets. The most oppressive men for the female cadets and most effective group of men that is effective over the other groups of men. In sum, the presence of the women in the TMA is seen as destructive for the unit cohesion by the most of the male cadets. When we look at solidarity among female cadets and officers, we can say that as the consequences of being a token group, as mentioned before, the women in the military could not create a solidarity among themselves, because the only way to be present in the institution is to get acceptance from male counterparts, which effects the relationships of women among each other. They tend to act like male counterparts, more than they do as taking the men as norm and that brings the hierarchy among the female cadets. As a consequence of this, to get acceptance from the male cadets becomes more important than to help to the lower ranks of the females. That is why, although there is relatively solidarity between the same classes of the females, there are solidarity problems mostly between the upper class female cadets and female active officers and the lower class female cadets, which are not seen right after the graduation from the TMA. The reason to create solidarity after the graduation with the upper ranks women is because of the external factors' disappearance. When male officers stop causing problems for the female officers, the solidarity can be created among the women in the military.

The male interviewees mentioned that, the men in the military also rejected the women's presence in the institution due to the lack of their leadership ability. As mentioned before, there are different theories on gender and leadership issue. Some of them argue that there is no relation between the gender and leadership, whereas the others argue that there is no empirical evidence that shows there are a relation between the two. In this research, it was seen that, the problem of the leadership abilities of women in the military is not because of the women's inadequacy to perform leadership abilities, it is because the privates, who are from the different educational and social backgrounds to perform their conscription. It is argued that, especially under the stressful situations such as under fire, these men will not listen to the commands of the women officers, just because they are women. So, it is the contextual factor, in other words the dominant patriarchal ideology, that causes women's leadership as problematic, not the inadequacy of women.

Another reason for the differentiation of the combat and non-combat branches of the men and women in the military is not, then, just because of women can not perform the combat duties due to of their physical strength inferiority, it is also because of they have to command the privates and the physically unprepared structures in the detachments, which they have to work according to the duty of the combat branches.

Most of the women from the three different generations in the Turkish Military institution argued that the distinction between the branches is relevant and they considered the branch differentiation as “positive discrimination” for themselves. They argued that, combat positions are more appropriate for men because they have “womanly issues” like pregnancy and menstruation periods and also physical inferiority to men that affects the efficiency of the combat duties negatively. They also agreed with the men that, the conditions in the detachments are not appropriate for a female officer.

From this study, it was seen that, the female interviewees internalized the patriarchal norms like the most of the civilian women. Although they argued that they are different from the civilian women, it was understood that these differences are because of the different working conditions of the civilian ones. Most of the women form the military institution, accepted the differentiation of the branches, in other words they accepted the vertical occupational gender segregation that is happening within the institution. Most of them also internalized the traditional patriarchal gender role identities, which can be understood from their emphasizing the “motherhood” concept frequently. Although they are in the military institution, their way of talking was as the confirmation of the anti-militarists arguments. In my opinion, that shows the strength of the military in reproducing the patriarchal norms and how this reproduction keeps the women’s mentality in the boundaries of the traditional gender identities.

These gender roles are trying to be underlined with the physical structures of both the TMA and the bases, especially in combat branch bases. As I mentioned before, the female cadets' dormitories are located in a different place, separated from the whole corp, there are few toilets for them, and also in some of the bases, although the buildings are new, there are no women's toilets or changing rooms for the female officers. All these facts show the resistance for the female officers' presence and underline their difference and strangeness. Although, there were changes like building showers for the female cadets according to the female cadets needs in the TMA, as they mentioned, these changes do not affect the working places parallel.

In my opinion, the tolerance of the commanders towards the female cadets in the TMA, also imply the same meaning: they are different and inferior from the male cadets. The different stand guard rules for female cadets and officers and the tolerance in the physical trainings, all reflect the patriarchal notion of the military institution and causes problems among the different sexes; these tolerances are considered as the "double standards" by the male cadets and the double standards cause problems among the cadets. Physical standards are not included to these arguments because of the biological differences between the female and male body nature, which has a dead end: "biological determinism". The female cadets should be trained according to their own standards, which is lower than the males'. The problem is, then, to select the females who can perform the standards of the TMA physical standards from the beginning of the application process. Because according to the female cadets' statements, the actual physical training programme in the TMA is harder than the application requirements.

If we consider the differences among the three generations, we can clearly mention that the first generation was more idealistic due to the task that they had, and they were greedier to compete with their male counterparts, besides they always struggled for their rights from the beginning of their acceptance to the military academies. We can not see these efforts in the second and third generations of women in the military, except the two women who rejected to change their branches from combat to non-combat. We can not see a collective women's movement in or out of the military for the rights of these women.

There are three main problems in the implications for the women in the Turkish military: the first one is by closing the combat positions they also actually close or make it more difficult to reach the higher ranks in the institution, the second problem is the few number of the female cadets, the percentage decided to be 4% at the beginning but in the 2004 the percentage was nearly 1.6% in the Turkish Military Academy. The minority of the women in the institution strengthens the gendered institution notion of the military and as a consequence of this, they stay as the strangers in the institution. The number of the women in the TMA should be more than 15 percent, which is “token number”, and women should be in the number that can constitute a “critical mass” in the academy. Not only the number but also, as the third problem, the applications for the women in the military are also underlining the differences of the women such as the unprepared working conditions, the differentiation of the branches, the so-called positive discriminatory applications, in other means, as male cadets call them “double standards”, are again all underlines the difference and makes the women stay as the strangers of the institution. These applications protect the masculine structure and also the resistance of the military institution for the women to integrate into this institution effectively.

The way to protect women from the harmful combat situations can not be by excluding them from these branches, but only by increasing the number of the recruits to the military academies, because only in this way, they can be less strange in the institution and prepare the physical conditions appropriate for the women presence. Additional to this, the way to change the patriarchal and masculine character of the military and eradicate the resistance for their presence can be by recruiting women to the military service to perform conscription duties. “How women’s presence in the power positions of the military institution effect the patriarchal structure of the institution?” and “Can the military institution’s masculine structure be challenged by these few women?” or “Can the women recruitments to the military service to do their conscription duties like men change the patriarchal structure of the military?” may be the questions for the further research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FEMALE CADETS

1. How old are you?
2. What is your mother's occupation?
3. What is your father's occupation?
4. Where are you from?
5. How do you consider your family's socio-economic situation?
6. Which grade are you studying in? What is your branch?
7. What is your cumulative?
8. In which courses you are more successful?
9. Which courses are harder for you?
10. Which social activities are you joining? Did you choose these activities by your self?
11. Where, how and whom do you spend your weekends?
12. Where, how and whom do you spend your free times?
13. Why did you choose to study in TMA instead of another university?
14. What was the most effective reason for this choice? What were your expectations? Do you think that your expectations are granted?
15. Did your parents support your decision? What was their reason for supporting? Was there anybody in your family who opposed your decision? What was their reason for opposing?

16. Do you remember your first day at school? Can you tell me about it? How did you feel? What was the most disturbing thing for you? Why? What was the most pleasing thing for you? Why?
17. How does the discipline of the school affect your life?
18. Do you have hard times to obey the discipline of the TMA?
19. Do you ever feel regression for studying in TMA? Why? How does it feel to choose a profession that is considered as a male profession?
20. What are the advantages of studying in TMA? What are the disadvantages of studying in TMA?
21. Is there any rule that you have problems with obeying in the school? Can you give an example? Why do you have troubles with obeying this rule? Have you ever been punished? Why?
22. Do you sometimes feel that you don't belong in here? When do you think this way?
23. Is the physical structure of the school suitable for women to act comfortably? Do you have any problems according to that?
24. As a woman, is there any problem that you face in the school? What is that? Is this problem related to the male cadets? What is the main reason of the problems that are related to the male cadets?
25. How are the attitudes of male cadets towards you? Do they treat you same as the male cadets?
26. What kind of differences are there in the behaviors of male cadets when you are around? Do you think that they behave more politely when you are around?
27. Do you get any help from male cadets? What kind of help do you get from them? Do you help male cadets in any way? What kind of help?
28. Do you think that there is solidarity between male and female cadets? How do you consider the cooperation? When do you mostly feel yourself in solidarity?
29. How is your relationship with male cadets? Do you get along with female or male cadets better?
30. On which issues do you have arguments with male cadets?

31. Are there any topics that male cadets share between themselves and do not tell to you? Can you give an example?
32. Do female cadets make plans that male cadets are not allowed to involve? Can you give an example?
33. Is there solidarity between female cadets? When do you feel it mostly?
34. How is the relationship between female officers and female cadets? Do you sometimes feel yourself more comfortable when you are with female officers?
35. Do you think male cadets and officers have problems to create a relationship between women? Why?
36. Do you sometimes feel that female officers are not adequate for some tasks? What were the reasons for feeling this way? In what branches should women perform? What are your thoughts about combat positions for women?
37. As a woman, how does it feel to have the right to command a man?
38. Do you think that you have any characteristic that makes you different from a civilian woman? Are you used to have these characteristics formerly or did you gain them after your education at the school?
39. Are there any subjects that you feel yourself insufficient? Why?
40. What are the inferiorities and superiorities of the female officers to male officers?
41. Do you think that there is a special interest to male cadets? Do you think that there is a special interest to female cadets?
42. What kinds of tasks are given to female cadets when a ceremony is organized? What do you think about the reason for that?
43. What kind of differences are there between the attitudes of female commanders and male commanders towards you? What do you think about the reason for these differences? Do you think that they show more tolerance to you? In which tasks they show tolerance especially?
44. When you go to the training camp (Menteş), do your commanders provide you some conveniences? When? Do male cadets help you? As a woman, what kind of difficulties do you have in Menteş?

45. In your opinion, what are the qualifications that a good leader must have? Do you think that women have these qualifications?
46. In your opinion, are women enough for this occupation? Why?
47. In your opinion, does any woman can perform this occupation? What kind of characteristics should a woman have? Why?
48. In your opinion, are female officers as qualified as they can compete with male officers? Why?
49. Do you think that women must work at every position in the military? Why? Would you like to work in one of the branches in which women are not allowed to work? Which one? Would you like to be a combat officer? Why? What are your thoughts about this execution?
50. Do you think that women have enough qualification for working in the hard circumstances in detachments?
51. In you opinion, what kind of differences may occur in the military with the presence of the female officers in the higher ranks in the military? Why?
52. Do you think that the number of female cadets in TMA is adequate? What kind of differences may happen if this number is increased?
53. Do you think that female officers have the same chance to advance at work like male officers? Why? Do you think that there is a discrimination against women in military?
54. Would you like to be a staff officer? Do you think that you would be allowed?
55. What kind of reactions you have in a civilian environment when you tell that you study in TMA? Do these reactions bother you or do you like them?
56. Do you have civilian friends? Did any change happen in your relationships with them after you started to study in TMA?
57. How do you feel when you are walking on the street whit the uniform? Is there anyone who wants to bother you? How do you react?
58. What kind of characteristics do you prefer in a man's characteristics who you are going to get married? If you prefer to get married an officer, why is that?

59. Do you have an unforgettable memory about your studentship? Can you tell?
60. Would you like to add some other thing? Is there any missed point about “female officers’ lives in the military” in this interview? What is that?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MALE CADETS

1. How old are you?
2. What is your mother's occupation?
3. What is your father's occupation?
4. Where are you from?
5. How do you consider your family's socio-economic situation?
6. Which grade are you studying in? What is your branch?
7. Are you graduated from military high school? If not, why did you choose to study in TMA instead of another university?
8. What is cumulative?
9. In which courses you are more successful?
10. Which courses are harder for you?
11. Which social activities are you joining? Did you choose these activities by your self?
12. Where, how and with who do you spend your weekends?
13. Where, how and with who do you spend your free times?
14. What was the most effective reason for this choice?
15. If it was your own decision? Did your parents support your decision? What was their reason for supporting? Was there anybody in your family who opposed your decision? What was their reason for opposing?
16. What were your expectations? Do you think that your expectations are granted?
17. Do you remember your first day at school? Can you tell me about it? How did you feel? What was the most disturbing thing to you? Why? What was the most pleasing thing to you? Why?

18. How does the discipline of the school affect your life?
19. Do you have hard times to obey this discipline?
20. Did you feel regression for studying in TMA? Why?
21. What are the advantages of studying in TMA? What are the disadvantages of studying in TMA?
22. Are there any rules that you have trouble with obeying in the school? Can you give an example? Why do you have trouble with obeying this rule? Did you ever be punished? Why?
23. Do you sometimes feel that you don't belong in here? When do you think this way?
24. Is the physical structure of the school suitable for women to act comfortably? In your opinion, do female cadets have any problem about that?
25. In your opinion, is there any problem that female cadets face in the school? Do you think that these problems are related to the male cadets? What is the main reason of the problems between male cadets and female cadets?
26. In your opinion, do female cadets have problems with obeying the rules and discipline of the TMA? Why?
27. How are your attitudes towards female cadets? Do you treat them like you treat your male friends? What kind of differences are there? Why?
28. What kind of differences are there in your behaviors when female cadets are around?
29. Do you sometimes help female cadets? About what? Do you get any help from them?
30. Do you think that there is solidarity between male and female cadets? How do you consider the cooperation? When do you mostly feel yourself in solidarity?
31. About which issues do you have arguments with female cadets mostly?
32. Are there any topics that male cadets share between themselves and do not tell female cadets? Can you give an example?
33. Do you make plans that female cadets are not allowed to involve?
34. In your opinion, is there solidarity between female cadets? When do you feel it mostly?
35. Do you have problems with creating relationship with women? Why?

36. How do you feel about taking orders from a woman? Do you salute upper classes female cadets? Why? Have you ever regret the commands of a female cadet? Why?
37. In your opinion, what are the differences between civilian women and female cadets? What are the reasons for these differences?
38. Do you think that female cadets have some masculine characteristics? In your opinion, do they gain these characteristics with the education of the school or they used to have these characteristics formerly? In your opinion, why do they act this way?
39. Are there any issues that you feel yourself insufficient? Why?
40. What are the inferiorities and superiorities of the male cadets to female cadets?
41. Do you think that there is any tolerance to female cadets?
42. What kinds of tasks are given to female cadets when a ceremony is organized? What do you think about the reason for that?
43. What kind of differences are there between the attitudes of female commanders and male commanders towards you? Is there any difference between your relationships with female officers and male officers?
44. When you go to the training camp (Menteş), do your commanders provide female cadets some conveniences? Do they show tolerance to the female cadets? When? Do male cadets help female cadets? In your opinion, what kind of problems do female cadets have in Menteş except physical difficulties?
45. What do you think about “women officer”? Why?
46. In your opinion, what are the qualifications that a good leader must have? Do you think that women have these qualifications?
47. In your opinion, do women are enough for this occupation? Why?
48. In your opinion, does any woman can perform this occupation? What kind of characteristics should a woman have? Why?
49. In your opinion, are female officers as qualified as they can compete with male officers? Why?
50. What do you think about the application of the women’s non-combat positions?

51. Do you think that women have enough qualification for working in the hard circumstances in detachments?
52. In your opinion, what kind of differences may occur in the military if female officers perform in the higher ranks of the military institution? Why?
53. Do you think that the number of female cadets in TMA is adequate? What kind of differences may happen if this number is increased?
54. Do you think that female officers have the same chance to advance at work like male officers? Why?
55. Would you like to be a staff officer?
56. What kind of reactions do you have in a civilian environment when you tell that you study in TMA? Do these reactions bother you or do you like them?
57. How do you feel when walking on the street with the uniform?
58. In your opinion, what kind of problems do female cadets cause in the military?
59. What are the problems that male cadets have in TMA (unrelated to female cadets)?
60. In your opinion, what kind of characteristics must have the woman you are going to get married? Can she be an officer?
61. Do you have an unforgettable memory about your studentship? Can you tell?
62. Would you like to add some other thing? Is there any missed point about “female officers’ lives in the military” in this interview? What is that?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FEMALE OFFICERS

1. How old are you?
2. What is your marital status?
3. What is your mother's occupation?
4. What is your father's occupation?
5. Where are you from?
6. How do you consider your family's socio-economic situation before you became an officer?
7. What is your rank? Branch? Class?
8. What is your duty?
9. What was your expectations from this profession before you get into TMA?
Do you think that your expectations are granted?
10. What was effective for you to choose this occupation?
11. Did your parents support your decision? What was their reason for supporting? Was there anybody in your family who opposed your decision? What was their reason for opposing?
12. Do you remember your first day at school? Can you tell me about it? How did you feel? What was the most disturbing thing to you? Why? What was the most pleasing thing to you? Why?
13. How was your performance in TMA?
14. In which courses you were most successful?
15. Which courses was harder for you?
16. What was the rule the most difficult to obey for you in school? Why? Did you take punishment?
17. How many female cadets were there in your class?

18. As a woman, what were the problems you used to face at TMA? What kind of solutions you used to find?
19. What kind of help did you get from male cadets? In what kind of issues did you help them?
20. In which service would you like to work before you graduate?
21. Which cities have you been in what duties up to now?
22. Has there been any change in your view about this occupation after you started to work? Why?
23. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this occupation for you?
24. How does the discipline affect you life?
25. Do you have hard times to get used to this discipline?
26. What kind of changes happened after you finished the school and started to work? Can you tell me about? Did your relationship with male officers changed from your relationship with them in school? How?
27. How are the attitudes of male officers towards you? Do they treat you like they treat their male colleagues? What kind of differences are there? Why?
28. Do you think that male officers could accept the women in the military? What kind of differences are there about this fact between your time and today?
29. What kind of help did you get from male officers after you started to work? What kind of help did you extend to them?
30. In your opinion, are female officers as qualified as they can compete with male officers?
31. Are there any issue that you feel yourself insufficient? What are they?
32. What are the superiority and inferiority of female officers to male officers?
33. Do you sometimes feel that the commanders act like you are insufficient for o-some tasks? What are the reasons for feeling this way? Why? What positions should women take place? Why? What are your thoughts about combat positions?
34. Do you think that you have any characteristic that makes you different from a civilian woman? What are they?
35. In your opinion, does any woman can perform this occupation? What kind of characteristics should a woman have?

36. In your opinion, what are the qualifications that a good leader must have? Do you think that women have these qualifications?
37. Do you think that women can perform higher ranks duties in the military? Why?
38. Do you think that women can work in the hard circumstances in detachments? In your opinion, what kind of difficulties may they face?
39. Do you think that women must work at every position in the military? Why? Would you like to work in one of the branches in which women are not allowed to work? Which one?
40. Do you think that female officers have the same chance to advance at work like male officers? Why?
41. Would you like to be a staff officer?
42. How does it feel to have the right to command a man?
43. How are your relations with male from your lower ranks?
44. What kind of differences are there between the relationships with your female upper ranks and male upper ranks? What is the reason of these differences?
45. In your opinion, is there solidarity between female officers? When do you feel it mostly?
46. As a woman, do you have any problems with your working life? What are they?
47. What kind of reactions do you have from new people you meet when you tell them that you are an officer? Do these reactions bother you or do you like them?
48. How do you feel when walking on the street with the uniform? Is there anyone who wants to bother you? How do you react?
49. Do you think male officers have problems in creating relationships with women?
50. Can you compare the female cadets of your time and now? What kind of differences and similarities are there between them?
51. In your opinion, why female officers prefer to get marry their colleagues?

If she is single:

52. What kind of characteristics you prefer in a man who you are going to get marry?

If she is married:

53. Do you experience any conflicts between your task responsibilities and your family responsibilities? How do you solve these conflicts? Which one of your responsibilities is prior?

If she is married an officer:

54. What are the advantages of being married to an officer? Why? What are the disadvantages of being married to an officer? Why?

If she is married (husband not officer):

55. What is your husband's occupation?
56. What are the advantages of being married a person with a different job? Why? What are the disadvantages of being married a person with a different job? Why?
57. Do you have children? If you have; what kind of problems did you start to have after his/her birth? In which way has your life changed? Did any change happen in your view about your profession? Why?
58. What kind of problems you have especially about bringing up children? What kind of solutions you find for these problems?
59. Do your task responsibilities (appointment, shift ext.) create problems in your family relationships?
60. If you (would) have daughter, would you like her to be an officer like you?
61. Do you have an unforgettable memory about your studentship or work life? Can you tell?
62. Would you like to add some other thing? Is there any missed point about "female officers' lives in the military" in this interview? What is that?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MALE OFFICERS

1. How old are you?
2. What is your marital status?
3. What is your mother's occupation?
4. What is your father's occupation?
5. Where are you from?
6. How do you consider your family's socio-economic situation before you became an officer?
7. What is your rank? Branch? Class?
8. What is your duty?
9. Are you graduated from military high school? If not, why did you choose to study in TMA instead of another university?
10. What were your expectations from this occupation before you get into TMA? Do you think that your expectations are granted?
11. What was effective for you to choose this occupation?
12. Did your support your decision? What was their reason for supporting? Was there anybody in your family who opposed your decision? What was their reason for opposing?
13. Do you remember your first day at school? Can you tell me about it? How did you feel? What was the most disturbing thing to you? Why? What was the most pleasing thing to you? Why?
14. How was your performance in TMA?
15. In which courses you were most successful?
16. Which courses was harder for you?

17. What was the rule the most difficult to obey for you in school? Why? Did you ever be punished?
18. How many female cadets were there in your class (year)? Were there any female cadets in your class?
19. When you were a student, in what issues did you help to the female cadets?
20. Which cities have you been in what duties up to now?
21. Are there any changes in your view about this occupation after you started to work? Why?
22. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this occupation for you?
23. How does the discipline affect your life?
24. Do you have hard times to obey this discipline?
25. What kind of reactions do you have from new people you meet when you say them that you are an officer? Do these reactions bother you or do you like them?
26. What kind of changes happened after you finished the school and started to work? Can you tell me about? Did your relationship with female officers become different from your relationship with them in school? How?
27. How are your attitudes towards female officers? Do you treat them like you treat your male colleagues? What kind of differences are there? Why?
28. Do you think that male officers could accept the women in the military? What kind of differences are there about this fact between cadets of your time and cadets of today?
29. After you started to work, in what issues do you help female officers?
30. What kind of differences are there between your relationships with your female upper ranks and male upper ranks? From what do you think these differences bring about?
31. Do you reject the women in the military? What do you prefer? A female officer graduated from TMA or graduated from a civilian university?
32. In your opinion, what are the qualifications that a good leader must have? Do you think that women have these qualifications?
33. In your opinion, does every woman can perform this occupation? What kind of characteristics should a woman have?
34. In your opinion, do women are enough for this occupantion? Why?

35. In your opinion, what are the differences between civilian women and female officers? What are the reasons for these differences?
36. Do you think that female officers have some masculine characteristics? In your opinion, do they gain these characteristics with the education of the school or they used to have these characteristics formerly? In your opinion, why do they act this way?
37. In your opinion, are female officers as qualified as they can compete with male officers?
38. Are there any issues that you feel yourself insufficient? Why?
39. What are the superiorities and inferiorities of the female officers to male officers?
40. How do you feel about taking orders from a woman?
41. Would you like to be a staff officer?
42. Do you think that female officers have the same chance to advance at work like male officers? Why?
43. Do you think that women must work at every position in the military? Why?
44. Do you think that women can perform in the higher ranks of the military? Why?
45. Do you think that women can work in the hard circumstances in detachments? In your opinion, what kind of difficulties may they face?
46. In your opinion, is there solidarity between female officers? When do you feel it mostly?
47. In your opinion, what is the main reason of the problems between male cadets and female cadets in TMA? Do you think the commanders are efficient in this issue?
48. In your opinion, is there any problem that female officers face during their work life? What are they?
49. Have you ever have problems in creating friendship with women? Why?
50. Can you compare the female cadets of your time and today? What kind of differences and similarities are there between them?
51. In you opinion, what kind of problems do female officers cause in the military?

52. In your opinion, why do female officers prefer to get marry to their colleagues?
53. Would you get marry to a female officer?

If he is married:

54. Do you experience any conflicts between your task responsibilities and your family responsibilities? How do you solve these conflicts? Which one of your responsibilities is prior?

If he is married an officer:

55. What are the advantages of being married to an officer? Why? What are the disadvantages of being married to an officer? Why?

If she is married (wife not officer):

56. What is your wife's occupation?
57. What are the advantages of being married a person with a different job? Why? What are the disadvantages of being married a person with a different job? Why?
58. Do you have children? If you have; what kind of problems did you start to have after his/her birth? In which way has your life changed? Did any change happen in your view about your profession? Why?
59. What kind of problems you have especially about bringing up children? What kind of solutions did you find for these problems?
60. Do your task responsibilities (appointment, shift ext.) create problems in your family relationships?
61. If you (would) have daughter, would you like her to be an officer like you?
62. Do you have an unforgettable memory about your studentship or work life? Can you tell?
63. Would you like to add some other thing? Is there any missed point about "female officers' lives in the military" in this interview? What is that?

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RETIRED FEMALE OFFICERS

1. How old are you?
2. What is your marital status?
3. What is your mother's occupation?
4. What is your father's occupation?
5. Where are you from?
6. How do you consider your family's socio-economic situation before you became an officer?
7. What was effective for you to choose this occupation?
8. Did your parents support your decision? What was their reason for supporting? Was there anybody in your family who opposed your decision? What was their reason for opposing?
9. What were your expectations from this occupation before you get into TMA? Do you think that your expectations were granted?
10. Do you remember your first day at school? Can you tell me about it? How did you feel? What was the most disturbing thing to you? Why? What was the most pleasing thing to you? Why?
11. How was your performance in TMA?
12. In which courses you were most successful?
13. Which courses was harder for you?
14. What was the rule the most difficult to obey for you in school? Why? Did you ever be punished?
15. How many female cadets were there in your class?

16. When you were a student, was the physical structure of the school suitable for women to act comfortably? What kind of changes had been done about this after you graduated?
17. As a woman, what were the problems you used to face at TMA? What kind of solutions you found?
18. What kind of help did you get from male cadets? What kind of help did you extend to them?
19. In which service would you like to work before you graduate? Did it happen?
20. What kind of changes happened after you started to work as an officer? Can you tell me about? Did your relationship with male officers become different from your relationship with them in school? What sort of differences?
21. Have there been any changes in your view about this occupation after you started to work? Why?
22. Did you have any trouble with obeying a rule after you started to work?
23. In which services did you work until you retired? Which of them was the most difficult for you? Why?
24. Had there been any duty that you couldn't carry out throughout your working period? What was the reason that you couldn't carry out this duty?
25. What kind of changes had been done on the positions of women in the military? How do you consider these changes?
26. What kind of difficulties you faced after you became to work as an officer? What kind of solutions you were finding for these difficulties?
27. Do you think that male officers could accept the women in military? In your opinion, since when women have accepted in military? What kind of similarities and differences are there between cadets and officers in your time and cadets and officers of today?
28. How were the cadets' attitudes towards you? Were they used to treat you like they treat their male colleagues? What kind of differences were there? Did you ever feel uncomfortable because of it?
29. What kind of help did you get from male cadets after you started to work? What kind of help did you extend to them?

30. How was your relationship with lower rank male officers? Do you think that they used to have troubles with working with a woman? Are they used to execute your orders?
31. How was your relationship with soldiers? Do you think that they used to have troubles with working with a woman? Are they used to execute your orders?
32. What kind of differences were there between your relationships with your female upper ranks and male upper ranks? From what do you think these differences were to bring about? With which one of them you used to work more comfortably; your female upper or your male upper rank?
33. In your opinion, what are the qualifications that a good leader must have? Do you think that women have these qualifications? Why?
34. In your opinion, do women are enough for this occupation? When working, in which issues you used to feel your self inadequate?
35. Did you feel that the commanders are think that you were insufficient in some duties? What were the reasons for feeling this way?
36. Do you think that women must work at every position in the military? In which branch women couldn't work in your time? Would you like to work in one of these branches? Which one? Do you think that you would be successful if you were able to work in this branch?
37. In your opinion, are female officers as qualified as they can compete with male officers? Do you think that there is discrimination between men and women in the military?
38. Did you ever work in detachments? If you did, what kind of troubles did you have as a woman? If you did not, why do you think female officers can not work in detachments? What kind of problems are they thought to have?
39. What kind of conveniences are there for making things easier for them just because they are women? Do you think that these conveniences are necessary? What kinds of advantages have these conveniences for women?
40. What kind of problems you used to have during your menstrual periods when you were student or when you were working? What kind of solutions you used to find for these problems? Can you tell me about your upper ranks or male cadets' attitudes about this?

41. What are your opinions about the rules of TMA about women's make-up, hair style and uniform? In your opinion, what kind of changes there may be about this? Can you tell me about the changes that are done since your time? Do you consider these changes as positive?
42. Was there solidarity between female officers? How do you consider the officers graduated after your period about this matter? Are there similarities or differences?
43. How were your feelings when you were walking on the street with the uniform? Was there anyone who wants to bother you? How were your reactions?
44. Do you remember the day you retired? Can you tell me about it? What were your feelings?
45. When did you retire?
46. Which did you did you retire from?
47. What was your position when you retired?
48. Did you work after your retirement? Where?
49. What kind of changes happened in your life after your retirement? Can you tell me about them? How was your relationship with civilians?
50. What kind of differences you have comparing to retired civilian women? (except the opportunities you get after your retirement)
51. Did any change happen in your view about your occupation after your retirement? How?
52. What kind of reactions you have from new people you meet when you say them that you are a retired officer? Do these reactions bother you or do you like them?
53. How are your relationships with civilian women? Do you get along better with officers or civilians?
54. What are your opinions about officers' wives? How are your relationships with your officer friends' wives?
55. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this occupation for you?
56. Do you think that any woman can perform this profession? What kinds of qualifications are required?

57. Do you think that you have any characteristic that makes you different from a civilian woman? Why? Are you used to have these characteristics formerly or did you gain them after your education at the school?
58. How was it to give orders to a male? How did you feel when you lost this power after your retirement?
59. Do you think that female officers have the same chance to advance at work like male officers? Do you think that female officers of today have more chance than officers in your time?
60. What are the inferiorities and superiorities of female officer from the male officers?
61. Do you think women can perform in higher ranks in the military?
62. Would you like to be a staff officer?
63. Do you think there was an unfair situation in your retirement?
64. How discipline affected your life? What kind of changes happened in your life about this after your retirement?
65. Did your friendship with your colleagues last after your retirement? How? How often and where do you meet them?
66. How do you consider the situations of female officers of today? What kind of similarities and differences are there between you and them? Do you think that they have better circumstances? Why?
67. Do you think that the number of female officers in the military is adequate? If the number of female officers increases, what kind of differences will be in military?

If she is married:

68. Did you experience any conflict between your task responsibilities and your family responsibilities? How did you resolve these conflicts? Which one of your responsibilities was prior?
69. In your opinion, why do female officers prefer to get married their colleagues?

If she is married an officer:

70. What are the advantages of being married an officer? Why? What are the disadvantages of being married an officer? Why?
71. Do you have children? If you have; what kind of problems did you start to have after his/her birth? Did your life change? Did any change happen in your view about your profession?
72. What kind of problems you used to have especially about bringing up children? What kind of solutions are you used to find for these problems?

If she is married (husband not officer):

73. What is your husband's occupation?
74. What are the advantages of being married to a person with a different job? Why? What are the disadvantages of being married a person with a different job? Why?
75. What kind of problems did your task responsibilities (appointment, shift ext.) create in your family relationships?
76. Do you have a daughter? If you (would) have, would you like her to be an officer like you?
77. How do you consider the fact that women and men are working in different branches in the military? Do you think that there are applications that have to be changed? In your opinion what kind of changes are done about this application after your retirement?
78. What are your thoughts about women's integration to the military? Can you tell me about this period? Why they stopped the female cadets' recruitments? In 1992, why it started again?
79. Do you have an unforgettable memory about your studentship or work life? Can you tell?
80. Would you like to add some other thing? Is there any missed point about "female officers' lives in the military" in this interview? What is that?