

THE FACTORS THAT DETERMINE THE DEGREE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE MILITARY



A comparative study of the Netherlands and Hungary based on Segal's theoretical model to identify the factors that influence the participation of women in the military in NATO member states

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February 27, 2020
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Word count: 17.353

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Executive Summary

The following research aims to determine the factors that influence the degree of the participation of women in the military in NATO member states. Segal's theoretical model was chosen to determine the factors as it, unlike other theories that explain women's participation in the military, provides an outline with specific variables and hypotheses that can be applied. It must be noted that this research does not want to invalidate Segal's theory, but rather build on it. The Netherlands and Hungary have been chosen as cases due to their contrasting percentages of female militaries. Women represent 19.3% of the Hungarian military, yet 9.7% of the Dutch military.

The research design chosen for this research is comparative, and the research method used to compare is exclusively qualitative. Besides desk research, three interviews were conducted with Suzanne van Opstal (campaign manager and subject matter expert on Diversity & Inclusivity in the Dutch military), Eszter Skrinýár (Lieutenant Colonel in the Hungarian military) and one former employee of the Hungarian military. The interviews were conducted in order to fill in the information gaps, as English information on Hungary's military was scarce.

In the first chapter, Segal's theory is extensively described. The military dimension entails five variables; the national security situation, military technology, combat to support ratio, force structure and military accession policies. The cultural dimension involves the social construction as well as the social values of gender and family. And at last, the social structure dimension entails four variables, namely the demographic patterns, labour force characteristics, economic factors and the family structure. Segal's variables are applied to the Netherlands and Hungary in Chapter three and four and compared in the analysis.

After analysing the primary and secondary research that was conducted to each case, the factors could be determined. The following factors do influence the degree of the participation of women in the military: the demographic patterns, the labour force characteristics, the economic structure, the social construction as well as the social values of gender and family does partly have an impact, the national security situation, the combat to support ratio and the military accession policies. The other variables did not show to have an impact.

Furthermore, the origins of women's participation in the military in a country is not a variable of Segal's theory, even though this research showed that it did have an impact on women's participation. Additionally, working conditions (hours, salary, extra benefits) of employees for the military in a country is also not a variable, while this could also affect the participation.

It is therefore recommended to develop, expand and prove the theory further. The benefits of developing the theory can lead to the determination of certain factors that can create a more gender balanced military internationally.

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Introduction

Despite years of promoting gender equality and implementing initiatives to reduce gender segregation in the political, educational and work field, women are still not fully integrated in all parts of the Western society. On the one hand, a global, incessant growth of the employment of women took place in the past few decades. On the other hand, women are still converging to the more traditional, feminine occupations, still underrepresented in management positions and the gender pay gap is still an issue. The full-time employment rate of women in the European Union (EU) is 16% lower than that of men, moreover, the average salaries gap between the sexes was 20% in 2014. Additionally, women have difficulties acquiring management positions, as merely 6.3% of all the large companies in the EU have a female CEO (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2017, pp. xiii, 13, 15, 19)

An example of a male dominated profession is the military. As M. Wechsler Segal, pioneer in the gender related military field, stated: “The military has been defined traditionally as a masculine institution; it may be the most prototypically masculine of all social institutions” (Segal, 1995, p. 758). Even though women are allowed to occupy positions in the military in most of the Western countries, the participation of women in the military is still exceptionally low.

Serving in the military has been up until recently viewed as the task of men in most cultures, with the exceptional occasion of a national crisis, when women did participate. Nevertheless, limitations have been broken down by the rising global pressure for gender equity and resulted in changes of military policies as well as the perception of women’s role in the society and military. In the past 30 years women were allowed, among other occupations and functions, to enter the military academies and the number of women in the national armies were increasing. However, many more obstacles have to be eliminated before the acceptance of diversity in the military can become real. In some states, female officers are excluded from several combat related tasks and positions. Even if women are legally and formally allowed to participate in the military, successful social integration is not an insured consequence (Carreiras, 2004, p. 9).

Nonetheless, international developments have been made towards a greater and more important role for women in security. For instance, the first resolution on Women, Peace and Security was unanimously by the Security Council of the United Nations (UN) in 2000. The resolution acknowledges women’s roles and experiences in conflict and peacebuilding. Furthermore, the Council urges an increase in the participation of women in field-operations, thereby indicating a shortage of women militaries (UN Security Council, 2000, pp. 1, 2).

According to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the average representation of women in the armed forces of NATO member nations was 7.1% in 1999 and has risen to 11.1% in

2017. The participation of women in the member states' armed forces differ from state to state and the percentages can be quite unexpected. For example, women's participation in Hungary's military is 19.3%, while in the Netherlands it is 9.7% (NATO, 2017, pp. 15, 16).

Taking into account that Hungary employs nearly twice the number of women in their military in comparison to the Netherlands, it raises the question of why women in one country feel more appealed to join the military than women in other countries. What factors influence the participation of women in the military? Are they social, cultural or does it depend on how the military is structured and the policies regarding women in the military? The comparative study of women in the military is fairly unexplored territory, even though plentiful research has been conducted into women in the armed forces by military sociologists, and feminist academics. Carreiras notes that: "Women in the military and their relationship with war are subjects that often provoke controversial reactions that reveal entrenched stereotypes and cultural values central to many societies." (Carreiras, 2006, pp. 2, 3).

Throughout the years, different theories have been created that attempt to explain women's overall low participation rates. However, Segal has been credited with the creation of the first systematic theory that outlines the factors affecting women's participation in the military (Nuciari, 2006, p. 280). According to Segal's first original model, which was published in 1995, variables of the social structure, culture and military structure of a state have influence over the participation of women in the military (Segal, 1995, p. 758).

Research question and structure

This research aims to provide an answer to the central research question:

What factors determine the degree of women's participation in the military in NATO member states?

To answer the central question, Segal's theoretical model will be used to compare the Netherlands and Hungary, from which factors will derive that increase the participation in a country. The central question will be answered with the guidance of these nine sub questions:

1. What is the history of the policy development on female participation in Western states?
2. To what degree did and do women participate in the Dutch military?
3. How does the social structure of the Netherlands have influence on the participation of women in the military?
4. How does women's role regarding family influence the participation of women in the Dutch military?
5. How does the military structure in the Netherlands influence the participation of women in the military?
6. To what degree did and do women participate in the Hungarian military?

7. How does the social structure of Hungary have influence on the participation of women in the military?
8. How does women's role regarding family influence the participation of women in the Hungarian military?
9. How does the military structure in Hungary influence the participation of women in the military?

The following research structure is applied:

First, the introduction briefly introduces the topic and outlines the developments regarding women's involvement in the military throughout time. After the introduction, the methodology follows. The methodology is placed before the results to provide a better overview of which framework is used, what research methods are used and why these specific methods are chosen. In this order, the reader knows what the nature of the research is, before reading the results. The first chapter is the theoretical framework, which comprehensively describes Segal's theoretical model and the corresponding hypotheses. Also, it provides a delineation of other theories and justifies why Segal's theory is used for this research. Furthermore, the second chapter provides a brief history of the policy development regarding women's participation in the military in NATO member states. In the third and fourth chapter the variables of Segal's model are applied to the cases to test the hypotheses. The Dutch and Hungarian military structure, social structure and culture are researched. Moreover, the analysis plays a critical role in comparing the results of the two cases. In addition, results of the literature review are compared to primary research findings. Finally, the conclusion is presented, where all research is summarised and the answer to the central research question is clearly stated.

Contribution

This research is of societal relevance since it can explain why women have, despite their overall good integration in the labour force, quite low participation rates in the military in the NATO member states. Moreover, it attempts to elucidate why some countries, such as Hungary, are outliers. When researching women in the military, Segal's model showed like a common thread throughout most of the studies conducted into women and the armed forces. However, Segal's model applied and tested was difficult to find. One of the goals of this dissertation is to build on Segal's work. Furthermore, it aims to contribute to the academic understanding of women's part in a male dominated field through testing Segal's original theory and thereby explaining differences in the participation of women in the military in the NATO member states.

Methodology

This chapter presents the research design, method and the research methodology that this dissertation uses and the justification of the choices. Additionally, it describes the research limitations.

Van Wyk defines the term ‘research design’ as the overall strategy to answer the central question while also describing the purpose of the research (van Wyk, 2012, p. 4). The author specifies six different purposes for research: exploration, description, explanation, prediction, evaluation and history. As the names suggests, explorative research explores a problem or situation that has some less-known aspects. Descriptive research focusses on the ‘what’ questions and aims to provide a description of certain characteristics and factors. Explanatory research seeks to determine any underlying links between the factors or variables that relate to the research problem. Predictive research questions aim to predict a certain outcome, while evaluative seeks to evaluate a certain outcome. At last, historical questions analyse the causes and consequences of historical developments (Van Wyk, 2012, pp. 7-11). Even though the central research question starts with ‘what’, this research is explanatory, and not descriptive. As its’ main goal is to identify the factors that determine the participation of women in the military, on the basis of the variables of Segal’s theory and it does not provide a description of something. In essence, this research aims to explain why women’s participation in the military is different in each country and therefore, is explanatory.

Research methods

In order to establish which factors determine the participation of women in the military in NATO member nations, this research uses the comparative method based on Segal’s theoretical model. According to David Collier, comparison is an essential instrument of analysis. Furthermore, “comparison is routinely used in testing hypotheses, and it can contribute to the inductive discovery of new hypotheses and to theory-building” (Collier, 1993, p. 205). As stated by Arend Lijphart, the case-study method has the disadvantage of being more restricted in systematically testing hypotheses than the other methods, which is necessary for this research to apply Segal’s model to the cases. Moreover, the statistical analysis is more convenient when a larger number of cases are used, which in this research is not the case (Lijphart, 1971, pp. 685, 691).

A comparative method is chosen on the grounds that it provides the opportunity to analyse and compare two cases more in depth with limited time and resources in contrast to the statistical, experimental and case-study method. A relatively small number of cases, or small N, are chosen due to the fact that Segal’s model provides a large number of factors (13 variables) that play a role in the representation of women and thereby lists over 13 hypotheses. The scarcity of time and length of this research results therefore in a small N.

The Netherlands and Hungary are selected to be systematically analysed and compared based on Segal's model. These two cases are chosen due to several reasons:

First, the participation of women in the Hungarian and Dutch military is substantially different. Taking into consideration that the average representation of women in the military of NATO member nations was 11.1% in 2017, the Netherlands has a rather low participation rate of 9.7%. Conversely, Hungary has the highest percentage of the NATO member nations with 19.3%.

Second, the two countries are situated in different parts of Europe, which makes it more interesting in regard to social and cultural aspects of the countries and their influence on the participation on women in the military. The two societies differ in gender roles and gender equality in general, according to the gender equality report.

Secondary sources

When conducting research, one can use primary sources or secondary sources. Ajayi states that a primary source contains information that the researcher has obtained first-hand, whereas a secondary source comprises information that has been gathered from other sources by the researcher. Furthermore, primary data can be described as factual and original, examples include personal interviews, experiments and questionnaires. While secondary data is the use, analysis and understanding of the primary data, and takes the form of journal articles, books, websites etc. (Victor Ajayi, 2017, p. 2-3).

This research is largely dependent on secondary sources, as several of variables of Segal's theory require statistical information, which are on large scale (for example the male/female ratio of the Netherlands and Hungary or the unemployment rates). Initially, a literature study is conducted into Segal's theory and other theories that explain the participation of women in the military. Secondly, the 13 variables of the military, social and cultural dimension are researched in each country through the use of secondary sources such as NATO and EU reports. Afterwards, certain gaps in the literature review on the variables were established in both countries, that is necessary to compare the Netherlands and Hungary adequately with Segal's model. Data that is absent from the literature or data that is retrieved from unreliable sources, which need confirmation. These gaps are filled with primary data, such as interviews with professionals on one or multiple dimensions of Segal's theory.

Primary sources

As mentioned above, primary data is original, first-hand obtained data by the researcher. Therefore, the semi-structured and structured interviews conducted for this research are considered primary data. According to Adams, the semi-structured interview (SSI) entails a mix of closed- and open-

ended questions, which are usually followed by unplanned why and how questions. Moreover, the acceptable time frame for an interview is around one hour, since longer might cause a decrease in the quality (Adams, 2011, 493). For this research one SSI and two structured interviews are conducted, even though the semi-structural approach can contribute to new questions and thereby new information. Two interviews are structured due to the fact that the interviewees preferred answering on their own terms, and preferred written answers. Which could be because of the language barrier. Additionally, for one of the interviews a pseudonym is used to stay anonymous.

All three of the interviewees are selected based on their experience and knowledge of and with the Dutch and Hungarian military.

The first interviewee is Suzanne van Opstal, she is a campaign manager for the campaigns that focus on women, reservists, VEVA and growth. In addition to that she is a subject matter expert on Diversity & Inclusivity in the Dutch Ministry of Defence. She obtained a bachelor's in marketing and communication. Van Opstal her positions are both focussed on diversity and thereby women, which is very interesting to this research. She offers a large amount of information on why and why not women are interested in joining the Dutch military (S. van Opstal, personal communication, 18 December, 2019).

The second interviewee is Dr. Martha Molnár, she worked for the Hungarian military between 1982 and 2011 and had different positions as a doctor. Molnár specialised in public health and epidemiology, military and catastrophic medicine and health care manager. Molnár is interviewed due to her experience in the Hungarian military and ability to shine some light on the advantages and disadvantages for employees of the military. She was one of the few that could be interviewed, since current employees need consent from the Hungarian MoD, which is difficult to obtain. However, Molnár is retired and used a pseudonym, which means she could answer the questions (M. Molnár, personal communication, 18 February, 2020).

The third interviewee is Lieutenant Colonel Eszter Skrinýár, who is responsible for the Public Affairs issues of the Hungarian Defence Forces Command. Lt. Col. Skrinýár has obtained a M.Sc. Degree at the University of Szeged, in international communications – institutional communications (E. Skrinýár, personal communication, 24 February, 2020).

Research ethics

The European Studies Guide for Final Project and Dissertation states that in order to use the information provided by the interviewee, an informed consent form must be signed by the interviewee. In addition, the interviews should be transcribed when conducted in English and Dutch and summarized in English when conducted in Dutch and included in the appendix of the Final research. This research follows the requirements regarding the use of human primary sources.

Moreover, APA style must be used, and therefore has been applied to this dissertation (Lak, 2020, p. 6).

Inductive vs deductive

According to Trochim, the two general approaches to reasoning are the inductive and deductive reasoning. He describes the induction approach as working from explicit to wide-ranging, while deduction starts at the general theory and finishes with the explicit. Furthermore, research based on experience or observation are best stated inductively, whereas research based on laws, known facts, or other generally acknowledged standards are better voiced deductively. Moreover, Trochim states that deductive reasoning can be connected to quantitative research and that inductive reasoning to qualitative reasoning (Trochim, 2006, p. 1). Since this research is based on experience from the interviewees, as well as laws and known facts such as reports from the government and NATO, this research uses both inductive as deductive reasoning.

Qualitative vs quantitative research

As stated by Pathak, Jena and Kalra, two main methods of data collection and interpretation in research are qualitative and quantitative research. Qualitative research emphasizes on answering a research question in a more humane or principled approach, with certain details and depth. While the quantitative approach is often regarded as a more trustworthy method as it can be conveyed to quantities and thereby statistics which can be made objectively. It can be stated that this research relies on qualitative research as the main aim is to determine the factors that influence women's behaviour. This study seeks to understand the differences between two groups of women, the Hungarian and the Dutch, and is therefore a more humane, qualitative research. However, the research could use a quantitative approach in the form of a questionnaire to compare the statistics between the two groups. However, this would only be useful if the researcher is in a position to reach respondents from the Dutch and Hungarian military. Since it has been quite difficult to arrange one interview with a Hungarian employee of the Ministry of Defence, it does not seem feasible to reach respondents on a larger scale. For that reason, mostly qualitative research is used.

Research limitations

This research has several limitations. The first and largest limitation is the language barrier, as many secondary sources for the Hungarian part were in Hungary. When trying to fill the information gaps with interviews, the language barrier appeared to be a limitation for the interviews as well. Arranging an interview with an employee of the Hungarian defence force and with a Hungarian sociologist proved to be extremely difficult. After contacting more than 40 institutions and people via various platforms, only a handful responded that they wanted to answer questions, however, after the questions were sent none of them answered. This could be a result of multiple reasons, however, the language difficulty seemed to be the obvious reason. A lack of time, ability and willingness to help could also play a role. After three and a half months of contacting various institutions and persons (the Ministry of Defence of Hungary, sociology institutions, military academy institutions and several employees of the aforementioned institutions), without any response or answers, the focus shifted to finding more Dutch interviewees. Then unexpectedly, a Hungarian colleague's network presented a person willing to provide answers to the questions. And since the person in question was retired, she could answer the questions without waiting for a consent of the Hungarian ministry of defence. The Hungarian colleague translated the questions made to fill in the gaps in the research, and after the interviewee responded in Hungarian the colleague translated the answers. Which proved that language did in fact play a role, since the interviewee could not speak English.

A second limitation of this research is that the main research question is a generalization of the two cases that are compared in this research. The researcher is aware that the number of cases used in this research is limited and does therefore not claim that the factors necessarily influence all NATO cases in the same manner.

A third limiting aspect are the interviews. There are multiple reasons possible, that make empirical data from interviews less trustworthy. For example, the interviewee might not want to put its organization or its country into a bad light or answering in a manner that is socially expected and politically correct. Providing animosity to the interviewee has optimistically helped with the shame, fear, or any other reasons for holding back.

Literature review and results

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

Chapter one first provides an extensive description of Segal's model and thereby fitting variables and hypotheses, the second part represents other theories and finally, justifies the reason why Segal's theory is being used for this research.

1.1 Segal's theoretical model

Naturally, many factors influence the participation of women in the military across the world. In order to obtain better insight, several theories have been written by sociologists and military/gender experts that attempt to explain the participation and integration of women in military institutions. Numerous of those theories have been built upon the work of a pioneer in the gender related military field, Mady Wechsler Segal. Her original model (1995) was published in her article "Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future", which was later expanded by Iskra, Trainor, Leithauser and Segal herself in the article "Women's Participation in Armed Forces Cross-Nationally: Expanding Segal's Model" (Nuciari, 2006, p. 283). Segal states that the theory provides an outline "of what effects the degree and nature of women's participation in the armed forces throughout history and across nations" (Segal, 1995, p. 757).

Segal formulates 'conditions' that must be met in order to achieve a higher percentage of women within the armed forces. Her research provides a clear picture of the large number of factors that play a role in the representation of women and lists the various factors in a structured manner. One could say it forms a sort of step-by-step plan that must be met in order to achieve a successful participation. A critical question that needs to be asked is whether, when the set conditions are met, successful integration is achieved and not just a larger percentage. Segal's outline divides the variables in three categories: Military, Social Structure and Culture for each of these dimensions the theory provides variables that relate to the effect they have on the participation of women in the military. Additionally, all the independent variables are interconnected, for which hypotheses are presented (Segal, 1995, 758).

The military dimension entails five variables; the national security situation, military technology, combat to support ratio, force structure and military accession policies. Segal believes the military variables to be major factors in the participation of women in the military, especially the **national security situation** of a state can have a large impact on the number and roles of women in the armed forces. When a state faces an immediate security threat, especially in combination with a lack of capable men, women step in and obtain more and different military roles. To confirm this hypothesis, she refers to the conscription of women in the Second World War in European countries such as

France, the United Kingdom and Greece. However, according to Segal, when the emergency situation is over, women slide back into their former roles in society and women's participation decreases. In this case, the hypothesis is that when in times of 'war' or other security threats, women's participation increases, and after war, 'cultural amnesia' occurs which portrays women's contribution to be minimal or even absent. She hypothesizes that "at the high end of threat to the society, women's military roles seem to increase" (Segal, 1995, p. 761). Interestingly, states with low threats to national security, yet with a culture that supports gender equality, also have a higher participation of women in the military. The author states that the type of military missions that a state undertakes also has an impact on the involvement of women in the military.

The **military technology** variable is strongly interrelated with the **combat to support ratio** variable, as more combat roles negatively impact the participation of women in the armed forces. She theorises that the more that ground combat and fighting is required, the less participation of women can be expected. However, peacekeeping missions and other supervising roles attract more women (Segal, 1995, p. 762) According to Segal, **technological development** automatically results in more support jobs, and less combat roles. Due to the construction of smaller arms, air power and nuclear technology have increased the possibilities for women in the armed forces. Furthermore, military tasks have become narrower and more specialized, instead of focussed on force, many jobs focus on technical knowledge (Segal, 1995, p. 763).

Segal emphasizes the correlation between the support ratio combat variable and the **force structure** variable. In view of support roles being focussed on the reserve, and women being more drawn to support functions, more women will be part of the reserves instead of the active duty forces. Furthermore, the author hypothesised that **military accession policies** play a large part in the increase of women's participation. When conscription ends and all-volunteer forces commence in a state, a growth in the participation of women in the military can be established. To conclude, according to Segal's theoretical model women's participation is higher when there is a high threat to security, or low threat to a culture which supports gender equality, when there is a larger share of support jobs and a low combat to support ratio, and when there is more military technology development. Contrariwise, women's participation is negatively associated with medium security threats, little military technology development, military conscript systems and high combat to support ratios.

The social structure dimension entails four variables, namely the demographic patterns, labour force characteristics, economic factors and the family structure. **Demographic patterns** in a state can be of great importance to the male/female ratio in the military, since a shortage of qualified men for the military leads to an increase in military women (Segal, 1995, p. 766).

Furthermore, a larger proportion of women's participation in the **labour force** equals a larger proportion of women's participation in the armed forces. Segal provides two reasons for this: aspects that influence the labour force also influence the military, such as shortages of qualified men and furthermore, the cultural/structural alteration to the society reflects back to the military. Therefore, if more women take part in the labour market, they can be perceived as more qualified for military jobs. To be more precise, if gender segregation in the labour force is larger, gender segregation will be larger in the military. Women tend to be placed in gender 'appropriate' professions, such as nursing and supporting tasks (Segal, 1995, 767).

Additionally, the **economic factors** have influence on the percentage of women in the armed forces. Due to the fact that they tend to apply more often to the military, when unemployment is high amongst men and there is a voluntary system, which leads to less opportunities for women. If unemployment rates are low, and the economy is healthy, more women will want to join the civilian and military working force (Segal, 1995, p. 767).

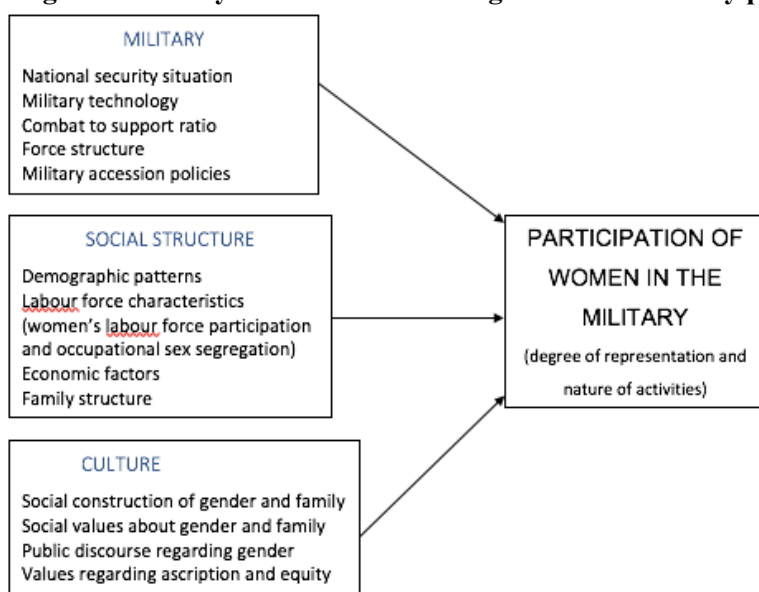
Furthermore, Segal states that **the family structure** should be included as well due to the fact that military participation is socially constructed to be negatively linked with family duties. The author suggests that the larger the family obligations for the regular women, the less women will participate in the armed forces. Inversely, higher representation will occur if the age of women at time of the first marriage and first-born child is higher. As example she gives Canada and the United States, where in the 1970s and 1980s the postponing of creating a family resulted in more women in the military (Segal, 1995, p. 768). To sum up, the contraction of the economy and more gender segregation in the labour force correlates negatively with the representation of women in the armed forces.

The cultural dimension involves the social construction as well as the social values of gender and family, and other cultural issues. According to Segal, the definition of **gender is socially constructed** in each state. Due to technological developments, physical strength and reproduction are no longer issues for women in the military. However, how societies view military women depends on how they divide gender roles and perceive the sex differences. When a certain culture emphasizes the difference between men and women, they are less likely to approve of women participating in male dominated fields (Segal, 1995, p. 768). The author states that the changes in cultures are not linear, but cyclical, and therefore do not automatically mean structural modification. During times of security emergencies, structural change is necessary in order to accept women in the military. After the structural change, cultural change occurs. She hypothesises, the more equal social values about the sexes, the higher the participation of women in the military. Gender equality can be achieved through alteration of the social values; however, the military institute is and will most likely remain for a long time, a male dominated masculine institute.

Segal points out that **the social construction of family** plays an important role in the representation of women in the military. Women have been historically related to reproduction and the nursing of children, it depends on how much the culture has evolved this image of women, whether or not they will accept women in the military. Segal emphasizes that some cultures feel conflicted by the controversy of women giving birth to a new life and taking a life by killing in battle (Segal, 1995, p. 770). The social values regarding family in a certain culture can change, and with that, the expectations of her role within the family. Segal theorises that the greater the change of traditional roles within family in a society, the less focussed a culture will be on gender roles, and the greater the participation of women in the military will be. In conclusion, Segal stresses that ascription by gender, and traditional family construction, will thus limit the representation in the armed forces (Segal, 1995, p. 770).

After a thorough analysis of Segal's model, it is clear that the national security situation one of the most crucial variables is. In times of war or any other national crisis, women's participation in the military will, albeit in support roles, drastically increase. Even if the social and cultural values contradict the notion of women as violent life takers – but rather sees them as life givers. Segal does not concretely note that one of the factors undeniably overrides all the others, however, she states that “in general, it appears that demands for military personnel seem to be the single most important factor in women's military involvement, with cultural values supporting gender equality also contributing to women's sustained inclusion when the nation is not threatened” (Segal, 1995, p. 760). This research hypothesises that the second most important variable is the social construction of gender, of the cultural dimension. This on the grounds that this variable has a direct influence on all the variables.

Figure 1: Theory of factors influencing women's' military participation



Source: M.W. Segal (1995, p. 759)

1.2 Other theories

Other theories must be explored in order to obtain a full understanding of the factors that determine the participation of women in the military. Theories and observations of (military) sociologists such as Janowitz, Moskos, Goldstein, Cockburn and Heinecken will be discussed in this sub chapter. The theories that will be discussed do not always provide a justification for gender integration or female participation per se, they provide more clarity on the change of military institutions regarding social aspects, organizational behaviour and so on.

One of the earlier theories regarding change in the military institution was written in 1970 by Morris Janowitz, an important sociologist in the military field, as he wrote a model that theorised that technological advancement changed the traditional military roles, and consequently, the organizational behaviour in the armed forces. He hypothesizes that the greater the progression in military technology is, the smaller the differences between military and non-military institutions. Janowitz states that the military is enduring 'civilianization', since military and non-military organizations merge due to the military's need of technological and other non-military knowledge. The dissimilarities between the two sectors are becoming smaller, as the military institution is slowly changing into the mirror of society (therefore higher participation of women), without clear boundaries (Janowitz, 1970, p. 143). Segal has desegregated this theory into her own model, as one of the military variables include technological development.

Another theory that is well-known in the gender military domain, is the Institutional/Occupational model (I/O model) of Charles Moskos, written in 1977. Rather than focussing on the exact factors and expectations of a theory, he stresses the constant change and development of the military and the society and their relationship. According to Helena Carreiras, the I/O model created by Moskos is deemed a compulsory foundation for research regarding change in the armed forces (Carreiras, 2004, p. 152). Moskos' model entails a combination of empirical factors, such as Segal's model, that determine the military organization as similar and dissimilar from the civilian society. The variables are divided over the institutional and occupational models, in which the occupational model entails more business aspects. As is showed in figure 1.2, the 'female roles' variable is under the Institutional model denoted as 'limited employment; restricted career pattern' and under the Occupational model as 'wide employment; open career pattern'. Which indicates that the Occupational model of a military institution can be considered a better option for more representation of women in the armed forces.

Figure 2: The Institutional/Occupational model of Moskos

Variable	Institutional	Occupational
Legitimacy	Normative values	Marketplace economy
Societal regard	Esteem based on notions of service	Prestige based on level of compensation
Role commitment	Diffuse; generalist	Specific; specialist
Reference groups	"Vertical" within the armed forces	"Horizontal" with occupations
Recruitment appeals	Character qualities; life-style orientation	High recruit pay; technical training
Evaluation of performance	Holistic and qualitative	Segmented and quantitative
Basis of compensation	Rank and seniority; decompressed by rank	Skill level and manpower shortages; compressed by rank
Mode of compensation	Much in non-cash form	Salary and bonuses
Legal system	Military Justice; broad purview over member	Civilian jurisprudence; limited purview over member
Female roles	Limited employment; restricted career pattern	Wide employment; open career pattern
Spouse	Integral part of military community	Removed from military community
Residence	Work and residence adjacency; military housing; relocations	Work and residence separation; civilian housing permanence
Post-service status	Veterans' benefits and preferences	Same as non-servers

Source: Moskos and Wood (1988, p. 16)

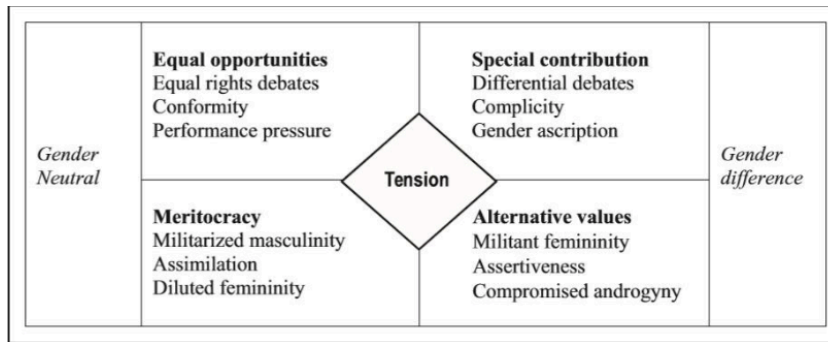
Carreiras states that the Institutional orientation supposedly involved more promotion for unity, commitment of recruits and common goals, while the Occupational design entailed more individualism, more rational control of the labour market, which seemingly weakens military professionalism and reduces organizational commitment (Carreiras, 2004, p. 153).

An alternative, albeit primitive, theory, is that of Joshua Goldstein's. As stated in his book "War and Gender", the military shapes gender and the other way around. On the one hand, Goldstein says there is a broad variety of gender roles cross-culturally as well as throughout history. On the other hand, there are certain areas in which gender roles are mostly consistent, namely political leadership, hunting, coming-to-age rituals, which are according to Goldstein most related to war. In short, gender roles diverge significantly, yet not (or barely) in the war associated field. Goldstein explains that the potential for war can be found globally in all societies yet killing does not come effortlessly to both sexes. Which is why cultures developed gender roles, with the result that men could overcome their aversion to combat (Goldstein, 2001, p. 7-9). Moreover, he theorizes that war is so deeply embedded in the human experience, that gender roles are permanently embedded with it (Goldstein, 2001, p. 57). This theory does provide an explanation for the low participation of women in the military, however, it cannot be measured or proven. Besides, it prompts the idea that the association of war with men will never change. What does that mean for the integration of women in the military? Is it

possible to break through or change the masculine culture if these gender roles are so rooted in the way we look at war and the armed forces?

Cynthia Cockburn discusses the influence of these permanently embedded gender roles on the integration process of women in the military, in her article “War and security, women and gender: an overview of the issues”. She assents with Goldstein’s statement on the inter-dependence of gender and the military. Furthermore, she argues that despite the fact that the patriarchal dimension differs from culture to culture, many contemporary societies still assign certain roles and qualities to the male sex. Qualities such as competitive, decisiveness, physical strength, assertiveness, courage and ambition – qualities that correlate positively with a soldier. Cockburn also emphasizes that men are designated protectors and women are the protected. According to her, this division is visible early on, for example through the choice of toys in childhood. The recruitment of women is therefore a very painful process. Women should remain feminine, but at the same time have no less strength and endurance than the average man, consequently this means that female soldiers must make difficult compromises and adjustments. Cockburn emphasizes the two faces that women must have if they are to find their place within the armed forces. Integration is therefore not a matter of course, but a process in which a woman is more or less obliged to conform to a standard that has existed for centuries (Cockburn, 2013, p. 438-439).

The dual role that women must play within the armed forces, as described by Cockburn, is also emphasized by Heinecken. In her article “Conceptualizing the Tensions Evoked by Gender Integration in the Military: The South African Case” she states that “the management of gender integration from a gender-neutral perspective cannot bring about gender equality, as it obliges women to conform to and assimilate masculine traits” (Heinecken, 2016, p. 202). In short, by not taking into account the differences between men and women, there are certain expectations of female soldiers that might not be met. According to Heinecken, certain female qualities should be an advantage within the armed forces, for example in peacekeeping missions. Ultimately, women continue to face various challenges that forbids them from assigning alternative values based on their position in society (Heinecken, 2016, 205). Heinecken created her own model that explains the possible gender integration models for women in the military, and their implications.

Figure 3: Gender integration models

Source: Heinecken (2016, p. 215)

Figure 3 shows the various adjustment strategies that are required for female soldiers and which principles underlie each position. The models are divided over the gender-neutral approach and the gender difference approach. *The equal opportunities position* shows that although women receive equal rights, they are obliged to conform to the existing standard. In other words, people should not be treated differently or as special in this industry, which is based on seemingly rational gender-neutral arguments. *The meritocracy position* shows that women can only be respected soldiers if they assimilate and show masculine traits and suppress their femininity. These two positions show less gendered roles and overall approach. *The special contribution position* emphasizes the special role that women can play, for example in peace missions. There are two possible consequences: women themselves also accept these exclusion practices because they seem to be more suitable for certain roles or the commander uses it to exclude women for certain roles. Finally, there is *the position of alternative values*. However, under masculine conditions within the armed forces, with a male hegemony, few female soldiers are willing to make their voices heard and to adopt a militant feminist attitude to induce alternative values. The easier option is to conform and assimilate to male forms of (Heinecken, 2016, p. 215).

The last two positions recognize the gender differences. By formulating these different positions, Heinecken explains an interesting process. Heinecken emphasizes that there are certain views on gender and the armed forces that can have a major impact on the integration and participation of women in the armed forces, which is similar to Segal's cultural and social dimensions.

For this research, Segal's theory is chosen due to its specific conditions, that can be applied to different cases to test its correctness. The only other theory that entails specific hypotheses is the institutional/occupational model of Moskos. However, only one of the variables is focussed on women's participation. While Segal's variables all relate to their participation. Moreover, Segal's theory focusses on the degree and nature of participation, while other theories such as the one created by Heinecken addresses gender integration.

Chapter 2: The policy development and representation of women in the military within Western countries

In this chapter, a general image of the progression of women's participation throughout the years is outlined. The development is due to international treaties, national policies and more.

2.1 General development

According to Carreiras, history shows that women have only participated sporadically in the armed forces, mostly during national threats when the country and its people needed protection. When the threat had passed, women returned back to their traditional roles. This has slowly changed in the recent decades, since most Western militaries began to include women from the 1970s. Carreiras states that by the beginning of the 21st century, all NATO members have accepted women and increased the percentage of women militaries. Moreover, several limitations have been abolished; women have been progressively permitted to join military academies and more positions and functions are open for women. Carreiras declares that 280.000 women were working in NATO militaries in 2006 (Carreiras, 2006, p. 1).

2.2 European Union

A study from the Centre for European Security Studies clarifies that the EU has no authority over its member states regarding civil-military affairs, not even the office that executes the European Security and Defence Policy. Member states control their own military accession policies, army size, organisation etc. (Aldis and Drent, 2008, p. 3). Therefore, this research is focussing on NATO member states.

2.3 The United Nations

De Vries writes in her research that the Second World War (WWII) has brought many changes such as decolonization, the emergence of new sovereign states, changing power blocks and political spheres of influence, and a new structure of international coalitions, agreements and partnerships. In addition, WWII initiated the development in the direction of equal treatment of women and men. The idea of female emancipation received attention from various (international) organizations. Including the UN, established in 1945, which deals with issues such as international law, global security, protection of human rights, development of the world economy and research into social and cultural developments.

In 1953 the UN drafted a treaty in New York on the political rights of women. This treaty included the following Article:

Article III

Women are entitled to hold a government office on an equal footing with men and can carry out all public relations established under national law, without any discrimination.

Although this treaty concerns the overall political rights of women, Article III in particular is essential for the position of women in the armed forces. Unlike countries such as Belgium, Finland, Denmark, Italy and Great Britain, the Netherlands made no exception for the armed forces. Formally speaking, this paved the way for a full integration of women in the armed forces in the Netherlands and many other countries (De Vries, 2018, p. 17-18).

Another international development towards gender equality in general, as well as in the military field, was set in motion by a treaty that was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979. The emancipation of women received legal support by signing the 'Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women'. Particularly Article 7 (1b) is important for the changes that were ultimately implemented by the governments regarding their military. This article states the following:

Article 7: "States Parties to this Convention shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, ensure that women have the right to be treated on an equal footing with men:

b. to participate in the definition and implementation of public policies, as well as to hold public offices and to perform all public functions at all levels of government.'

Because of these articles, the countries were forced to implement changes with regard to equal rights and opportunities for women in the military. Although this seemed unthinkable at the beginning of the 1970s, combat functions now also appeared to become part of the integration of women within the armed forces.

A more recent development regarding gender/military policies is the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. As mentioned in the introduction, the resolution was adopted by the UN Security Council in October 2000. According to the Peace Women, which is part of the UN, women's roles and experiences in war and peacebuilding were for the first time officially acknowledged in one of the most detailed and strongest Women, Peace and Security mandates ever. The resolution expresses amongst other things; the need for the participation for women in decision-making and peace procedures, the usage of a gender perspective in missions and trainings, protection of women and gender mainstreaming in UN coverage systems and programmes. The UN has emphasized the need

for gender mainstreaming since 2000, however, the developments have been slow. In order to truly implement SCR1325, the institutions and individuals in the security sector need to change its entire culture. Furthermore, critics say that the resolution has remained a theory on paper and that the absence of a specific, coordinated plan to bring the resolution in practice make it difficult to achieve a gender perspective on all of the UN aspects (Peace Women, 2006, pp. 1, 5, 24).

2.4 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Furthermore, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization also played an important part in the integration of women in the military through resolutions. NATO states that it is a political and military alliance, with 29 member states (NATO, n.d.). Moreover, the first NATO conference of The Committee on Women in the NATO Forces took place in Copenhagen in 1961. At that time 8 of 15 NATO member states established Women's Services: The US, Canada, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom and Turkey. In the fourth conference in 1973, a resolution, which emphasizes equal rights and equal pay for men and women, was adopted unanimously (NATO, 1978, p. 9-10). Take note that this was only a resolution, and not an agreement that must be adhered to.

What is particularly striking is article three, that says that women should have the opportunity to have all functions, with the exception of combat functions (unless there is a security threat). Due to the fact that not all positions were actually accessible to women, there was no question of full integration.

2.5 National policies of member states

Carreiras provides an interesting fact about the recruitment policies in NATO countries, as all of the NATO members only employed women on voluntary basis in 2004. She writes that a few European countries such as the Netherlands, Greece and the Czech Republic are open to the option of women's conscript recruitment if there would be a national security breach (Carreiras, 2004, p. 190). Nonetheless, gender integration in the military has globally developed since Carreiras' research and Norway is currently drafting women. A news article of BBC states that in 2016 Norway became the first European country that drafts women as well as men. Previously, Norway had created the first all-female special forces training programme in the world in 2014, namely 'the Hunter Troop'. This military programme has been set up due to the fact that "the war in Afghanistan proved an "operational need" for highly-trained female soldiers who could gather intelligence and interact with women and children during deployments in conservative societies." (Ponniah, 2017). According to a research published by the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, Norway became the first European country and the first NATO member that allowed women to operate all combat function in 1985,

even serving on submarines. Pinch et al. consider the Nordic countries the most advanced countries in terms of gender integration in the military, as many of them utilize total inclusion policies. For instance, Denmark adopted a policy of total inclusion in 1988 (Pinch, MacIntyre, Browne & Okros, 2004, p. 34).

Surprisingly, there are also countries that instate maximum percentages of women in their armed forces. For example, Greece and Turkey, where women can be part of the military up until 10% and 4% correspondingly with cadets in military academies. Additionally, there are countries that did have these limitations on the number of women in their armed forces yet have demolished them after a period. For instance, France, where the maximum rule was removed in 1998 and the law in Belgium that requested a number of women in the military, as a quota, was removed in 1981 (Carreiras, 2004, p. 190).

As claimed by Pinch et al., gender equality can not only be measured through gender roles and relations in different parts of society, but by (gender) equality policies as well. Presently in the European countries, personnel policies that indicate the total exclusion of women are unimaginable. Italy was the last NATO member state to open its doors to their military for women in 1999, as one of the last European countries. The pressure group *La Associazione Nazionale Aspirante Donne Soldato* (The Association of Aspiring Women Soldiers) pushed for several years for an alteration in the military policy. Eventually, in September 1999, the Italian Parliament decided to allow women to take part in the military. Five years later, 438 women (0.1% of the total military personnel) served in the military, mainly in combat service and combat support jobs (Pinch et al., 2004, p.32).

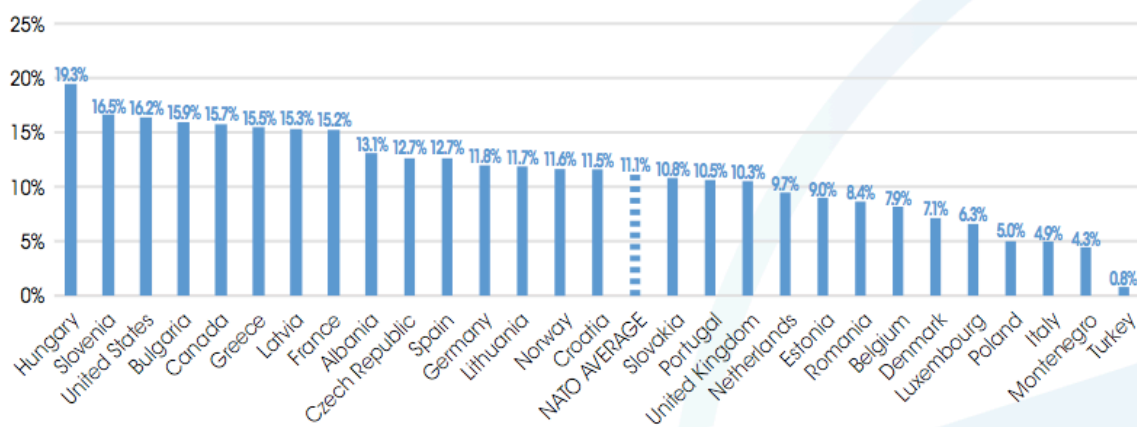
Furthermore, Pinch et al. explain that in Germany women's exclusion from combat roles lasted until 2000, before that women could only work in the medical and musical section of the military. Tanya Kreil disputed this law when she was rejected by the Bundeswehr as a voluntary electronics specialist in 1996. Kreil contended that her refusal by the military was conflicting with the European Community Law. After that, most of the posts in the German military were open for both of the sexes. One year later, 6.503 women were working in the German military (3.4% of the total military) (Pinch et al., 2004, p.33).

As written in an article by Dandeker and Segal, women in the United Kingdom (UK) formed the Women Royal Army Corps in 1949. However, it was not until 1984 that women and men followed military education jointly and that they received equal opportunities for many positions (Dandeker and Segal, 1996, p. 31). Nevertheless, Pinch et al. states that the UK was still wielding partial exclusion policies for women in the military in 2002. Even though 95% of the positions in the air force and 70% of the positions in the navy and army were open to women, numerous posts were closed due to their connection to killing and fighting, or privacy reasons (Pinch et al., 2004, p.33).

Furthermore, Pinch et al. emphasize the difference between policy and practice, due to the fact that theoretically in countries such as the Netherlands and France, all positions should be open to women. In reality however, some occupational specialties are closed to women by cause of the same reasons mentioned in the paragraph above.

The Summary of the National Reports of NATO Member and Partner Nations to the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives 2017 will be used as an overview of the representation of women in the armed forces in Europe. Figure 5 shows the percentage of active duty female military personnel in the armed forces of NATO member nations in 2017, by country.

Figure 5: Women Active Duty Military personnel in the armed forces of NATO member states 2017



Source: NATO Summary of the National Reports (2017, p. 16)

Figure 5 displays that Hungary has the highest percentage of 19.3% of women in the military amongst the member nations. Slovenia and the US follow with 16.5% and 16.2%. Furthermore, Turkey has by far the lowest percentage of female military personnel with 0.8%, then Montenegro with 4.3% and Italy with 4.3%. The Netherlands ranks tenth from the lowest percentage with 9.7% (NATO, 2016, p. 10-11).

Chapter 3: The Netherlands

In this chapter, Segal's variables will be applied to the Netherlands. Except subchapter 3.1, all the subchapters are part of the theoretical model.

3.1 Participation of women in the Dutch military

3.1.1: History

According to the Dutch Institute for Military History (*Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie*), the Netherlands had a women's department for each part of the military. For instance, Milva stands for Military Women's Department (*Militaire Vrouwen Afdeling*) and was the women's department of the Royal Netherlands Army (*Koninklijke Landmacht*). The other armed forces also had a women's department: the Luva (Air Force women's department) and the Marva (Marine women's department).

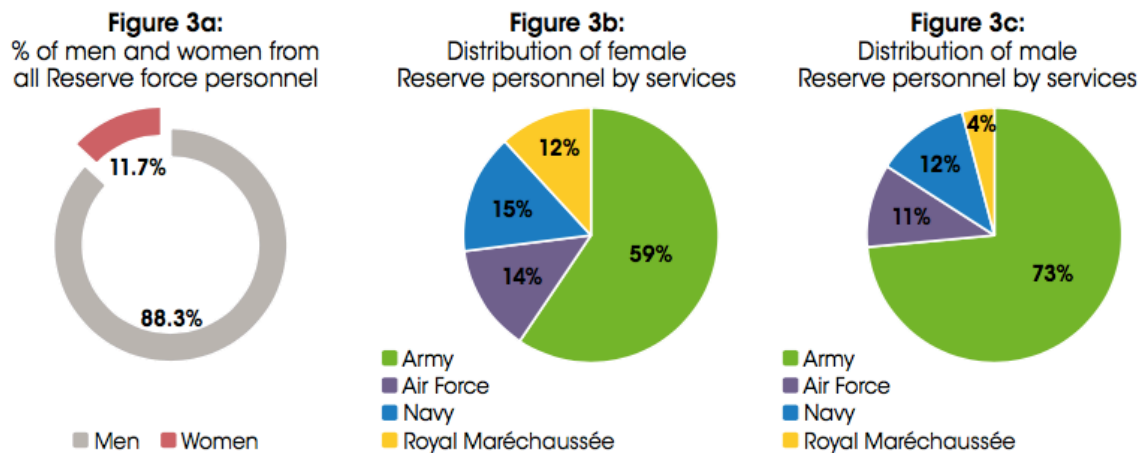
The Milva was established in 1951. The presence of the woman in the armed forces had become permanent with the establishment of the Milva. However, the role of the Milva, and of the woman in the armed forces in general, remained under discussion. This discussion gained momentum after the Netherlands signed the New York Convention. This treaty on the political rights of women was drafted in 1953 in the context of the Charter of the United Nations. According to the treaty, women are entitled to perform a government relationship on an equal basis with men without any distinction. This meant that 'combattante' functions became open to women. The Netherlands did not sign the New York Convention until 1968, after which it entered into force as a Kingdom Act in 1971. From that moment the orientation towards a new place and role of women in the Dutch armed forces began. The Milva could not continue to exist in this new situation. In 1976 the 'Integration of women in the Royal Netherlands Army' working group was established to shape the new situation. As of January 1, 1979, women had the same legal status as men and therefore received the same contracts; no new contracts were concluded with the Milva. Seated Milva personnel were given the opportunity to fulfil a position elsewhere in the army. The Milva was finally abolished on January 1, 1982 (*Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie*, 2018).

3.1.2: Currently

According to van Opstal, women make up approximately 10% of the Dutch military, however, she states that the percentage differs per day, depending on the new recruits and so on (S. van Opstal, personal communication, 18 December, 2019). The NATO report of 2017 confirms and states that the representation of women in the Dutch armed forces is 9.7%. Furthermore, figure 6 shows the distribution of female personnel services in the Netherlands, in which the army has the highest participation with 59%, then the navy with 15%, the Royal Maréchaussée has a percentage of 12%

and finally the Air Force with a percentage of 14%. The pie chart on the right shows the distribution of male personnel by services in the Netherlands. A large part (73%) of the military men work in the army, 12% work in the Navy, the Air Force has 11% of the male military personnel and only 4% of the men work at the Royal Maréchaussée (NATO, 2016, p. 152).

Figure 6: the distribution of men and women by services

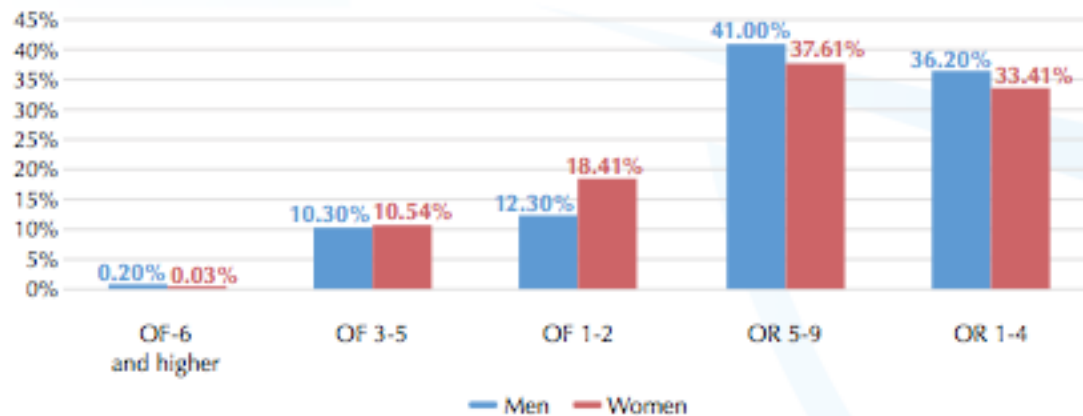


Source: NATO Summary of the National Reports (2017, p. 198)

Figure 7 shows the distribution of men and women by rank. The ranks are divided in five categories:

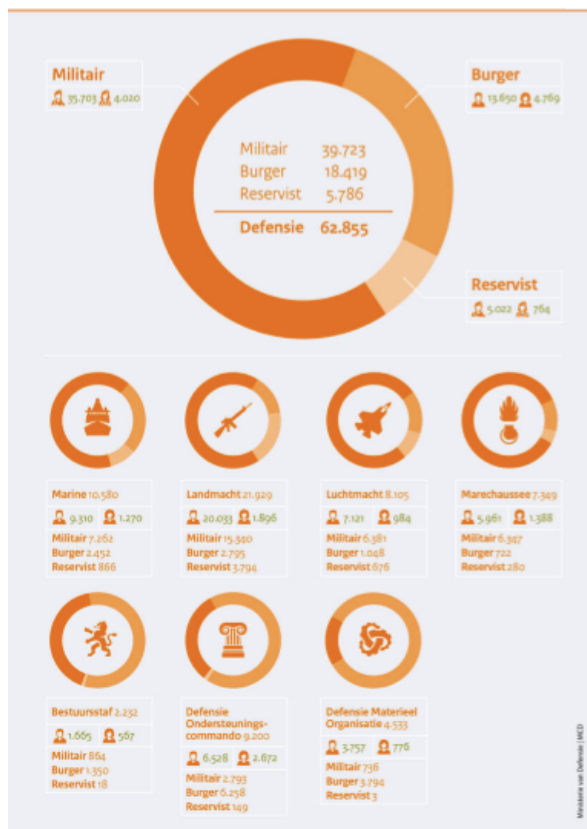
1. OF 6 and higher: General Officers
2. OF 3-5: Officers
3. OF 1-2: Officers
4. OR 5-9: Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs)
5. OR 1-4: Private and Corporal Ranks

Which means that women represent 0.03% of the OF-6 and higher ranks, in comparison to men with 0.20%. Furthermore, women and men are almost equally represented on the OF 3-5 level, with 10.3% and 10.54%. The OF 1-2 ranks have a difference of 6.11%, as the men represent 12.3% and the women 18.41%. Moreover, 37.61% of the female personnel are Non-Commissioned Officers, while 41% of the men are NCO's. Lastly, 36.2% of the male personnel are placed in the private and corporal ranks, and 33.41% of the women (NATO, 2017, p. 199).

Figure 7: the distribution of men and women by rank

Source: NATO Summary of the National Reports (2017, p. 199)

Van Opstal states that since 2017 women can join the marines in the Netherlands, thereby taking away the last restriction. NATO also states in their report that there are currently no restrictions for women in the armed forces and the ministry of Defence. Additionally, there is no quota system for women or men in the Netherlands (NATO, 2016, p. 151).

Figure 7: Military personnel the Netherlands

Source: Ministry of Defence of the Netherlands (2019)

The Dutch Ministry of Defence provides an overview of its personnel as well, as can be seen in figure 8. The personnel are divided over three main sections: military (39.723), civilian (18.419), and reservists 5.786). Under which 4.020 female personnel in the military section, 4.769 women in the civilian section and 764 reservists (Ministry of Defence of the Netherlands, 2019).

3.2 Social structure in the Netherlands

3.2.1: Demographic patterns

As mentioned in Chapter 1, demographic patterns in a state can be of great importance to the male/female ratio in the military, since a shortage of qualified men for the military leads to an increase in military women. According to Statistics Netherlands (CBS), the Netherlands has a population of 17.282.163 in 2019. Of which 8.581.086 (49.7%) are men, and 8.701.077 (50.3%) are women. Moreover, the average age is 42,0 years (CBS, 2019).

3.2.2: Labour force characteristics

A larger proportion of women's participation in the labour force equals a larger proportion of women's participation in the armed forces. The European Commission published the European Semester Thematic Factsheet in 2015 of the labour force participation of women, in which the participation rates of women are compared. The average percentages of the EU are 76% for men (of which 9% part-time) and 63% for women (of which 32% part-time). Moreover, the report states that the employment rate of the Dutch population aged 20-64 is 82% for men (of which 20% part-time) and 71% for women (of which 74% part-time). Thus, a difference of 11% can be established in the employment rate and a 54% dissimilarity between part-time male and female employees. According to the report, the Netherlands has the highest percentage of part-time working women within the EU (European Commission, 2015, p. 2).

3.2.3: Employment

If unemployment rates are low, and the economy is healthy, more women will want to join the civilian and military working force as stated by Segal. Eurostat states that the unemployment rate in the Netherlands 3.5% was in October 2019 (Eurostat, 2019).

3.2.4 Family structure

Segal suggests that the larger the family obligations for the regular women, the less women will participate in the armed forces. Inversely, higher representation will occur if the age of women at

time of the first marriage and first-born child is higher. According to Statistics Netherlands (CBS), there are fewer first time mothers, and the age of first-time mothers is slowly becoming higher as well. In 2013, the mean age of first-time mothers was 29.4, and in 2017 it was 29.9. The average age of women giving birth to their first child was 28.7 years old in 2013, and 29.1 in 2017 (CBS, 2019).

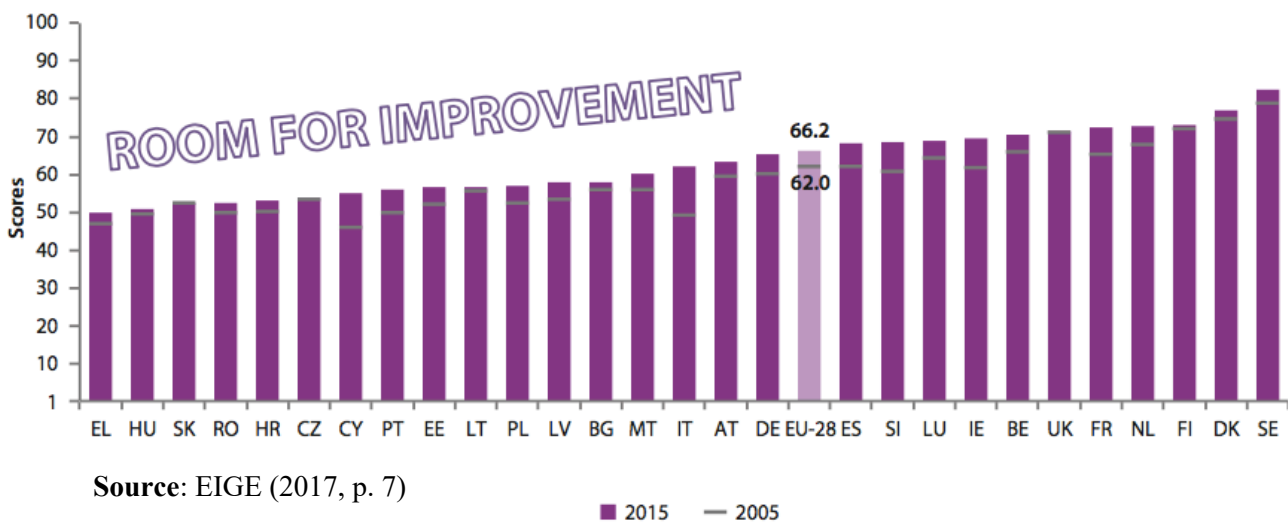
3.3 Women's role regarding family in the Netherlands

The social construction and values of gender and family

Segal hypothesizes that the more equal social values are about the sexes, the higher the participation of women in the military. According to Endendijk et al.'s research about parents' gender-role stereotypes, mothers' participation in the workforce and gender equality in general is comparatively high in the Netherlands. This is indicated by the fact that 80% of Dutch mothers with children aged three to five are active in the labour market, albeit largely part-time (Endendijk et al., 2017, p. 301).

Ruitenbergh states that the swift social change in the Netherlands between 1970 and 1980 did not continue, as the cultural climate regarding gender roles has been rather stable during the last two decades. The author claims that the participation of Dutch men in the household has shown diminutive development since 1995, thus, part-time employment remains a convenient possibility for most women in the Netherlands (Ruitenbergh, 2016, p. 13).

Another report that demonstrates the equality level between the two sexes is the Gender Equality Index published by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), which compares the level of gender equality in the EU. The progress is measured in scores for six main domains: work, money, knowledge, time, power and health, and each country receives a score between 1 (inequality) and 100 (equality) (EIGE, 2017, p. 3-4). EIGE's report illustrates (see figure 8) that the Netherlands is ranked the fourth highest in the EU regarding gender equality (72.9 points) after Sweden (82.6 points), Denmark (76.8 points) and Finland (72 points) (EIGE, 2017, p. 7).

Figure 8: Gender Equality Index

According to van Opstal, women and men also receive the same opportunities in the Dutch military. She states that in the past women and men have not been equal in the military, and that there is still critic towards women not having leadership positions. However, van Opstal explains that many women stop working due to having children or other reasons, and thereby could miss work experience to obtain a certain position. The knowledge, experience and skills are what are most important to obtain a leadership position according to her, whether you are male or female (S. van Opstal, personal communication, 18 December, 2019).

Since Segal emphasizes the impact of the division of work based on traditional gender roles on women's participation in society (military as well), the amount of time women and men spend on household duties is of great importance. The report states that in a time span of 10 years, the gender gap in housework activities has only lessened with 1-point in. The average percentage in the EU, of men partaking in cooking and housekeeping activities for more than one hour in 2016, is 34%, while that of women 79%. In the Netherlands, 45% of the men spend more than one hour a day on cooking and housework, and 81% of the women. According to EIGE, women are more involved in unpaid work which results in a higher overall working time (unpaid and paid work added together) than men. Put differently, women spend a total of 55 hours per week on work on average in the EU, while men work 49 hours (EIGE, 2017, p. 41).

Ruitenberg's research points out that mothers feel social pressure, especially from other mothers and other people in their social setting. Provided women's behaviour is in line with the Dutch norm of three working days, their way of living is socially accepted. When women are not in line with the Dutch norm, because of being a homemaker, or working full-time, the social environment is less tolerant. Especially stay-at-home mothers are disturbed by this. It is interesting that the homemakers are more likely to be judged, than the full-time mothers. Moreover, Ruitenberg's research shows that

full-time working mothers were more capable to ignore the judgements of other mother than stay-at-home mothers (Ruitenbergh, 2016, p. 20).

Segal theorises that the greater the change of traditional family structures in a society, the less focussed a culture will be on gender roles, and the greater the participation of women in the military will be. According to Endendijk et al., both mothers and father are extremely concerned with their family, as the Netherlands has the highest percentage of part-time workers in the world. Furthermore, Dutch fathers are commonly ranked good on father involvement as a result of the “daddy days” initiative of the government (Endendijk et al., 2017, p. 301).

According to Ruitenbergh, most Western mothers favour part-time employment in furtherance of a satisfactory work-life balance. Consequently, the accessibility to comparatively ‘urbane’ part-time jobs in the Netherlands is due to the Dutch laws, policies and collective agreements with the sectors. This is mostly seen as a privilege in the Netherlands and other Western countries. Moreover, women in the Netherlands have more often than women in other countries the convenience to choose how much they want to work (Ruitenbergh, 2016, p. 13).

3.4 Military structure in the Netherlands

3.4.1: National security situation

The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs published an “Integrated International Security Strategy” (IISS) in 2018, for the period of 2018-2022. According to this report, the Netherlands is in many respects a safe country, however, the security situation has in several aspects worsened. Accelerated technological progress, geopolitical and economic power shifts, instability and insecurity around Europe and the Dutch Caribbean and tension within the Netherlands and Europe contribute to the deteriorated security situation. Confrontations such as the cyber incidents, the downing of the MH17 flight in Ukraine, the real chance of a terrorist attack in the Netherlands (threat level is “substantial”) show that foreign countries are increasingly important, which is why an international security strategy has been developed. The IISS gives clarification on what the Dutch government is undertaking in- and outside of the Netherlands to keep the Kingdom safe, and what currently poses a threat to the safety (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018), 2018, p.6).

Furthermore, the IISS indicates that the Netherlands is doing well, the economy is growing, and the prosperity is increasing after years of financial crisis. However, it should be borne in mind that the Dutch Caribbean’s situation is worse, partly as a result of the damages caused by the hurricane in 2017. The report provides a brief overview of the trends that deteriorate the security situation of the Netherlands, the Kingdom and the entire world:

1. Terrorist attacks (religiously and ideological inspired terrorism remains one of the largest threats nationally and internationally)
2. Cyberthreats
3. Undesirable foreign interference and disruption
4. Military threats (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018, p. 13-14).

3.4.2: Structure

Segal emphasizes the correlation between the support ratio combat variable and the **force structure** variable. In view of support roles being focussed on the reserve, and women being more drawn to support functions, more women will be part of the reserves instead of the active duty forces.

Van Opstal states that almost all positions within the Dutch MoD are full-time, however, there are options to request a full-time position on a part-time basis with another employee. Furthermore, the MoD is focussing on students who recently graduated due to the age limit for some vacancies and the full-time necessary military education (S. van Opstal, personal communication, 18 December, 2019).

As reported by the Government of the Netherlands, the Dutch defence system entails four armed forces Services: The Royal Netherlands Army, the Royal Netherlands Airforce, the Royal Netherlands Navy and Marine Corps and the Royal Military Constabulary. Joint Support Command and the Defence Materiel Organisation support the armed forces Services by means of providing products and services (Dutch Government, n.d.).

According to the NATO gender perspective report, the Netherlands maintains a policy that supports the admission into the Reserves or the National Guard, as a civilian worker. The reserves are mostly tasked with the supporting roles in the armed forces, but also with combat positions. The reservists are employed on a voluntary basis, yet only gain the military status temporarily. Also, Dutch civilian companies receive a subsidy when their employee is working as a reserve for over three months (NATO, 2015, p. 123).

3.4.3: Military accession policies

Recruitment and accession

As specified by the Government of the Netherlands, officially compulsory military service is still applicable in the Netherlands. So even though conscription has not been abolished, the Dutch armed forces are currently comprised of professional personnel on voluntary basis. There has been a suspension of the conscription requirement since 1 May 1997. The Defence organization has

therefore not called for new conscripts since 1 August 1996. Furthermore, both girls and boys aged 17 receive a letter regarding the registration for military service. Despite the fact that girls receive a letter as well, conscription for women is not obligated. The Dutch government is planning on changing that in 2020, as the Senate passed the bill on 2 October 2018. Subsequently, 17-year-old girls will also receive a letter about compulsory military service. The Dutch government states that they want to implement this law due to the fact that equal treatment for men and women is highly valued and women are currently as highly educated as men (Government of the Netherlands, n.d.).

Campaign or policy regarding women

In consonance with the new law mentioned above, the Ministry of Defence has started a campaign in July 2018. As stated in a news article by the Ministry, the campaign's main objective is to interest women in joining the armed forces and to refute the idea that the military consists of only combat functions and sports. Furthermore, the article provides examples of women in functions such as healthcare, technology, logistics, catering, communication and IT in the armed forces. The campaign manager, Suzanne van Opstal, lays down a quote in the article: "If women think that working at the Ministry of Defense only consists of shooting and exercising, there is a good chance that they will exclude the Ministry of Defense as a potential employer for the wrong reason. Once they know that the Defense organization is also a very nice and, above all, fascinating and educational employer with a great many professional disciplines, they will make choices based on the right information." (Ministry of Defence of the Netherlands, 2018). According to van Opstal, the campaign brings awareness and refers to a website page only for women. In addition to that, the Dutch MoD organises informative lady nights which are successful according to her (S. van Opstal, personal communication, 18 December, 2019).

Entry requirements

With respect to the selection and training of the military personnel, asserts NATO that entry requirements such as the criteria for the physical and psychological test (e.g. height, vision, weight, strength) are equal for both genders. Be that as it may, the annual physical fitness test has different conditions for men and women (NATO, 2015, p. 124).

3.4.4: Military technology and combat to support ratio

As stated by the Ministry of Defence, the Dutch armed forces presently (10 December 2019) have 508 employees positioned abroad on missions (Ministry of Defence, 2019).

As previously mentioned, the Dutch Ministry of Defence provides an overview of its personnel as can be seen in figure 9 in chapter 1.6. The personnel are divided over three main sections: military (39.723), civilian (18.419), and reservists (5.786). Which means that 9.2% of the military personnel is in the reserves and 38.5% of the total personnel is civilian or reserves and thus, non-combat (Ministry of Defence of the Netherlands, n.d.).

According to NATO, “military equipment (weapons, armour plates or backpacks) is not adapted for both women and men”. However, service clothing, such as skirts, shirts, footwear, helmets and coats are different for the sexes, also the combat harnesses weigh less for women. Furthermore, military facilities on board of naval ships have been separated for men and women (NATO, 2017, p. 199)

Chapter 4: Hungary

In this chapter, Segal's variables will be applied to Hungary. Except subchapter 4.1, all the subchapters are part of the theoretical model.

4.1 Participation of women in the Hungarian military

4.1.1: History

Kecskeméthy wrote in her article "Women in the Armed Forces of Republic of Hungary: Experiences and Lessons Learned", that just as any other country, Hungarian women's role in the military history was small to non-existent. Nonetheless, women's contribution in war was mentioned by historians, yet most Hungarian men favoured women who maintained traditional gender roles. With time, women's military participation changed with their participation in other aspects of society (Kecskeméthy, 2010, p. 160).

As described in the National Report of Hungary, the participation of women in the Hungarian military originates in 1848 during the revolution and independence war, when they mostly served as medical staff. During the wars of the 20th century women participated as nurses as well. However, after the Second World War, mainly officer's spouses were allowed to work in the military without military training, as medical or administrative staff for example.

Due to political changes and international treaties, women were allowed to join the Military Academy, Non-Commissioned Officer school and colleges in 1994. Even though their possibilities were limited to the logistics, finance, signal, radio- reconnaissance, and informatics' fields, this was a good start. Subsequently, in 2005 every military related education was open to women. The National Report states that currently women and men have all the equal rights, opportunities, training and tasks in the military in Hungary, as a result of the Constitution of the Republic of Hungary and the Labour Law Act (Government of Hungary, 2008, p. 1).

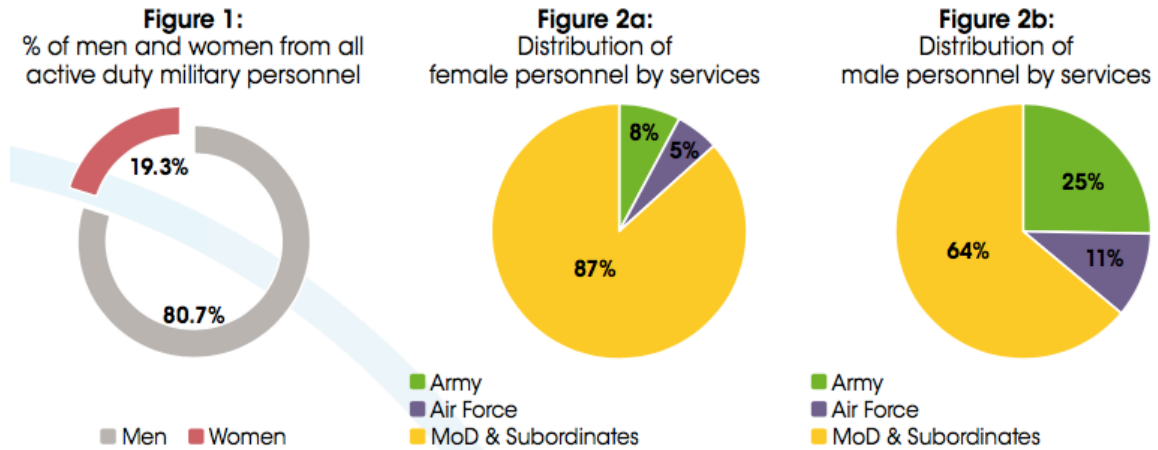
In accordance with the information of the Hungarian report, the NATO report states that women were accepted in the military academies since 1994 and were allowed in combat assignments since 1996 (NATO, 2017, p. 155).

4.1.2: Currently

According to NATO, the representation of women in the Hungarian armed forces is 19.3%. Besides, figure 9 shows the distribution of female personnel services in Hungary, in which the Ministry of Defence has the highest participation with 87%, then the army with 8% and the Air Force with a percentage of 5%. The pie chart on the right shows the distribution of male personnel by services in

Hungary. A large part (64%) of the military men work in for the Ministry of Defence, 25% work in the Army and the Air Force has 11% of the male military personnel (NATO, 2017, p. 121).

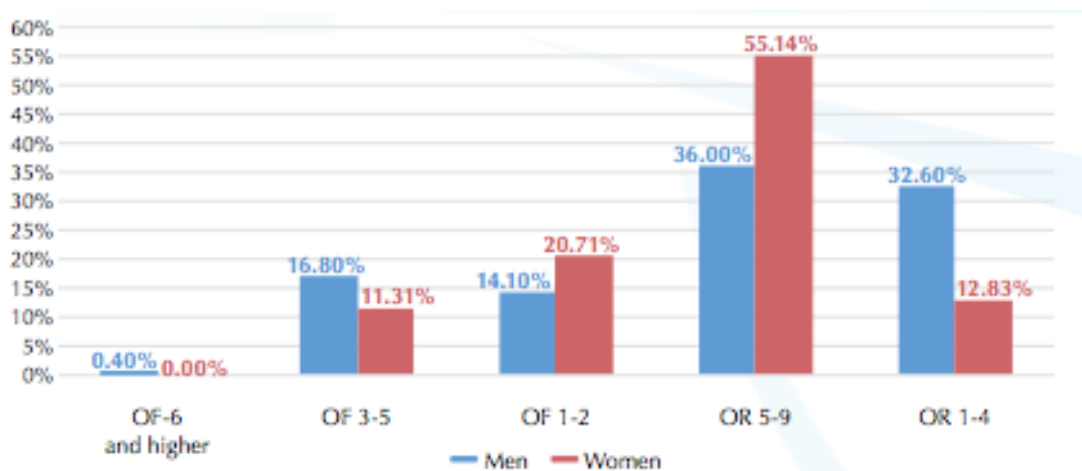
Figure 9: the distribution of men and women by services



Source: NATO Summary of the National Reports (2017, p. 155)

Figure 10 shows the distribution of men and women by rank in Hungary. The ranks are explained in the Chapter 2.3. The figure below illustrates that there are no women working in the OF-6 and higher ranks, in comparison to men with 0.40%. Furthermore, 11.31% of the women and 16.8% of the men work as OF 3-5. The OF 1-2 ranks have 20.71% women and 14.1% men. Moreover, 55.14% of the female personnel are Non-Commissioned Officers, while 36% of the men are NCO's. Lastly, 32.6% of the male personnel are placed in the private and corporal ranks, and 12.83% of the women (NATO, 2016, p. 152).

Figure 10: the distribution of men and women by rank



Source: NATO Summary of the National Reports (2017, p. 157)

Skrinyár declares that all active duty positions are open to women in the Hungarian Defence Forces and there are no restrictions that apply to operations (E. Skrinyár, personal communication, 24 February, 2020). NATO's report is in consonance with the aforementioned information. Additionally, there is no quota system for women or men (NATO, 2016, p. 151).

4.2 Social structure in Hungary

4.2.1: Demographic patterns

As mentioned in Chapter 1, demographic patterns in a state can be of great importance to the male/female ratio in the military, since a shortage of qualified men for the military leads to an increase in military women. According to the World Population review organization, Hungary has a population of 9.684.679 in 2019. Of which 4.607.647 (47.6%) are men, and 5.076.352 (52.4%) are women. Furthermore, the average age is 42,0 years (World Population Review, 2019).

4.2.2: Labour force characteristics

A larger proportion of women's participation in the labour force equals a larger proportion of women's participation in the armed forces. The European Commission published the European Semester Thematic Factsheet in 2015 of the labour force participation of women, in which the participation rates of women are compared. The average percentages of the EU are 76% for men (of which 9% part-time) and 63% for women (of which 32% part-time). Moreover, the report states that the employment rate of the Hungarian population aged 20-64 is 76% for men (of which 3% part-time) and 62% for women (of which 7% part-time). Thus, a difference of 14% can be established in the employment rate and a 4% dissimilarity between part-time male and female employees (European Commission, 2015, p. 2).

4.2.3: Employment

If unemployment rates are low, and the economy is healthy, more women will want to join the civilian and military working force. Eurostat states that the unemployment rate in Hungary was 3.5% in September 2019 (Eurostat, 2019). In a report published by the European Parliament about the gender equality policies in Hungary, it is indicated that the Hungarians are inclined to maintain a more traditional opinion on women's role in society than most other countries in the EU. A survey on gender stereotypes showed that people from Hungary were more prone to agreeing with the idea that men have the right to a position in times of insufficient employment opportunities than other EU member states. Moreover, in those times, women should be the ones to do less paid work so that one may care more for the household and children (European Parliament, 2013, p. 10-11).

4.2.4 Family structure

Segal suggests that the larger the family obligations for the regular women, the less women will participate in the armed forces. Inversely, higher representation will occur if the age of women at time of the first marriage and first-born child is higher. According to Statistics Netherlands (CBS), there are fewer first time mothers, and the age of first-time mothers is slowly becoming higher as well. In 2013, the mean age of first-time mothers was 27.7, and in 2017 it was 28. The average age of women giving birth to their first child was 28 years old in 2013, and 29.1 in 2017 (CBS, 2019).

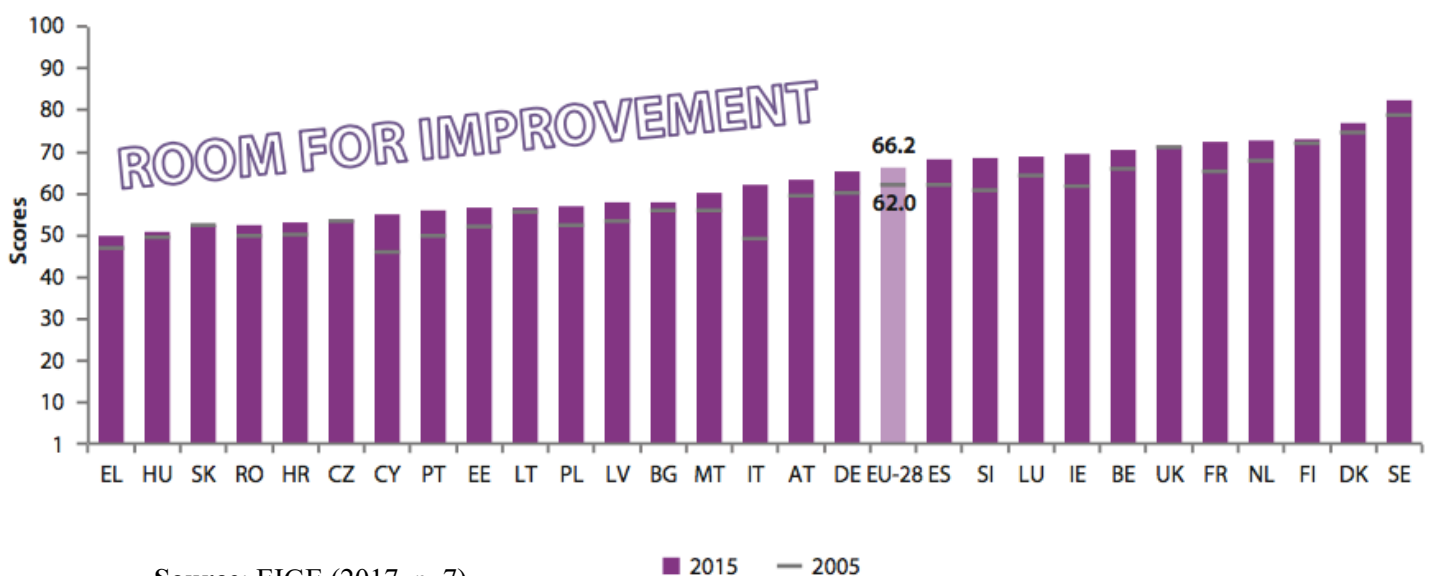
4.3 Women's role regarding family in Hungary

The social construction and values of gender and family

Segal hypothesises that the more equal social values are about the sexes, the higher the participation of women in the military.

The Gender Equality Index report published by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) demonstrates the equality level between the two sexes is, which compares the level of gender equality in the EU. The progress is measured in scores for six main domains: work, money, knowledge, time, power and health, and each country receives a score between 1 (inequality) and 100 (equality) (EIGE, 2017, p. 3-4). EIGE's report illustrates (see figure 11) that Hungary is ranked the second lowest in the EU regarding gender equality (50.8 points) after Greece which has the lowest points for gender equality (50 points) (EIGE, 2017, p. 7).

Figure 11: Gender Equality Index



Source: EIGE (2017, p. 7)

Both Dr. Molnár and Lt. Col. Skrinýár believe that women and men also obtain the same opportunities and treatment in the Hungarian military. As Dr. Molnár claims: “The selection is based mostly on skills”, which is also what van Opstal stated unfriendly (M. Molnár, personal communication, 18 February, 2020), (E. Skrinýár, personal communication, 24 February 2020).

Since Segal emphasizes the impact of the division of work based on traditional gender roles on women's participation in society (military as well), the amount of time women and men spend on the household is of great importance. The average percentage in the EU, of men partaking in cooking and housekeeping activities for more than one hour in 2016, is 34%, while that of women 79%. In Hungary, 13% of the men spend more than one hour a day on cooking and housework, and 56% of the women (EIGE, 2017, p. 41).

As stated by the author Livia Sz. Oláh, the lack of supportive policy discourse in history implies that policy makers had no truthful goal to change traditional gender relations in Hungary. Even though women's involvement in the labour-force with similar opportunities and rights as men was seen as the necessity of gender equality during the forty years of state socialism. Notwithstanding, women's double function as full-time workers and mothers was highlighted when a two year long child-care leave with job-guarantee was presented for mothers in 1967. According to Livia Sz. Oláh, most Hungarian families partake in a traditional family structure and division of household work, even though many women work full-time. Many other aspects of Hungary have remained ‘traditional’ such as the traditional gender hierarchy during state socialism, while for over 40 years both parents have worked full-time (Livia Sz. Oláh, 2001, p. 38).

According to Hobson, Fahlén and Takács, old-fashioned norms regarding women's tasks in the household and child-care are apparently deeply imbedded in the Hungarian society. This is clearly demonstrated in the fact that most Hungarian fathers were unable to take leave for family care, even though it is their right. However, acceptance towards women who prioritized family was more common, since women are generally viewed as care givers by the Hungarian society (Hobson, Fahlén and Takács, 2011, p. 187).

4.4 Military structure in Hungary

4.4.1: National security situation

The Hungarian Ministry of Defence published “Hungary's National Military Strategy” in 2012, wherein Hungary's security situation and strategy are clarified. According to the report, international changes strengthen and weaken the safety and constancy of the country. Thereby making the security environment of Hungary precarious. Nonetheless, the security situation of Hungary is essentially stable, and the present level of danger is low. Both the chances of a conventional and unconventional

attack against Hungary and its alliances are low, however, it cannot be discarded (Hungarian Ministry of Defence, 2012, p. 7).

In spite of the current stable security situation, the Hungarian Ministry of Defence observes national and international developments that negatively influence the security:

1. National and regional tension (in the wake of the regional conflicts in the past decades in and around Hungary, are some regions in Hungary still vulnerable and is the possibility of a conflict not ruled out)
2. Weapon production
3. Terrorism
4. Shift in power (Hungarian Ministry of Defence, 2012, p. 8-11).

An article published by Politico claims that the Hungarian government is applying a process of multiple years, that will increase the strength of the military enormously and allows Hungary to protect itself from any direction. Hungary is adjacent to Austria, Romania, Ukraine, Slovakia, Serbia and Croatia. Even though it has been a NATO member since 1999, Hungary wants to defend itself independently (Bayer, 2019).

4.4.2: Structure

As claimed by both Dr. Molnár and Lt. Col. Skrinýár, serving in the Hungarian Defence Forces is a full-time employment and according to the former, rather family unfriendly (M. Molnár, personal communication, 18 February, 2020). As Lt. Col. Skrinýár positions: "Individuals who cannot accept this fact, regardless of gender, will not be able to serve" (E. Skrinýár, personal communication, 24 February 2020).

According to the Armed Forces website, which provides information on European defence, Hungary has a unified command structure since 2007, it was established with a Joint Forces Command accountable for commanding and coordinating all military operations. So, there are five military parts: The Army, the Maritime Wing, the Air Force, Joint Forces and Border Guards.

The Hungarian Ministry of Defence claims that there are over 8.000 reservists, due to a growth of the reserves between 2012 and 2018. Furthermore, the total number of armed forces personnel has augmented around 15% between 2010 and 2018. Which means that a minimum of 26.7% of the total military work in the reserves (Ministry of Defence, 2019, pp. 15).

4.4.3: Military accession policies

Recruitment and accession

Hungary Today also remarks in the aforementioned article that the conscription system in Hungary was abolished in November 2004 (Vass, 2018).

Nevertheless, Hungary's National Military Strategy indicates that in times of national crisis, Parliament could decide to implement compulsory military service for Hungarians citizens living in the country, and who are male and adult. Furthermore, the report states that the voluntary reserve system is a fundamental fragment of the Hungarian armed forces (Ministry of Defence, 2012, p. 6).

Campaign or policy regarding women

As reported by Lt. Col. Skrinýár there is no specific recruiting policy regarding women (E. Skrinýár, personal communication, 24 February, 2020). The NATO Gender Perspective report confirms that there were no campaigns or policies that encourage the participation of women in the military in 2015 (NATO, 2017, p. 157).

Entry requirements

NATO's report is stating contradicting information, as it firstly says that: "Enlistment requirements in the armed forces are the same for men and women" (NATO, 2017, p. 156). To state in the following sentence that: "Enlistment requirements for the physical fitness tests are different for men and women" (NATO, 2017, p. 156).

Klara Siposné Kecskeméthy disputes this in her article, according to her the military education entry requirements as well as the armed forces requirements are the same for each gender. All of the tests exist out three components: a medical examination, physical test and a psychological assessment (Kecskeméthy, 2010).

4.4.4: Military technology and combat to support ratio

Military equipment is not different for the different sexes; however, the sleeping and hygienic facilities are adjusted to men and women. Even though the combat uniforms are the same, there are adjusted service uniforms offered to women (NATO, 2017, p. 157).

Analysis

In this chapter, the Netherlands and Hungary will be contrasted on the basis of Segal's theory with the most relevant information from the literature review and primary data. Every variable will be shortly described and then related to the Dutch and Hungarian case. The analysis will show which factors that Segal describes to influence the degree of women's participation in the military do indeed affect the participation. Only the first topic, which describes the former and current participation of women in the Dutch and Hungarian military, is not part of Segal's model.

Participation of women in the Dutch and the Hungarian military

History

The reason for women's first participation in the military is in both of the countries similar. Due to war, women had to help with medical tasks and other support tasks. Which is why the Dutch women participated in the World Wars, and after that the Milva was established in 1951. The Hungarian women participated in 1848 during the revolution and independence war, and also during the World War's. For both of the countries, there was doubt whether women could still serve in the military after the Wars. The two countries allowed women to fully integrate in the military education and work field after different political changes and treaties.

However, in the Netherlands women were allowed to work equal to men after 1979, even though it was not until 2017 that all positions were open, and in Hungary after 1994, and all positions for the Hungarian women were possible after 2005. In short, the Hungarian women were practically but not 'legally' participating in the military before the Dutch, and also all the (combat) positions were open to the Hungarian women, before to the Dutch women. The association that women in Hungary had with war, was in comparison to the Netherlands much sooner and more intensive due to the several conflicts Hungary had throughout the years. Which could influence the degree of participation of the Hungarian women.

Currently

One of the most significant differences between the two countries is that women make up 9.7% of the Dutch military, whereas the Hungarian women make up 19.3% of the military. This research uses this difference to determine the factors that influence the participation of women in the military in NATO member states.

Van Opstal and Skrinýár both state that there is no quota system for men or women.

Social structure in the Netherlands and Hungary*Demographic patterns*

Demographic patterns in a state can be of great importance to the male/female ratio in the military, since a shortage of qualified men for the military leads to an increase in military women, as stated by Segal. The Netherlands has a higher population than Hungary with approx. 17.2 million people of which 50.3% is female. Whereas Hungary has a lower population of 9.6 million of which 52.4% is female. In both of the countries the average age is 42 years.

Thus, the Netherlands has almost double the population, which means that there are sufficient qualified men for the military (yet also a larger military) and thereby a smaller percentage of women. Moreover, Hungary has a slightly higher overall percentage of women citizens. This could have led to more working, young women, however, this cannot be concluded. What can be concluded is that the average age of the population does not influence the number of women working in the military, in these cases.

Labour force characteristics

As stated before, a larger proportion of women's participation in the labour force equals a larger proportion of women's participation in the armed forces. Segal does not specify if that refers to the number of people that work or the amount (full or part-time). However, two reasons are indicated: aspects that influence the labour force also influence the military, such as shortages of qualified men and furthermore, the cultural/structural alteration to the society reflects back to the military. Therefore, if more women take part in the labour market, they can be perceived as more qualified for military jobs.

The employment rate of the Dutch population is higher than the EU average with 82% for men (of which 20% part-time) and 71% for women (of which 74% part-time). The Netherlands has the highest percentage of part-time working women within the EU, which is in line with Segal's variable of labour force characteristics. Since almost 3/4th of the working women in the Netherlands works part-time, women are less likely to join the military, as it normally is a 24/7 employment. In Hungary 76% of the men work full time (of which 3% part-time) and 62% for women (of which 7% part-time). There is only a 4% difference between part-time Hungarian men and women, whereas the Dutch have a difference of 54%. This hypothesis has proven to be right due to the fact that there are more Hungarian than Dutch women working full-time, since they almost work as much as the men. The working society reflects back to the military, and 31% of the Dutch women works full time while 55% of the Hungarian women work full-time. This could originate from former socialist habits, or economic reasons.

Employment

Segal states that the economic factors have influence on the percentage of women in the armed forces. When unemployment is high amongst men and there is a voluntary system, which leads to less opportunities for women. If unemployment rates are low, and the economy is healthy, more women will want to join the civilian and military working force.

Since the unemployment rate in both the Netherlands and Hungary is relatively low (3.5%), this variable shows not to have that strong of an influence in these cases, especially since the Dutch economy is healthy.

Family structure

Furthermore, Segal states that the family structure should be included as well due to the fact that military participation is socially constructed to be negatively linked with more family duties. However, higher representation will occur if the age of women at time of the first marriage and first-born child is higher.

There are fewer first time mothers in the EU, and the age of first-time mothers is slowly becoming higher as well, which should result in an increase in military women according to Segal's hypothesis. The average age of first-time mothers in the EU was 29.9 in 2017. The average age of Dutch and Hungarian women giving birth to their first child is equal, as it was 29.1 in 2017. By reason of this fact, both of the countries have younger mothers than the average and should have fewer military women. It must be noted that, family duties for women of each country are quite difficult to compare, however in the following section family duties will be compared.

The cultural dimension of the Netherlands and Hungary

The cultural dimension can be described as the social construction and values of gender and family. According to Segal, how societies view military women depends on how they divide gender roles and perceive the sex differences. She hypothesises, the more equal social values about the sexes, the higher the participation of women in the military.

Segal also points out that women have historically been related to reproduction and the nursing of children. She theorises that the greater the change of traditional roles within family in a society, the less focussed a culture will be on gender roles, and the greater the participation of women in the military will be.

As mentioned before, the EIGE has created a gender equality index in which the Netherlands is ranked the fourth highest in the EU (72.9 points) and Hungary is ranked the second lowest in the EU (50.8 points). This great difference is similar to the participation of women in the Dutch and Hungarian military. Both countries are on different ends of the spectrum. However, Segal's hypothesis regarding the more equal social values about the sexes, does not apply to these cases, otherwise the Netherlands would have a higher participation of military women.

Van Opstal asserts that the larger part of the Dutch society views women in the military with a common/neutral sense. Molnár states that the Hungarian society views military women as neutral or without respect, while contrarily Skrinýár conditions that the society respects all military personnel, including women since 2015 when mass migration increased in Europe. Moreover, Hungarian military personnel have been deployed to support the Hungarian Police in order to defend the border of Hungary. Since the society in both of the countries views military women neutrally and with respect, no conclusion can be made.

Furthermore, all three of the interviewees indicate that women and men are treated equally in the military, as personnel is judged based on skills, knowledge and experience, and not on gender.

Since Segal emphasizes the impact of the division of work based on traditional gender roles on women's participation in society, the amount of time women and men spend on household duties is of great importance. In the Netherlands, 45% of the men spend more than one hour a day on cooking and housework, and 81% of the women. In Hungary, 13% of the men spend more than one hour a day on cooking and housework, and 56% of the women. Which means that overall, the Dutch people spend more hours on household duties. The Dutch men and women divide their tasks in relation to the Hungarian men and women almost equal. The Dutch men may spend a bit more time on household tasks, but it is in comparison to the Hungarian division not that much.

The Hungarian women have received similar opportunities and rights as men during the 40 years of state socialism, in which both parents have worked full-time. However, this was seen as a necessity, not a natural process. Nevertheless, women's double function as full-time workers and mothers was underlined when a two year long child-care leave with job-guarantee was presented for mothers in 1967. For fathers it is and was more difficult in Hungary. The Dutch women are often privileged with the choice between working part-time, thereby taking care of the children and household tasks. Given these facts, it is clear that even though more women in Hungary work full-time, their roles are more traditional, and more is expected from them and less from men. This is not in line with the variables of the cultural dimension.

Segal theorises that the greater the change of traditional family structures in a society, the less focussed a culture will be on gender roles, and the greater the participation of women in the military

will be. Both Dutch mothers and father are extremely concerned with their family. Furthermore, Dutch fathers are commonly ranked good on father involvement as a result of the “daddy days” initiative of the government. Contrarily, research shows that most Hungarian fathers were unable to take leave for family care, even though it is their right. However, acceptance towards women who prioritized family was more common, since women are generally viewed as care givers by the Hungarian society. This shows that the traditional gender roles in the Netherlands are becoming more equal in regard to involvement with children, while in Hungary the gender roles remain more traditional. Which would result in less

Military structure in the Netherlands and Hungary

National security situation

Segal believes the national security situation of a state can have a large impact on the number and roles of women in the armed forces. Interestingly, states with low threats to national security, yet with a culture that supports gender equality, also have a higher participation of women in the military.

Both of the countries are in general safe and have low risks of war or any other crisis. Both of the countries describe in their national security strategy that terrorism is a threat. However, Hungary describes national and regional tension to be a threat, due to the regional conflicts in the past decades in and around Hungary, some regions in Hungary are still vulnerable and the possibility of a conflict is not ruled out. Based on the variable, this can contribute to the degree of women's participation in the military.

Structure

Segal emphasizes the correlation between the support ratio combat variable and the force structure variable. In view of support roles being focussed on the reserves, and women being more drawn to support functions, more women will be part of the reserves instead of the active duty forces.

Van Opstal and Dr. Molnár and Lt. Col. Skrinýár all state clearly that working for the military means having a full-time employment. However, Van Opstal stated that it is possible after a few years to have a part-time employment. However, the part-time option is not given even though 74% of the Dutch working women work part-time. In Hungary, the full-time aspect is seen as a must. Which means that regarding the structure of the working hours, Segal's variable is accurate. The Dutch women are generally attracted to part-time roles.

A comparison between the two countries regarding the reservists is described at combat to support ratio variable.

Military accession policies

Furthermore, the author hypothesised that military accession policies play a large part in the increase of women's participation. When conscription ends and all-volunteer forces commence in a state, a growth in the participation of women in the military can be established.

Even though conscription has not been abolished in the Netherlands, both of the countries recruit military personnel only on a voluntary basis. The Netherlands has suspended the conscription requirement since 1997, and Hungary abolished it in 2004. The percentage has fluctuated around 9 percent for decades in the Netherlands, so the end of the conscription did not have a large impact on the participation. However, for Hungary cannot be said the same, as the NATO report of 2001 states that 6.4% of the Hungarian service personnel consisted of women. Which means that through the past decades, a large increase has occurred, which can be due to the end of the conscription system.

The Netherlands is clearly focussing on diversity and gender, through the use of campaigns, ladies only information nights and MoD websites that provide information focussed on women. Hungary on the other hand, is not realising any effort to recruit more women according to the two interviews conducted with Hungarian (former) military women. Given this fact, one would assume that the Netherlands would have a higher percentage of military women. However, this is not the case.

Military technology and combat to support ratio

More combat roles negatively impact the participation of women in the armed forces. Segal theorises that the more ground combat and fighting is required, the less participation of women can be expected.

The military staff of the Netherlands exists for 9.2% out of reservists while Hungary has 26.7% reservists. Which mean that Hungary has an abundant larger amount of support staff, which could attract more women. In this respect, the variable can be confirmed.

In both of the countries, military equipment is not adjusted to men and women. The other military technology is difficult to compare, since not both of the countries publicly describe their technological development and expenses.

Conclusion

This research aims to determine the factors that influence the degree of the participation of women in the military in NATO member states. Segal's theoretical model is applied to the Netherlands and Hungary. In the analysis the two countries are compared, which shows which factors do indeed affect the participation and which do not. Again, it must be noted that this is in the case of the Netherlands and Hungary and this research does not want to invalidate Segal's theory, but rather build on it.

Different conclusions can be drawn from the research. First, the women in Hungary were somewhat more 'experienced' with war due to the revolution and independence war, national and international conflicts and the wars of the 20th century. This contributed to their familiarity with war. The same familiarity can be said for working full-time (labour force variable), since Hungary was a socialist state for 40 years in which men and women both worked full-time. This resulted in women being equal to men in the Hungarian labour force, and therefore being more equal in the military. For the Dutch women on the other hand, can these familiarities not be said, as the Dutch women and men had a more segregated military past and labour force. At the moment, almost 75% of the working women work part-time, while only 7% of the Hungarian. Both the Dutch and the Hungarian military require a general full-time participation of its employees, which make it more difficult for the Dutch women to join and participate the military.

Regarding the cultural dimension, the gender roles and social construction do not have that large of an influence when the women, as the society has been used to working women out of necessity during socialism while also still fulfilling the traditional gender roles. The Dutch women have the option to work part-time, in which they can maintain their household tasks as their part-time work tasks.

Several conclusions can be made for the military dimension. For one, the national and regional tension are a threat according to the Hungarian government, which can motivate women to join the military. While in the Netherlands, there are no clear national threats that could give a feeling of unsafety. Furthermore, the abolishment of the conscription system did not have any impact on women's participation in the Dutch military, however, it did have an impact on the Hungarian women. After the compulsory service for men ended, the military was looking for all volunteers including women. Nevertheless, the Hungarian military has no campaign or policy focussing on recruiting women, whereas the Netherlands does have different initiatives to recruit women. Which do not impact the participation significantly. One of the other important conclusions, is that the percentage of reservists of the military has an effect on the number of women in the military. The greater the number of reservists, the more women want and can join.

Which factors influence the participation of women in the military?

To provide a clear conclusion as to what factors have been determined to influence the degree of the participation of women in the military, an overview is given below of the factors that do have an impact:

Social Structure

- Demographic patterns have a slight impact
- Labour force characteristics have a large impact
- Economic structure does have a slight impact, yet only the average income, not the unemployment

Culture

- The social construction as well as the social values of gender and family does partly have an impact, as the normalization of women and men working equally side by side can increase women's participation

Military structure

- The national security situation does have a slight impact
- Combat to support ratio does have a large impact
- Military accession policies do partly have a large impact, as the end of conscription can contribute to an increase of women in the military
- Furthermore, the history of the military is not a variable of Segal's theory, even though this research showed that it did have an impact on women's participation. Additionally, working conditions (hours, salary, extra benefits) of working for the military in a country is also not a variable, while this could also affect the participation.

These factors showed not to have influence in the case of the Netherlands and Hungary:

- Employment (part of economic factors of social structure)
- The family structure (social structure)
- Social construction as well as the social values of gender and family (culture)
- The force structure (military structure)

Recommendations

As previously indicated, this research seeks to build on Segal's theoretical model, not to disprove it. Furthermore, it aims to further the understanding of the differences in the degree of the participation in women in the military. Therefore, it is recommended to develop, expand and prove the theory further. The benefits of developing the theory can lead to the determination of certain factors (such as the combat to support ratio, extra benefits for military employees) that can create a more gender balanced military internationally.

When building on Segal's theory so, it is recommended that the researcher knows the language of the country that the theory is being applied to, to strengthen the ability to collect secondary and primary sources. Additionally, it is suggested to apply the theory to a larger number of cases, as this comparative research only uses two cases which make it less reliable.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Student ethics form

THE HAGUE
UNIVERSITY OF
APPLIED SCIENCES

European Studies Student Ethics Form

Your name: Naomi Faasse

Supervisor: M. Minkman

Instructions:
Before completing this form you should read the APA Ethics Code (<http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx>). If you are planning research with human subjects, you should also look at the sample consent form available in the Final Project and Dissertation Guide.

- Read section 2 that your supervisor will have to sign. Make sure that you cover all these issues in section 1.
- Complete section 1 and, if you are using human subjects, section 2, of this form, and sign it.
- Ask your project supervisor to read these sections (and the draft consent form if you have one) and ask him/her to sign the form.
- Always append this signed form as an appendix to your dissertation. This is a knock-out criterium; if not included the Final Project/Dissertation is awarded an NVD.

Section 1. Project Outline (to be completed by student)

(i) **Title of Project:** The factors that determine the degree of women's participation in the military

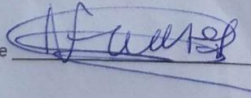
(ii) **Aims of project:**
This project aims to answer the central question: What factors determine the degree of women's participation in the military in NATO member nations? Two NATO member states will be compared based on Segal's theory, namely the Netherlands with a relative low participation (9.7%) and Hungary with the highest participation (19.3%) of women in the NATO member nations.

(iii) **Will you involve other people in your project – e.g. via formal or informal interviews, group discussions, questionnaires, internet surveys etc. (Note: if you are using data that has already been collected by another researcher – e.g. recordings or transcripts of conversations given to you by your supervisor, you should answer 'NO' to this question.)**
Yes

If yes: you should complete the section 2 of this form.

If no: you should now sign the statement below and return the form to your supervisor. You have completed this form.

This project is not designed to include research with human subjects. I understand that I do not have ethical clearance to interview people (formally or informally) about the topic of my research, to carry out internet research (e.g. on chat rooms or discussion boards) or in any other way to use people as subjects in my research.

Student's signature  Date 23/02/2020

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Section 2 Complete this section only if you answered YES to question (iii) above.**(i) What will the participants have to do? (v. brief outline of procedure):**

The participants will provide information in a semistructured or structured interview via phone, mail or in person. The questions will be sent to the participants before the interview, and the consent form will be signed, unless the information provided will not be used in the dissertation. Interviews will be transcribed, and used to answer the central question of the dissertation.

(ii) What sort of people will the participants be and how will they be recruited?

They will be working for the Dutch or Hungarian Ministry of Defence, or have knowledge about the social and cultural aspects of Hungary or the Netherlands as these three dimensions will be compared. Furthermore, both the Hungarian and Dutch Ministry of Defence will be contacted, and asked for contact details of an employee who has knowledge of this subject. Furthermore, university websites have contact details of their professors, who then can be selected to be interviewed based on their field of study (for instance, a sociologist). First, emails will be sent to the participants asking if they want to participate, then further arrangements will be made regarding the time and place of the interview.

(iii) What sort of stimuli or materials will your participants be exposed to? Tick the appropriate boxes and then state what they are in the space below

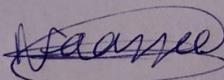
- ☐ Questionnaires
☐ Pictures
☒ Sounds
☒ Words
☐ Other

(iv) Consent: Informed consent must be obtained for all participants before they take part in your project. By means of an informed consent form you should state what participants will be doing, drawing attention to anything they could conceivably object to subsequently. You should also state how they can withdraw from the study at any time and the measures you are taking to ensure the confidentiality of data. A standard informed consent form is available in the Dissertation Manual. Appendix the Informed Consent Form to your Final Project/Dissertation as well.

(vi) What procedures will you follow in order to guarantee the confidentiality of participants' data?

First, I will ask them if I can use their name in the dissertation. Only the names of the participants (with their consent) will be shown in the dissertation, no further contact details will be shown. Also, the informed consent form will provide information to them regarding confidentiality.

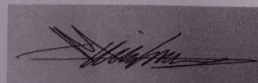
Student's signature:



Date

23/02/2020

Supervisor's signature:



Date 26-12-2019

(if satisfied with the proposed procedures)

Appendix 2: Interviews

Interview transcription: Suzanne van Opstal

Semi-structured interview via phone

Interview length: 49 minutes 12 seconds

NF: To begin with, what is your profession?

SO: I am a campaign manager for defence, so I am responsible for a number of labour market campaigns.

NF: For how many campaigns exactly?

SO: For women, reservists, VEVA and growth. So, four at the moment.

NF: Okay, what is your highest level of education and what is your field of expertise?

SO: Ehm, HBO (bachelor) and marketing and communication, I think.

NF: OK. In my thesis I write about the defence campaign that aims to interest women, but what is the name of the campaign?

SO: Well, the theme is "you can find everything you're looking for at defence," that's the theme.

NF: but not really a specific name?

SO: No, we just call it the women's campaign here haha.

NF: Haha okay, simple. Why did you want to become a manager for this campaign, or did that just happen?

SO: Well, I am subject matter expert on gender diversity and inclusiveness. So, it actually made sense that I would get it. But I wanted it too, so it came together nicely.

NF: So you already had your eye on it.

SO: Yes, because I thought it was a nice subject, although I found it very difficult because you are going to focus on a difference that you don't really want. We had to do something with diversity and then the then minister of defence said that we would start with women, we did.

NF: Yes, I also think the video is very beautiful, also that there is a piece of femininity in it, that for example a short piece shows that a woman is getting ready in the mirror. Was it nice that it was not emphasized all the time that you are a woman in defence, but that there is still something small in it, not that you completely lose your femininity or something.

SO: Which have you seen?

NF: I have seen the one in which women watch videos and they start by saying 'this is me' and 'this I am looking for', and that they see the videos of women and then say this is actually what I am looking for and this fits actually with me. I just didn't expect it to be that way.

SO: Then you didn't see the newest one, because it was from last year and this year, 2019, we made a new expression.

NF: I have seen another video clip, but it seemed more general in terms of diversity, not really for women per se. Was that this year's video?

SO: Um no.

NF: Oh no, then I haven't seen him, I'm going to look him up immediately.

SO: You really see 4 girls in the video, each with their own work, not the standard you know. But there is a lawyer and a technical girl in it, haha I actually thought it was even better.

NF: Well, I have to go and have a look. I have googled women, defense and campaign quite often, but only that one showed up, a bit strange.

SO: Well, that is a good thing, but then I have to check if it is on YouTube. Have you found that video on our YouTube channel?

NF: Yes, there was a YouTube link on google. With an article that describes it. But okay, the next question. Does the campaign have a goal and to what extent has that goal been achieved?

SO: Well it was an awareness campaign, so ...

NF: That is hard to measure?

SO: Yes, so we do not work with numbers, but it is also about appreciation for the expressions we use and what happens next, look, we have a landing page on our website for each campaign, and we also have a women's page there. That is werkbijdefensie.nl/vrouw. We guide people there from all expressions, so it makes sense that during a campaign the number of visitors increases, and the number of female applicants is also slightly better, with applicants anyway. The number is just a little higher, so are those results, no idea whether that is because of the campaign or not, we naturally do a lot more things than just sending expressions into the world, for example, we also have ladies only evenings that we organize. So from the total package, in the sense that it is an awareness campaign, I am very satisfied.

NF: Okay thank you. Clearly. How many women are currently participating in the Dutch army?

SO: It's 10%, but that of course differs per day. Look, are you going to ask next month what is the percentage today then it can be 9.6, 2 days later that can be 10.8 so to speak. But in general we have been around 10% for a long time.

NF: Yes okay, then my information is correct, I think it was 9.6%.

SO: Yes, well that's a certain month, and that may have been the month of August. So we always say, because we take the average, we still arrive at 10%.

NF: Do you think the introduction of a quota system would help integrate women into the military and why?

SO: No, I don't think so. It is about quality, and you cannot necessarily achieve quality by hanging a number on it. If you give me a number, imagine you have to go from 10 to 12, will I work harder? No, because I'm already working hard on it. Am I going to work sloppier? Maybe because I have to get that 12%, because I am judged by that. So is it about getting the number or is it really about talking to the right people. And I think that such a quota, you get it in no time. People say it is that it should go to 20%, yes, but listen, you just do not achieve that, if you look at the areas of interest, certainly of women, they are not necessarily in defence to work as a soldier. So you'll never make it. And why that is the case in other countries, look, the Netherlands is not as chauvinistic as a number of other countries. Economically, things are going very well in the Netherlands, and in some countries you have compulsory military service. Take Israel, with an incredibly high percentage of women, but they have conscription. Also for girls, whatever we have this year or next year, it will therefore also apply to women. Only the attendance requirement has been suspended, so we will not get anything out of it, but if it were, then of course our percentage is also a lot higher. But to come back to your question, I really don't think it's going to contribute. Then it's just about numbers and numbers, and I'm already working hard on it, I don't need that.

NF: No, interesting.

SO: I'm thinking right away how you could see that, because I know that many companies, for example, do work with a quota in order to stimulate them.

NF: Yes, I agree that quality is more important than quantity. I would be very sorry if there were a lot of hard-working women in defence who are doing very well, and there are a few women who have been recruited, who may not be entirely sure about it and are doing less well. And the image that women worked very hard for in defence would affect that.

SO: Yes and I want more women because we are constantly looking to get that, but whether you have to oblige me to get a number, whether I will do my job better, no, absolutely not. So such a quota is; what do you set as your goal. In campaigns we can work with KPIs (Key Performance

Indicators), and then you also set a quota, because you want from 50% who have seen your expressions you want to 65%. But that is slightly different, that is about visibility, it is not about the life of someone who really has to consciously choose something.

NF: No, I understand I totally agree with you, but of course I am the interviewer, so I just say yes that's right haha

SO: * Laughs *

NF: Thanks, by the way, what did you mean when you said: women don't necessarily choose defence to become military. What other options are there to work in defence where you don't have to become a soldier?

SO: Well we have enough civilian positions, and as a reservist. But besides that, there is just a very small difference between what boys and girls like or look for in a job, and among women it is 'that they find it too dangerous' in the top five why they should not go to defence, they they think it's too dangerous and physically demanding, they all think so, and they don't want to go abroad. And it doesn't match their career goals.

NF: They see themselves doing something else?

SO: Yes, also because it may be that you cannot go to defence without a certain background. So that you have followed a certain study, and that you think yes, but I cannot do that with defence. It is all based on certain assumptions that they have but are therefore actually incorrect.

NF: No, I also saw that in the video. Okay, to the next question. How do you think gender is generally interpreted in the Dutch army? So how is gender viewed at all, is it taken seriously within the army or is it not looked at?

SO: Well you have 2 things, you have the organization and you have the person, the employee. It is a bit tricky, since 1983 women have been able to do anything they want within defence, for which you had special women corps.

NF: Like the Milva.

SO: Yes, Milva, Marva, Luva. You really think 1983, it still sounds so recently, which is ridiculous that it only happened so late, if you look back on it, of course it is. It went quite fast in that period after that. Because when you consider that only since 1968 the rule that women were no longer allowed to work was removed from the law. So so much happened in the 1960s for women, things went pretty fast, so from 1983 women were allowed everywhere. It was quite difficult in the navy, when women first went on board on board, which is of course a culture shock for many, but after that people quickly got used to it. So I think it's not that crazy anymore, but still they have 10%

women in defense, only soldiers, it's pretty normal but you still notice some differences. But that is because you are a small group within a large organization. But we still have to do something about it, a person is a person and a soldier is also a person and he or she will always have his or her personal views. Sure there are people who still see it as a big difference, there are also people who don't see it that way at all. But the organization is focused on keeping gender in mind. Since this year, the Netherlands is the chairman of "the NATO committee on gender perspectives". We have been part of it for a long time, but this year for the 2nd time in 40 years we are the chairman. In every mission, broadcast, gender is always taken into account in relation to the locals, but also in relation to the armed forces, how do we act, what effect do we have on society here, but how do we deal with each other on broadcast, especially if we have women with us. So it goes two ways, we also have gender advisors in missions. There is always room for improvement, it is not for nothing that I am creating a women's campaign, that gender advisors still have to go with it on broadcast, that we still have to lobby everywhere and keep it under the attention. But I think we are doing well.

NF: Okay, is it really being worked on?

SO: Certainly.

NF: That resolution 1325 from the security council, there is a lot of criticism. For example, it is mostly on paper, there are many policies, but very few are implemented. But you tell me that it is really being worked on here in NL and that it is being implemented in practice.

SO: I agree with that criticism, because I don't know if it was 1 or 2 years ago, but then I went to a symposium of that committee in Brussels and I was surprised about the slowness and we write, but what do we do well? The actions after that you have to do yourself continuously, so I don't expect that from NATO anymore. Good body otherwise, but they are only there to write certain pieces that I don't really care about. And you still have to do it yourself.

NF: True. Thank you for the comprehensive answer. What can be improved with regard to the implementation of a gender perspective in the Dutch army? You have just said that it is being worked on very hard, but what do you think could be improved?

SO: I just took the definition of gender perspective for a moment, because I am struggling with things like this, because everyone scatters those terms, but then I think what do you actually want to say? What do you want to know about me? So I grabbed the definition: Gender perspective focuses on gender-based differences in status and power, and discrimination, ... as well as the long-term interest of women and men. Well of course that doesn't say much.

NF: No, that sounds really vague. But in any case, gender perspective. How can I say it better? Ehm, where do you think that the differences between men and women can be taken more into account?

Inside defence. With the training courses for example. Do you think that the training needs to be adjusted for women or that they should be equal?

SO: That depends on which position or discipline you are in. In general, imagine marines, that is rather sensitive, in 2017 women could register with marines. What happened then is that they said yes the demands remain the same, but some people disagree. Because they say that women work differently. Yes, but an enemy does not suddenly lose 20 kilos and becomes smaller and uses less force. The enemy remains the same, so as a woman you should be able to do the same as a man. And otherwise it is not suitable for you, then you have to choose something else. Just like with the fire department, you have to be able to do the same. A victim is not suddenly 30 kilos lighter. You can say women are physically different, that's a shame and nice that you want it, but then that's not for you.

NF: And there are also many other positions within defence, such as support roles.

SO: We test functionally, so we look at what you should be able to do as a soldier, so you have to be very well put together physically. But that does not mean that you can run the hardest and lift the heaviest. It's about how your body works. We have certain courses for that, and we test it that way. The harder your position will be physically, the more demands we ask for. But that is the same for men and women. Of course, if you look at trainability and trainability, some things take a little longer for women, you can take that into account. In muscle building for example. If a boy can run 2000 meters in 12 minutes, that is really very low but good, imagine 2000, and he is tired. The point that a woman gets tired is just below that. So that is fine physically. But we said no, equality therefore also means the same distance in your claim and that money. So you have to be able to do the same thing, kneel the same thing, you have to be able to roll the same thing. This is only in recruitment. Where could we take differences into account more? I draw him a bit wider, not just gender, but you have to look at differences and use them. Everyone has certain qualities and qualities that you must use. And if you put that together, you should become a better performing team. But why we still have to report those differences is because there is still some sort of backlog that we have to catch up with. To catch up, you have to push something a bit. So, we have to keep reporting those differences. Just like in the recruitment, that we organize ladies only evenings, I sometimes get criticized, such as yes, it is ridiculous that you do something for women separately. Yes, but it is always full. So why should I not do something if these girls need it? So apparently it is also the case in society, not just with us, but somewhere that we like to be different and to be apart, as club women.

NF: I think even if the entry requirements or if the training courses were different, the men could say yes, but you had to do so much and I had to do so much. That it can be used against them.

SO: It's not that bad. For example, at the obstacle course, I am 1.60 m so it is difficult for me to get over things while my colleague is 1.80 m. But you will have to get over that wall anyway. So then you can also say you are a team, you always operate together, so you can help each other. And with some obstacles there is an extra tree for the smaller ones, but you can also have your colleague pushed or pulled up. And then you get over it, those differences are not necessary. Do you mean differences in training? Or how we treat women, we have separate clubs and women's units.

NF: No, I mean in general. So as you just said, gender advisors on the missions, that really gives a gender perspective on the missions. The question I just asked about improvement, right?

SO: Yes, but I think precisely because we only make up 10% of the organization, I think it is always important to pay attention to gender. Because only from 20% to 25% they say, you are only part of the total population and below that you always remain a minority, so women will always remain a minority. Do you ask the average female soldier, do you find that annoying or do you suffer from it. No. Because the male colleagues are just colleagues just like my female colleagues. Of course, that is sometimes nice to have women around you, but often you don't notice that anymore. If you are sitting in a meeting with 20 men, and you are the only woman, then you no longer realize that. Because that's not the point at all.

NF: So, no comments are made?

SO: Yes of course, but that is also made about men. And it is a little bit like that, you work in a certain organization with a separate assignment, your core business. Asks some of his people, that makes you hardened. And I think that certain comments that are totally meant from the heart of the other person, you should be able to handle that. And I have never found that annoying myself. I have to laugh at that when a comment comes. But I know it is not meant to be mean, and if it is meant to be mean, then I think I should say something about it. Like that, yes I don't like that you say. That is possible, we can expect that of each other and talk to each other honestly about this. But I have not experienced it myself, and I know that many others have not experienced it either. But I do know that other women have experienced that. So I'm not going to say that it doesn't happen.

NF: Okay, interesting. The second to last question is a bit of a difficult question, how can you know this? But whether defence offers many part-time jobs compared to full-time jobs. That is a difficult question now that I see him again. We can also skip that if you want. I believe that sufficient part-time jobs are offered.

SO: Yes, with us everything is in principle full-time, but you can always request to fill in that full-time position on a part-time basis. There are quite a few ladies with us who work part-time. But you do have to apply for it and get approval, it could be that you are going to fill in a full-time job of 5

days for 3 days. Or that there are 2 people on 1 vacancy number. That one Monday and Tuesday and the other Wednesday to Friday works.

NF: But it's not offered, you have to ask for it?

SO: No, we don't have part-time seats. They are mostly full-time jobs, I don't know the percentage, but there are quite a few people who also work part-time.

NF: Okay, that came with a question to the top, with Segal's hypotheses, the more women working full time, the more women in the military. Because they want to make that commitment, and women who want to work part-time less. The Netherlands has the highest percentage of part-time working women within the EU, so I was wondering if defence offers almost no part-time jobs, there would also be far fewer women working in defence. Seems to me.

SO: I don't agree with that. Because we are mainly looking for people who come from school or have a job, and then decide to go to defence. So offering part-time jobs; someone who has just left school is not interested in a part-time job, at least not in the Netherlands. And you first have to get a military education, so that is full time. And people who are a bit older, because for most vacancies with us you cannot be older than 28 or 30. So suppose someone of 26 has just had 1 job, and wants because she wants to work less, wants to apply for a vacancy at U.S. But you still have to do the military training, you are away from home for certain periods, certainly in the beginning. So that cannot be matched. It is of no use to us to offer vacancies part-time. But once you've come to us and you work for a few years, and for example you have children and you want to work part-time. We are so used to this that we look at it together with PNO or HR, where could you work which functions are suitable for that? I worked for personnel and care years ago, and I was responsible for the part-time matching point, I combined women who wanted to work part-time with certain positions.

NF: So there was a whole function for that. That's good to hear. For women who work part-time, that option is there.

SO: And it can't always be done and you have to request it on time and it can't be for every position, certainly not operational positions. But imagine if you are in the administration with us at a barracks, then fine 2 people can sit on 1 chair.

NF: Okay, thanks. The last question is how do you think the general Dutch society sees women in the army?

SO: * laughs *

NF: I don't think they think much about it, especially because women are only 10%.

SO: They know it's possible. But they don't always know how or what. The really interested person is, because they know ridiculously much about you. There is a large part that surely has that whole infantry picture in her head and thinks, that is not for me. Because you have to fight and shoot like a soldier, but that's not true at all. The image they have is not in accordance with reality, they know that they can know that there are female soldiers. It does not stop there. They think it is cool and it should be possible, especially with today's young people, but they do not find it easy for themselves.

NF: And how do you think that the general society would see that, all normal average Dutch men and women the families? Would they say I respect that or would they say that shouldn't be?

SO: No, there is only a very small part of the Netherlands that says: that should not be. I think that is even below 10%, a very small percentage that says no that does not apply to women in defense. For the rest, they think it's fine and should be able to. And there are also some who say that should be more or ridiculous that it could not.

NF: The Netherlands is quite a modern country in that regard. Do you believe that men and women get equal opportunities in the Dutch army?

SO: I think so. But some don't think so. I think it used to be different, but it is no longer the case now. We often get criticism that there are not enough women at the top, but I think that has a very logical reason. Many women, when they have children, start working less for, say, 10 years, than have not left, but have worked less, so that they have not fulfilled some functions. Then it is difficult to get to the top, because you have done things. Then you have to make an impact, and that is difficult if you have done other functions for ten years, then that can be difficult. You do not decline in your development, but it is different. As a result, we have fewer women at the top. Therefore, one may think you still make a distinction. But I don't think you can link that together. I think if you are a woman and you have just done what you had to do and you are suitable then you can also end up in the top. Only what is of course true, what you can never know for sure is, during job applications I often look at something in the person opposite me that attracts me, that is something that probably corresponds to who you are. And there is not very consciously looked at this person is different so I must take that. That would be, I am not saying that it is so, but perhaps it could also be that with us, that was a reason. But we simply have fewer women who are eligible for those functions, those places and when I look at how we deal with each other here and the possibilities that you have, we look much less at you are now a man or a woman. But before you did what you had to do to get this position and you are suitable. I do not always agree with the criticism we receive.

NF: Okay, so you think if you had the experience and the qualifications then you would get the same opportunities, and will you be treated equally?

SO: Yes, but we have to keep it from happening everywhere, we are a very large organization and it is all about people. So together we have to stay sharp that we do everything fairly.

NF: Okay, that was the last question, thanks for the very comprehensive answers. We are 50 minutes further, I will type it all out in no time. The answers were as expected and were also the answers I was hoping for.

SO: If you still have questions in between, just call or email. And if you think I am not sure if this is correct with a piece of text, you can always send it, that we will see what you need to improve this.

NF: I have one last question which I would understand if you have no idea of, since you are not an expert on Hungary. But what do you think the reasons are for the difference between NL and Hungary?

SO: Pay raise, experience with war, it was normal for men and women to come into contact with war, benefits such as healthcare and other extras.

Informed consent form Suzanne van Opstal

THE HAGUE
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Informed Consent Form

The factors that influence the degree of women's participation in the military of EU member states

In the Netherlands, 9.7% of the active duty personnel are women, while Hungary has a percentage of 19.3% (NATO, 2017). Taking into account that Hungary employs almost twice the number of women in their military in comparison to the Netherlands, the question arises of why women in one country feel more appealed to join the military than women in other countries. What factors influence the participation of women in the military? Throughout the years, different theories have been created that attempt to explain women's low participation rates. However, Segal has been credited with the creation of the first systematic theory that outlines the factors affecting women's participation in the military (Nuclari, 2006). This research will use Segal's theoretical model (1995) to determine which variables of the social structure, culture and military structure cause the overall low participation of women in the military. To test this theory, two EU member states will be compared, namely the Netherlands with a relative low participation (9.7%) and Hungary with the highest participation (19.3%) of women in the NATO member nations.

If you agree to take part in this study, please read the following statement and sign this form.

I am 16 years of age or older.

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

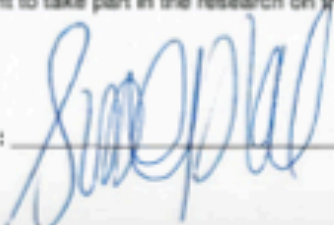
I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher and relevant university assessors. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

Signed:  Date: 17/12/2019.

Interview: Dr. Martha Molnár

Structured interview via email

NF: What is your name and where do you work / have you worked?

MM: You know my name, I worked for the military between 1982 and 2011 in different positions as a doctor.

NF: What is your highest level of education and what did you learn?

MM: I studied medicine in university, specialised exams in public health and epidemiology, military and catastrophe medicine, health care manager.

NF: Why do you think Hungary has the highest number of women in the military in NATO member states?

MM: I don't think that it is like that. Or at least not in the officer corps

NF: What do you think may be a possible reason for a woman in Hungary not to join the military despite her interest in the profession?

MM: The working conditions, the family unfriendly working conditions. (In my opinion this is natural, it is like that because of the goals of the organization, you just need to admit it)

NF: How do you think Hungarian society views women's soldiers? (For example, are they respected or not, neutral ...)

MM: I think in general they are not respected, or it is neutral

NF: What was the reason you joined the military?

MM: In the 70s, when I applied for university, there was a big over-application, therefore the scholarship was a big advantage. This is how I ended up at the military. It is a different question that we had only 20 in the class and only half managed to get to the officer inauguration, the others only needed the scholarship to get into the university. There were other advantages as well, party membership, but these reasons didn't influence my decision.

NF: Do you think the Hungarian military is particularly focused on recruiting women? If so, how?

MM: I didn't experience it

NF: What are the benefits of working for the Hungarian military?

MM: Maybe there were benefits that were advantageous and the salary was higher, but I don't know. When I started, it was also an advantage that they gave you a house for your service, it was easier to get a car (back then it was necessary to wait for a car 5-10 years), there were kindergartens, holiday resorts for people who served in the military but as far as I know the numbers of these severely decreased.

NF: In your opinion, do women enjoy the same opportunities and treatment as their male colleagues?

MM: Yes, I think the selection is based mostly on skills.

Informed consent form Dr. Martha Molnár

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Informed Consent Form

1) Research Project Title: The factors that influence the degree of women's participation in

2) Project Description (1 paragraph)

Even though women in most European countries have been allowed to occupy positions in the military since the past few decades, the participation of women is still exceptionally low in most countries. According to NATO, the average representation of women in the armed forces of NATO member nations was 11.1% in 2017, which was 0.9% higher than 10 years before, in 2007. Women's involvement in the military can greatly vary from country to country, for instance, the Dutch military exists for 9.7% out of female employees while Hungary has a percentage of 19.3% (NATO, 2017). Taking into account that Hungary employs almost twice the number of women in their military in comparison to the Netherlands, the question arises of why women in one country feel more appealed to join the military than women in other countries. What factors influence the participation of women in the military? Throughout the years, different theories have been created that attempt to explain women's low participation rates. However, Segal has been credited with the creation of the first systematic theory that outlines the factors affecting women's participation in the military (Nuciari, 2006). According to Segal's first original model, variables of the social structure, culture and military structure of a state have influence on the participation of women in the military (Segal, 1995, p. 758). This research will use Segal's theoretical model (1995) to determine which variables of the social structure, culture and military structure cause the overall low participation of women in the military. To test this theory, two NATO member states will be compared, namely the Netherlands

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I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

Name: MARTA MOLNÁR

Signature: *Martha Molnár* **Date:** 23.02.2020

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Interview: Lieutenant Colonel Eszter Skrinýár

Structured interview via email

NF: What is your highest level of education completed and what is your field of study?

ES: MsC Degree, University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts (international communications – institutional communications)

NF: Why do you think Hungary has the highest percentage (19.3% in 2017) of women in the military within the NATO alliance and in the EU?

ES: Based on the decision of the Hungarian political and military leaders, all positions are open for women in the Hungarian Defence Forces. Serving in the Hungarian Defence Forces is an honour for all Hungarian citizens, moreover the Hungarian Defence Forces provide great career opportunities for all citizens.

NF: What do you believe to be the most important reason(s) for women to not join the army in Hungary, while they are interested in the military?

ES: Serving in the Hungarian Defence Forces is a 24/7 job. Individuals who cannot accept this fact, regardless of gender, will not be able to serve.

NF: Do you think women are as best as possible integrated in the Hungarian military? Why?

ES: Based on the decision of the Hungarian Defence Forces leadership, it is not questionable that women are fully integrated in the HDF. The Hungarian Defence Forces consider skills, education, experience and capability when offering a position to personnel in the military. This question is not gender specific.

NF: Do you believe implementing a quota system for women would help women integrate in the armed forces (in Hungary and other countries)? Why?

ES: It is not my task to decide if the quota system would help or not. It is based on the political and military leaders' decision.

NF: How do you think the general Hungarian society views military women in Hungary? (for example: with respect, neutral or without respect)

ES: The Hungarian society respects all military personnel, including women since 2015 when mass migration increased in Europe, and Hungarian military personnel have been deployed to support the Hungarian Police in order to defend the border of Hungary. Military personnel, including women have earned the respect of the Hungarian society.

NF: Does the Hungarian military target women specifically for recruitment, if yes how?

ES: There is no specific recruiting policy for women.

NF: Has Hungary integrated a gender perspective in the military in your opinion? (Staff, missions abroad). If yes, how do they practice this?

ES: All active duty positions are open to women in the Hungarian Defence Forces and there are no restrictions that apply to operations, either.

NF: What could be improved regarding the implementation of a gender perspective?

ES: The increased integration of a gender perspective into education and training will be considered. This would result in increased gender awareness and higher operational effectiveness.

NF: Do you believe women and men receive equal opportunities and treatment in the Hungarian military? Why?

ES: In the Hungarian Defence Forces women and men are provided with 100% equal opportunities.

Informed consent form Lieutenant Colonel Eszter Skrinýár**Informed Consent Form****Informed Consent Form**

1) Research Project Title: The factors that influence the degree of women's participation in the military

2) Project Description (1 paragraph)

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Throughout the years, different theories have been created that attempt to explain women's low participation rates. However, Segal has been credited with the creation of the first systematic theory that outlines the factors affecting women's participation in the military (Nuciari, 2006). According to Segal's first original model, variables of the social structure, culture and military structure of a state have influence on the participation of women in the military (Segal, 1995, p. 758). This research will use Segal's theoretical model (1995) to determine which variables of the social structure, culture and military structure cause the overall low participation of women in the military. To test this theory, two NATO member states will be compared, namely the Netherlands with the relatively low participation (9.7%) and Hungary with the highest participation (19.3%).

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Name: *ESZTER SKRINYÁR*

Signature: *Eszter Skrinýár*

Date: *21 Feb 2020*