

Radboud University
Nijmegen School of Management
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A Masculine Collective

A Case Study to the Organizational Culture of the Military

Jesper Schipper

S4578813

Supervisor: Dr. (Ph.D.) Jutta M. Joachim

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Abstract

This article focusses on the organizational culture of the military, and questions whether the culture is masculine or increasingly feminine. A theoretical framework has been created by combining the recruitment theories, with knowledge on culture and the military. It was found that there are two strands of thinking about military culture, it is either perceived to be masculine or the culture is assumed to be undergoing feminization. Based on the theoretical framework the expectation was created that feminization of the military culture would be found. A case study to the Dutch armed forces has been conducted in order to determine the culture of the military. A content analysis of the recruitment website of the Dutch armed forces has been done. Testimonials and vacancies have been analysed on displayed traits of masculinity of femininity. The results of the analysis give reason to think that the military culture is undergoing feminization. Of all the found cultural traits on the recruitment website, over a third was feminine. Therefore it is argued that the military is an organization which culture is still very masculine, but with many feminine characteristics as well. This gives reason to believe there is feminization within the military.

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1. Introduction

Traditionally, it has been argued that the military is a very masculine organization, in which most jobs are taken by men (Woodward & Duncanson, 2016). In their article, reviewing the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, Woodward and Duncanson point out that only roughly ten percent of the employees are women. Looking at other militaries, for example the Dutch Military (Ministerie van Defensie, 2018), the proportions are about the same. Over the past few years, there has been an increase in the share of women within the military (Woodward & Duncanson, 2016). Furthermore it has been pointed out in organizational literature that diversity can positively influence the business case (Zanoni & Jansens, 2007; Benschop et al., 2016). If this is the case, organizations should try to attract new employees that increase the diversity on the work floor. Linking this back to the numbers on the military personnel it is clear that there is definitely a need for women there in order to increase the diversity.

In order for someone to want to work somewhere, or for an organization to hire someone, it has been argued in the recruitment literature that specific types of fits need to be fulfilled. These fits are the Person-Organization fit (Schneider, 1987; Kristof, 1996) and the Person-Job fit (Edwards, 1991; Sekiguchi, 2007). The first fit is about how well a person fits within the organizational culture, the second about how well a person fits with the specifics of a job. Culture is an important variable in both of these fits.

The military culture is increasingly up for debate. In the past, many, for instance Dunivin (1994), argued that the military is an organization with a masculine culture. She defined a Combat, Masculine Warrior paradigm, and many believe this still to be applicable to the military today. In more recent years, others, like Van Creveld (2000) have argued that the military is feminizing. These authors argue that this is due to the increase in female personnel and the change in the type of warfare (Kaldor, 1999). It is this distinction in thinking about the military that is the main subject of this paper. The feminization and its implications for the military culture are questionable. The question that will be tried to be answered is therefore related to the distinction between these two, and goes as follows:

Is the Combat, Masculine Warrior paradigm of Dunivin still applicable, or is the military culture becoming more feminized?

The argument can be made that a culture that is too masculine will decrease the Person-Organization fit for women, since they will perceive themselves as not sharing the same norms. This would hinder the recruitment process of the military, and hamper the available

options for the military to choose from. Defining the military culture can therefore be useful and gives this paper societal relevance. Gender equality is something that is increasingly high on the political agenda. In the Netherlands for instance, the minister and high military officers pointed out that more women are needed in the armed forces and the important role women can play in missions (Bijleveld, 2019; Bauer, 2019). The results can be used to encourage cultural change if the military is still found masculine in order to possibly accommodate more women.

The scientific relevance stems from the fact that there is a debate going on regarding military culture. As argued, some say that it is masculine, others say that it is. The findings in this paper can add to this debate, not matter the outcome. Furthermore the combination of certain models and theories that are being used in this paper have not been made before. Therefore, this paper can add new knowledge to the way recruitment theories like the Person-Job fit and Person-Organization fit are being used.

In order to come to an answer to the research question, a case study will be conducted. This case study will focus on the armed forces of The Netherlands. The Netherlands are deemed interesting and suitable because of their score on the Gender Equality Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2018) and the importance they seem to give to the attraction of women within their ranks (Van Bijleveld, 2019). A content analysis of their recruitment website will be conducted, in order to find the culture within the military organization.

The remainder of this paper will be structured as follows. First a theoretical framework will be set-up in Chapter two. In this chapter the various applied theories will be explained, and they will be linked to military culture. From that, three hypothesis regarding feminization within the military will be derived. Explanations on the case selection process and the method of analysis can be found in Chapter three. Furthermore, it will be explained more in depth why The Netherlands have been selected, and why the specific webpages will be analysed. The actual analysis and the results of it will be given in Chapter four, followed by a conclusion and discussion in the final chapter, Chapter five.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter focusses on the existing literature on recruitment and organizational culture. A lot of the writings on recruitment originates in the field of psychology. Two concepts stand out that will be used in this thesis, the Person-Organization fit and the Person-Job fit. These concepts describe what makes a person fit within either the organization as a whole in general, or more specific, in the different kind of jobs within the organization. The role of gender in these 'fits' will also be explained, although this will be specified more when looking at culture. An overview will be given on what is known in sociology and other fields about the culture in military organizations. Military culture is generally conceived as different from general organizational culture. Therefore, a goal of this chapter is to highlight the aspect in which the military organization differs notably. Lastly, gender preferences in types of jobs will be explained.

2.1.1 Organizational Culture

Within this paper as a whole and the used theories in specific, a lot of focus is on the role of culture. Culture is a commonly used term, but needs specification before being useable in this paper. Therefore it is important to understand what exactly is meant when culture is being mentioned. To be precise, the focus here will be on organizational culture, although this will be referred to as just culture. According to Ajmal & Koskinen (2008), members of an organization are not aware of their organizational culture until they encounter a culture different than their own. Organizational culture is defined by Schein (2000) as being shared assumptions, determining how the group perceives its environment, thinks about its environment and reacts to its environment (Schein, 2000). But other authors, such as Green (2005) point out that culture is more than just shared assumptions, norms and uses. Green argues that culture is used to control people within the organization, and to create a distinction in social terms. So culture is used outwards by organizations, but also has implications for the inside of the organization. While there is much more written on this subject, this would be beyond the scope of this paper. The main point to be taken from the literature on organizational culture is that it is about the way people within an organization collectively think, feel and act with regards to their environment. Culture has impact on both the way an organization performs as well as on the happiness of employees and their behaviour. The culture is thus what drives the organization, an organization will always respond and act according to its own organizational culture (Soeters, 2018).

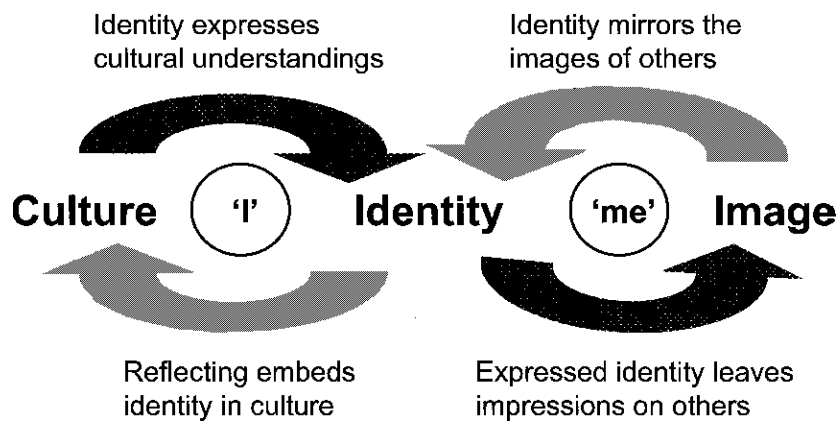


Figure 1. The Organizational Identity Dynamics Model. (Hatch and Schultz, 2004 p. 382)

In relation to organizational culture, there also is organizational identity. Much writing on this subject has been done by Hatch and Schultz. They relate culture, identity and image to each other, as is best explained in their articles of 2002 and 2004. They argue that culture, identity and image are interdependent. It is a process where all three factors influence each other. Hatch and Schultz base themselves on a typology as developed by Mead (1934). Mead distinguishes an 'I' and a 'Me'. The 'I' is the response of a person to the attitudes of others, the 'Me' is based on the attitudes of others, the environment of the person. "The 'I' is not given in the 'me'" (Mead, 1934, p.175). The 'I' is not something a person is constantly aware of, but it construes, together with the environment, the 'Me'. The 'Me' therefore is a reaction to attitudes of others, or attitudes a person assumes others have. In the case of this paper the person can be replaced by an organization this model. The 'I' stands for the culture of the organization. This culture is reflected upon the identity by the members of the organization. This identity is placed between the image that is portrayed of the organization and the culture of the organization. The 'Me' is the image of the organization, or at least how the organization perceives its image. Both culture and image influence the organizational identity. In turn, identity influences image and culture. This identity is what mirrors images of others, and in turn identity influences the organizational culture. Culture does also affect the identity and, as explained before, the identity is expressed in the images of the organization. While the model of Hatch and Schultz is very interesting, the focus will be on the influence of culture on identity and thus the influence on image. For clarification the model can be found above, in figure 1. What will be used are thus the full black arrows, from culture through identity to image.

Furthermore, it already has been proven that culture indeed makes an organization attractive for possible applicant, as has been shown by Gardner et al., 2012). Given the fact that culture is important for the image of the organization, and that this culture as assumed by

others makes the organization possibly attractive, the specifics of the military culture should be explored. Only with knowledge of the specific organizational culture, it is possible to create expectations regarding the culture of the military. The next paragraph will therefore focus on the military culture.

2.1.2 Culture in the Military

This paragraph will focus on what is already known on culture and the military in the existing literature. Among the authors who write about military culture, there is a consensus that there is a unique culture within the military, compared to other organizations. It is clear that a distinction can be made between two different strands of theorizing on military culture. The first is the more traditional one, that argues that the military is a masculine organization, first and foremost. The second strand on the other hand is a more recent one. The argument there is that war is becoming more feminized and that as a result the military also becomes more feminized. There are also authors who claim that some values held in the military are feminine anyway (Soeters, 2018).

This debate aside, it seems that most authors agree that military culture does differ from other organizations. This is illustrated by Lynn Hall in her article on the American military: “The unique culture of the military is, indeed, a diverse group of people in American society that must be understood as uniquely different from the civilian world” (2011). The view that the military is different from the rest of the world is shared by Soeters, Winslow and Weibull: “Military organizations represent a specific occupational culture which is relatively isolated from society” (2006, p.237). It is thus clear that there must be some specific characteristics that are not or less present in other organizations.

2.1.3. The Military as a Masculine Organization

Dunivin (1994) mentions in her article on the United States’ military that in that time it was a very much male oriented organization. This was enhanced by rules and the underlying culture. Officers for instance, were expected to be males (1994). Dunivin called the leading culture within the US military the: combat, masculine-warrior paradigm (CMW). There was a belief within the military that women were in fact inferior to their male counterparts. Masculinity on the other hand was rewarded in combat as well as in training. Furthermore it was argued by Dunivin that the CMW paradigm would exist, even with the entrance of women and gays in the military. Some argue that indeed the paradigm is still present in the armed forces today.

Patrice Keats (2010) finds that the CMW paradigm of Dunivin is still highly relevant in the present day. There are hypermasculine values at play within the military, not only because of the large role men play within the military, but also because of the combat role of the military. War, and thus combat, is perceived as a highly masculine activity, and, so argues Keats, this enforces the masculine culture within the military. The paradigm of Dunivin is thus still believed to be applicable. Others have also tried to define culture within the military, or other male dominated organizations, such as Brown who did research to the culture of the Police. What he found there was ‘a cult of masculinity’ (2007).

A cult of masculinity is highly likely to arise in an organization which is mainly manly and focused on ‘action’ (Brown, 2007). Some go even further and see a cult of masculinity as a culture that sees men as ‘better’ and in which men are placed above women. Moore argues that an organization can be seen as masculine when three factors are present: “the proportion of men employed in it; the type of tasks required in the majority of its jobs; and the characteristics required to perform the work” (1999, p. 50). Since roughly 90 percent of the military personnel is male, and many tasks do have a physical component and/or encompass possible violence, the military can be categorized as masculine.

The authors mentioned here thus believe the military to be masculine. But what masculinity entails is not made clear exactly. In this section masculinity will be defined. The same will be done for the opposing traits of femininity later, in paragraph 2.1.3. Some authors have tried to create a list of both masculine and feminine traits. Examples are Bem (1974), Thomas (2000) and Wellens (2005). Bem made a list of stereotypes of both men and women, that can be seen as respectively masculine and feminine. Wellens also made a distinction, in her work on the so called ‘glass ceiling’ within organizations. Thomas on the other hand gives an overview of how feminists portray the differences between men and women. In table 1 the findings of these three authors can be found. Note that in their respective articles they talk of more masculine characteristics. In the light of this paper a selection is made. The reason for this is that certain traits are deemed not interesting for determining organizational culture, since they are too personal. For a complete overview it is therefore advised to read the original articles.

Table 1. Masculine characteristics as described by Bem, Wellens and Thomas

Bem	Wellens	Thomas
Independent	Individualistic	Courage
Athletic	Competitive	Ambition
Powerful	Importance of hierarchy	Initiative
Analytical	High pressure to perform	Rationality
Willing to take risks	Spends a lot of time on work	Emotional Control
Competitive		
Dominant		
Aggressive		

Source: Bem (1974), Wellens (2005) and Thomas (2000).

Given the fact that all of the military personnel receives their military training and education from the organization itself, there is a big chance that in the early stages there is already identity regulation at play. This is something that Dunivin (1994) also mentioned, and it makes cultural change harder to achieve. Identity regulation happens mostly top-down within an organization and is best described by the words of Alvesson and Willmott: “Management (and others) act, more or less strategically, to introduce, reproduce, influence and legitimize the presence/absence of particular discourses” (2004, p. 446). Later on in the same chapter they do note that it might also be a by-product of other activities. Discourses are about what is normal, and how things should be (Foucault, 1971). Thus from the moment they start their education at the military institutions, the recruits will learn the leading discourses. Since the discourses are built upon mostly men and a masculine organization, the discourses will probably also be in that direction. Symbols, stories and rituals will also bolster identity work. The military is full of rituals (Soeters, 2018). Community life and assessment-aversion, two very specific military cultural traits as described by Soeters (2008) will only strengthen these. Military personnel lives together and the military is pretty much closed to the outside world (ibid.). Therefore the chance of cultural change is lower than in a more regular organization.

Not only direct identity regulation takes place, it can also be a by-product of other activities, as mentioned before. In the case of the military one can think of the physical activities and weeks of military training in the field that fit in with the ‘masculine’ traits. And, since the educational phase must be passed in order to actually get into the military and fulfil

a position there, those that pass will have adapted to the discourses and thus the culture of the military organization.

2.1.3. Feminization of the Military Organization

While the previous paragraph stated that the military is a masculine organization, encompassing, according to some, 'hypermasculine traits', this paragraph will show that there is no consensus in this regard. As Titunik puts it in her article: "the prevailing view of the military as hyper-masculine is misguided" (2008, p.137). The argument of feminization of the military will be explored here. For some, feminization happens solely because more women enter the armed forces. Other claim that the way wars are fought possibly makes the army more feminine, if they are less focused on intra state warfare and more on peacekeeping roles.

Some argue that feminization of the military organization does not occur simply because more women enter the armed forces. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, all new recruits receive the same training, so they will be thought the same norms and values (Dunivin, 1994). Furthermore, masculinity or femininity is not solely linked to gender. As Belkin notes: "Women can exploit and embody masculinity" (2012, p.6). This means that women can show masculine behaviour, just as men can possess feminine traits and behave that way. It is however the case that, as noted above, men show more masculine behaviour as compared to women. This has to do with the discourse regarding gender, males are expected to show masculine behaviour. Belkin (2012) points this out with an example of transgender Vietnam veterans, who were fighting before their surgery. They were taking up tasks that were deemed extremely masculine, in order to affirm their biological sex (male) towards themselves, but also towards their fellow soldiers. Following this line of thinking, one would expect women to also try and show their femininity, but as Titunik (2008) shows in her article, fear of alienation of their male counterparts withhold them from doing so. Furthermore, she shows that women who are serving in the military do actually share the values of the military organization.

There is however a strand of authors who claim that there is an ongoing feminization of war. This feminization goes hand in hand with the increasing amount of women within the armed forces (Van Creveld, 2000). Van Creveld argues that it is the changing nature of war and the decline in capability of states to fight interstate wars that lead to the increase of the amount of women. This is due to the fact that wars are becoming less dangerous and less destructive (Van Creveld, 2000). It was Kaldor (1999) who wrote about this change of

warfare since the cold war, describing more of a peacekeeper role to be taken by the Western armed forces. This process is defined by Hutchings as “the projected shift toward a new kind of hegemonic masculinity” (2008, p.399). For Van Creveld on the other hand, this is the feminization of war. Women are seen by many as good peacekeepers, since they are different from men. Men are seen as aggressive and eager to fight, whereas women are seen as more peaceful and tend to be more prone to reconciliation (DeGroot, 2001). It is not just the different type of warfare the militaries have to engage in that lead to the feminization. It is also about how wars are fought that might lead to this increased amount of women being able to join the military. The increased technological ways of warfare, such as the usage of drones and cyberwarfare, make wars less threatening for soldiers since they are in less of a direct danger.

The feminization of war is thus visible through both the changing of warfare as well as the increase in the amount of women in the armed forces. If there is indeed feminization going on, and if it is the case that it is the amount of women in the force that account for that, this must mean that the military culture is subject to change as well.

For an overview of what feminine characteristics are we once again turn to Bem (1974), Thomas (2000) and Wellens (2005). In their respective articles, from which earlier the masculine characteristics were derived they also tried to categorize feminine characteristics. Once again not all of their findings will be presented, because not all of them are useable regarding this research. The ones that are incorporated here can be found below, in table 2.

Table 2. Feminine characteristics as described by Bem, Wellens and Thomas

Bem	Wellens	Thomas
Soft	Collectivism	Modesty
Shy	Collegiality	Sensitivity
Loyal	Balanced work-private life	Intuition
Sensitive towards others	Participation in decision-making	
Understanding	Self-development	

Source: Bem (1974), Wellens (2005) and Thomas (2000).

When comparing these traits to the masculine characteristics in table 1 it is clear that there is indeed a difference. Feminine characteristics, and arguably the characteristics of women are in general more gentle. Women care more for the group, and take a position more on the background. Furthermore they give more importance to their private lives over time

spend on work, a good balance between those two is necessary. There is a clear distinction between the masculine and feminine traits as discussed here. Based on this it can be argued that women, if they are showing more feminine traits, are softer and more sensitive and thus less eager to fight.

2.1.3 Hypothesis

Taken all these aspect together it can be argued that there can be two expectations based on the military culture. Based on Hatch and Schultz (2004) it is argued that the military culture will find its way to the organizational image. The organizational image of the military can be found in all the ways they present themselves to the outside world. One can think of recruiting campaigns, or days when open their doors for the public¹. There are two possible options for this. The first is that the military has a complete masculine culture, even though there is an increasing number of women part of it. A second option is that the culture of the military is feminizing to some extent. Important to note here is that a feminized culture means that the whole organization is becoming more feminized. So it is not just women who are feminine, it can also be men showing feminine behaviour. Given the fact more recent literature is theorizing feminization of the military as happening, this will be the assumption that will be tested. This lead up to the following hypothesis:

H1. The organizational culture of the armed forces will show signs of feminization.

2.2.1 Person-Organization Fit

Within recruitment it is necessary that there is a match for both the applicant as well as the organization. Therefore, organizations will try their best to portray their culture in their advertising for vacancies. This compatibility is called the Person-Organization Fit (P-O fit) (Kroustalis & Meade, 2007). The P-O fit is described by Kristof (1996) as being the compatibility between people and organizations. She then continues by stating that the P-O fit can exist when either the person or the organization provides what the other needs, if they share fundamental characteristics, or both. The P-O fit is foremost based on congruent goals and values (Vancouver & Schmitt, 1991).

¹ One can think for instance of the *Luchtmachtdagen*, an event where the Royal Dutch Airforce opens a base for the public: <https://www.defensie.nl/onderwerpen/luchtmachtdagen>.

The P-O fit is important regarding the question whether a possible applicant feels connected to the organization. Persons that see an organization as having values that are in line with their own, will feel more attraction towards that organization (Schneider, 1987; Byrne, 1971). In addition “the organization’s values, goals, structures, processes, and culture” (Schneider, Goldstein, & Smith, 1995) are equally important to estimate the Person-Organization fit. As pointed out by Kroustalis and Meade (2007), the way an organization portrays its culture is important for the P-O fit on the side of the applicant during the recruitment process. This process starts when the possible applicant sees an advertisement of the organization or their website at which the vacancies are displayed. So in order to bolster the P-O fit, an organization will try to put their culture to the fore as much as possible, in order to attract those people that will fit within the organization.

The role of culture is important for the Person-Organization fit. It has been found that if an organization incorporates culture specific cues within their recruitment websites, this will lead to strengthened perceptions of the corresponding culture dimensions (Braddy, Meade and Kroustalis, 2006). If the individual does indeed feel that their personal characteristics fit with the organizational culture, their P-O fit is increased.

For now it seems that the P-O fit basically looks at the individuals and how well they possibly fit within an organization. But, this type of fit can also be looked at from the other side. An organization will probably try to hire people that fit within their own organization. That is, they will try and search for people that share the norms, values and ideas. So basically the organization will try and attract those people that roughly share the organizational culture and all of the implications thereof. This is a topic that has received quite some attention in the academic world. DiTomaso (2015) for instance writes about this, and she calls it favouritism. According to DiTomaso favouritism is more common than racism. Her argument is that white men give preference to other white men. She does not argue that there is no such thing as racism or discrimination. She does however argue that favouritism happens more often than discrimination. She adds that the bias happens unconscious, meaning that the people might not be aware that they are biased. While the subject of this article is not discrimination on the basis of skin colour, the main argument of DiTomaso is very much useable. Her main argument is that people have a bias for people of their own liking, instead of a bias against people who differ from themselves in any way. Since it can happen without people realizing they are biased, this might also be visible in the portrayed culture in the organizational image. An organization might think their website is free of bias, and yet it might shy away people who do not fully comply to the present organizational culture. Goffmann (2004) also wrote

about this, and stated that people might want to add people in their group who are similar to themselves, so their responses and behaviour will be more in line with the rest, reducing insecurity over their reaction to events. Cultural outsiders are thus seen as a risk, either conscious or unconscious.

Linking this to gender, it is argued that this is why men have a preference to hire other men. This is because they assume other men to show more of the same characteristics as they do themselves. Male dominated organizations therefore stay that way for a very long time, since it is mostly males that do the decision making, and thus the hiring of people. One could argue that only incentives to hire women that would benefit organization, and therefore the dominating group of males within the organization, would lead to change.

2.2.2 Person-Organization Fit and the Military

Since favouritism is likely to occur in many organizations, it is to be expected that the military will not be different. If a masculine culture is found within the military. This will in turn mean that if there is indeed favouritism at play within the military, the image of the military will be full of the masculine traits that the military has incorporated. This would however not mean that only men are visible, as women can also show masculine traits. It is also true that it seems that certain jobs require more feminine traits (see paragraph 2.3.1 for more on this).

As has been argued at the end of the previous paragraph, incentives might be needed to change the fact that males hire mostly other males. In the case of the Dutch military, it seems to be the case that such incentives are present.

The first incentive is that of necessity. In the past, in times of war and when there was a shortage in the terms of military personnel, women were recruited, although this was solely during this time (Kümmel. 2002). In the present day, there are shortages of military personnel within the Dutch army as well. This can be found in various news reports, and is an ongoing problem (Debie, Kropf, De Natris & Snels, 2019; www.nos.nl, 2019). All this news makes it clear that the army has problems attracting potential recruits. It would therefore be an option to increase the pool of possible recruits, by giving extra attention to women. One could argue that this is already the case since all positions (except on submarines) are open to women. However, actual numbers of women recruits remain relatively low (Van Westhreenen, 2018). Therefore giving extra attention to this group in the recruitment process might be of help. As mentioned in DeGroot (2001), for the army of the United States it was already necessary to have women within their ranks in order to be operational. With only the males, they would

not be able to carry out their tasks. It is very much plausible that the same holds true for the army of The Netherlands, given the fact that over 8 percent of the military personnel is female. A further aspect hindering the recruitment, is the fact that the economy is growing. As mentioned in Kümmel (2002), civilian wages are higher in times when the economy flourishes. This makes the military less attractive to men, therefore decreasing the number of male applicants for the army. At the same time however, more women will enter the workforce, therefore increasing the pool of possible applicants (ibid.). The Dutch military also has trouble finding new recruits in times of economic growth, a fact that is acknowledged by Ruud Vermeulen of the Joint Officer Association (Gezamenlijke Officieren Vereniging in Dutch) (ambtenarensalaris.nl, 2017). Thus the economic growth together with the necessity of women for a functional army, are possible incentives for an increased attention to women in the recruitment strategy.

A second incentive can be derived from the fact that the different tasks the military has got over the years ask for a different set up of the military. This comes down to as what has been described before in the previous paragraph: the military is not solely there for fighting interstate wars anymore, the modern day Western armies are much more engaged in peacekeeping types of missions. This asks for a different kind of behaviour of the military, which has also been described by Kaldor (1999). As DeGroot (2001) argued, women seem to be a more suitable fit for this kind of role. It is however still the task of the military to fight when necessary, and although women are perfectly capable of doing so, it are males who are more prone to fight. Therefore a combination might lead to better outcomes. This would mean that more women need to be in the ranks of the military, meaning that more women need to be recruited. Regarding the 'new' role of the army, women are important for another reason. During missions in certain areas or countries, checkpoints or borders need to be controlled. There are however cultures, in which a woman can only be touched and thus be searched by another woman. Therefore it is important to also have women controlling the checkpoints and borders. So it is not just the possible different characteristics of women that can be an incentive, but also the requirements of the tasks that might be an incentive for the recruitment of extra women into the armed forces.

The last incentive is not directly aimed at the military but is derived from the literature on organizational performance. A great deal of the literature on organizational performance and organizations and diversity make a claim towards diversity being good for the business case (Kirton and Greene, 2016). This claim is further elaborated by for instance Benschop (2001) and Herring (2009). They both find that it does not only makes the organization more

profitable, but it also makes the organization more effective. Furthermore, a diverse group will come up with more possible solutions to a problem than a homogenous group. It is found that women in general do think and/or act different in certain situations than men (Kirton and Greene, 2016). Thus, an increased amount of women, will then arguably lead to a better functioning military. Therefore it can be good for the military to incorporate women as well.

Given the fact that there are plenty of incentives the military can have, or some even must have to actively recruit women, it is to be expected that feminization will be visible in the image the military displays towards the outside world. It is to be expected that, knowing fighting remains still one of the main tasks of the military masculinity will however still be visible. However, given the incentives to hire women into the armed forces, feminization is expected to be visible and women will be given special attention. This leads to the following hypothesis:

H2. The culture of the military will reflect the need to recruit more women by showing signs of feminization in the image of the organization.

2.3.1 Person-Job Fit

Another type of fit that is used in the literature regarding the hiring of employees is the Person-Job fit (P-J fit). This is the fit of the person with the demands of the job that counts, and not if a person fits within the organization as a whole (Edwards, 1991). The P-J fit is thereby assessed by looking at if a person is capable of fulfilling the tasks that come with the job, regardless of whether they fit within the organization as a whole. It might seem unnecessary to discriminate between these two types of fits, since one might expect them to show a great amount of overlap. However, research has shown that individuals can indeed vary in the level in which they experience both fits (O'Reilly et al, 1991). They are more uncorrelated than one might expect, making it important to measure them both, before making any judgements. This is reinforced by Sekigucki (2007) who states that P-J fit and P-O fit can be in a trade off and that applicants might be high in one of these fits, but low in the other. This might feel illogical, but makes sense, since within certain types of jobs there might be a (slightly) different culture than within the complete organization. And it is not just the culture that determines the fit of a person with a job. Someone can simply have the capacities for a

certain job, making the P-J fit high. But at the same time, the person might have completely different norms and values, and thus have a low Person-Organization fit.

What makes someone fit for a certain type of job is dependent of their human capital (Kirton & Greene, 2016). The human capital is the skills, qualifications and training that a person possesses and can bring to a job. For women, it is sometimes argued that they bring less human capital when they enter the workforce. In addition it is said that women tend to choose jobs that offer more flexibility than men (ibid.). If this is indeed true, it might explain why women are less present in the army and that the largest part of women that occupy a position in the military organization work in more civilian jobs. But to be able to draw conclusions on the fit of persons, and women in specific, and organizations it first needs to be established what women prefer in organizations and jobs. The literature does point to the fact that women tend to choose different type of occupations themselves as well. This might be because women perceive a better fit with certain types as occupations. As Woodward and Duncanson (2016) have pointed out, within the military of the United Kingdom there is a difference between the types of jobs women and men occupy. They found that women tend to be more employed in nursing and administrative jobs than in jobs that are closer to the actual battlefield.

2.2.2 Women and Job Preferences

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, it is important to know what women deem important attributes in a job. In 1981 an article of Bem (1981) came out regarding sex typing. Sex typing is the process of the society ascribing masculine characteristics to men and feminine characteristics to women (1981). The argument is that during growing up children are being thought about the allegedly existing differences between men and women. As a result of this, they start to perceive their environment that way and adapt their behaviour accordingly. This is called the gender schema theory, the schema being the assigned masculine (male) and feminine (female) roles. Since this schema does not stop to have an influence when someone is grown up, this might have an effect when women are choosing an occupation. If the gender schema theory is correct, women will tend to choose jobs that have more in common with the feminine characteristics.

In addition to the more common male/female and feminine/masculine distinction regarding preferences, there are also more specific articles on job preferences and the role of gender in that process. An important article for the purpose of this research comes from

DeLeire and Levy (2001). Their research focusses on the fact that women and men differ in preference regarding safety on the job. They found that women overall tend to have more risk aversion in choosing their occupation. They try to avoid the risk of injury or even death more than males do in choosing their occupation.

Regarding differences in job preferences Konrad et al. (2000) conducted a meta-analysis of 31 studies. They found some differences between male and female preferences in what they called 'job attributes'. Key findings that are important for this paper are that women attach greater importance to: a challenge in a job, good working hours, comfortable work environment, task significance and prestige. The finding that women give more importance to prestige and challenge is surprising, since these traits can be seen as more masculine. This is thus in conflict with the gender schema theory of Bem. This might be because of women are increasingly getting more equal, which might influence how children are raised and what is thought to them regarding gender. The next paragraph will focus on the possible effects this might have on the culture of the military, and what is to be expected.

2.3.3 Person-Job Fit and the Military

The first and foremost thing to note regarding the Person-Job fit and the military is the different types of jobs that exist within the military. For starters there is a division in the personnel in the sense that there is a more civilian side of the military apparatus with jobs that are more or less comparable more other, more common, organizations. On the other hand there is the side that is more directly connected with the battlefield and is harder to compare with common organizations. One could argue that there is a distinction between the group that has to wear the military uniform to work and the group that does not have to do that. The focus of this research is on the former.

It will be interesting to see whether there are cultural differences regarding the different job types within the military. It can be expected that in the job types where more women are present more feminized culture can be found as opposed to jobs types mainly fulfilled by males. Given the distinction between feminine characteristics and masculine ones, and the gender schema theory, a distinction exists over what type of job is typically male, and what type of job is typically female. This might be an indication of why women are less apparent in the military as they are in civilian jobs within the military apparatus.

Or, if they do take up a job within the military, why women choose one not directly involved on the battlefield, such as the job of military nurse (Nuciari, 2018). Combining this

with the knowledge of DeLeire and Levy (2001), it seems logical that for most jobs women might feel that they do not fit with the job. They might perceive a low Person-Job fit, even though they might be qualified for the job. It is known from various researches that women tend to choose different types of jobs, such as nursing or something more administrative (but in uniform) if they apply for the military (Nuciari, 2018).

Given the fact that women are more present in different kind of jobs, and are more known to have feminine characteristics, it can be argued that these type of functions are more feminized as compared to the more battle oriented jobs. This is in line with the P-J fit, in which it is argued that people can have more a fit with a job than the overall military culture (Sekigucki, 2007). The following hypothesis can then be set up:

H3. Within the military, jobs regarding nursing or administration will show more signs of feminization as compared to more fighting oriented jobs.

3. Methods and Case-Selection

It is the aim of this paper to determine the culture of the military and to see whether it is masculine or undergoing feminization. In order to do so, a case study will be conducted. The case study will be on the Dutch armed forces. The first paragraph, 3.1, will explain the method that will be used in order to get an answer on the research question. Following that, the selected case and the reason why it is chosen will be given. Subsequently, the data source will be explained in paragraph 3.3. The last paragraph, 3.4, will contain the coding scheme that will be derived from the theoretical framework, as laid out in Chapter 2.

3.1 The Used Method.

The goal of this study is to determine military culture and to what extent it is masculine or feminine. In this paper a single case study will be done on the recruitment website of an army. How this will be executed will be explained here, and the pros and cons of this approach will be discussed as well.

A case study is used to gain insight in a specific topic. This is done by focussing on one or more cases (Gerring, 2012). A single case study focusses on only one case and this case is studied very intensively. This can be useful for studying relatively new subjects. While at first glance this might seem less than ideal in order to generalize these findings, it will be argued that it can still be useful. As Flyberg (2006) argued in his article on misunderstandings regarding (single) case studies, one can be able to generalize from the findings of a single case study. This generalizability is then limited only to cases that are similar to the one in the research. It is also true that, as Gerring (2012) notices, a cross case study improves the generalizability of a study. Since there is not much written on the specific subject of culture in military recruitment however, a single case study can be seen as a good starting point. A single case study usually gets more depth than a cross case study, which is broader (Flyberg, 2006). It is true that a single case study has a larger chance of making type 1 errors, which means that an effect is found rejecting the null hypothesis, while it should not be rejected (Gerring 2012). In this case it would mean that feminization would be found, while in truth it is not the case. The upside of the single case study is that the internal validity is higher than when using a cross case study design, meaning that you actually measure what you want to measure. The fact that it is possible to generalize, even though one should be cautious about it and the stronger internal validity are decisive in opting for a single case study design in this

research. The in depth knowledge that will be gained this way might be a good starting point and useful for future research.

Since the expectation that feminization and non-stereotypical images will be shown, is based on literature on Western organizations and militaries the case that will be selected is a crucial case. A crucial case is described by Eckstein as one “that must closely fit a theory if one is to have confidence in the theory’s validity” (1975, p.118). The type of case as described by Eckstein is what Gerring (2012) would call a most-likely case. The most-likely case is one where a case seems to tick all the boxes a theory requires and where the outcome should thus logically follow from the theory (ibid.). If this is not the case, the theory might be disapproved and in need of revision. This can create interesting insights. Since not all theories that are used in this study are specifically aimed at the military, it is a good way to test if they are applicable in this way. In paragraph 3.2 it will be explained which case is selected and why.

Besides deciding what type of case study will be done, it will also need to be determined how the study will be conducted. The focus of this paper is on the recruitment website of the military. A content analysis is thus necessary. Content analysis is used to “analyze data within a specific context in view of the meanings someone-a group or a culture-attributes to them” (Krippendorff, 1989, p. 403). Different codes will be set up, derived from the theoretical framework. The data will consist of the selected pages on the recruitment website of the military. The content on these pages will be analysed, and it will be tried to connect this data with the codes. It will not be an quantitative content analysis, which would focus on the counting of certain words and/or images that would fit with a certain code. Rather, the conducted content analysis will be qualitative, not single words will be highlighted, but when needed whole parts of a certain text, that resemble the meaning of an idea (Minichiello et al., 1990). This way, it will allow the researcher to gain insight into the case, and to be able to draw conclusions from the recruitment website. The fact that one case is analysed so thoroughly gives strength to the research and its findings. A possible weakness to this method is the fact that only one person is assigning the codes to the data found on the recruitment website. This can have negative effects on the internal validity of the research. Human coders are known to be subject to fatigue and usually make more mistakes as the coding proceeds (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). This means coding can become less consistent, and many coders change their view regarding the categories and the coding rules over time, albeit only slightly (ibid.). Part of this problem can be resolved by creating a structured coding scheme, so that it is more clear what codes should be assigned to certain

images or parts of texts. The consistency of the coding and therefore the reliability of the research and its results could furthermore be improved by increasing the number of coders. Due to limited resources this is however not possible in this research.

Now that it is established what methods will be applied, it needs to be established what parts of the recruitment website are of interest. A detailed explanation for the selected case will be given in the next paragraph. The focus here will be on what is interesting in general, based on the existing literature. A first finding is that it is important to look at testimonials of employees. This is found by Kroustalis and Meade (2007) in their research to the Person-Job fit and recruitment websites. They found that on websites testimonials can contain culture specific cues. Since the aim is to find the culture of the military through the recruitment website, it would thus be useful to analyse testimonials, if they are available. In the same research, Kroustalis and Meade (2007) found that pictures can contain culture specific cues. Braddy et al. (2006) did research to specific cultural aspects organizations can have, such as diversity, aggressiveness and team-orientation. They also found the importance of pictures for almost every category they did research to. Furthermore they found that for some categories, testimonials were very important. For instance, regarding the outcome-orientation, it was found that employee testimonials were an important factor for visitors of the website to perceive an organization as having an competitive culture.

When following these findings it will be crucial to analyse both testimonials as well as pictures in order to try and create an perception of the (expressed) military culture. The next paragraph will focus on the selected case of the Dutch armed forces and its recruitment website. A more specific explanation of how the content analysis will be conducted will be given there.

3.2 Case Selection: The Dutch Army

In order to determine culture in the way that is described in the previous paragraph, a case is selected. The case that will be used in this paper is that of the Dutch armed forces. In this section the Dutch military will be discussed and it will be explained why this case was picked.

Although many of the literature that is being used throughout this paper is on other countries, other organizations and/or militaries of other countries, that is not necessarily a problem in applying them to the case of the Dutch military. All of the articles are conducted in Western, democratic countries. It is therefore argued that the theories and arguments given in these articles are applicable to the Netherlands. They are especially applicable for articles

on the military, since many authors made the claim that all Western militaries are culturally more or less similar.

What makes the case of the Netherlands interesting is that The Netherlands are among the highest scoring countries regarding gender equality. In the Gender Equality Index (GDI) of the United Nations, the country possesses the tenth place (United Nations Development Programme, 2018). But, besides scoring high on equal rights, it is also the number of women with an occupation that is relatively high. In 2018 roughly 68 percent of the women between the ages of 15 and 75 had a paid job. In comparison, for men this number is 73 percent (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2019). So the argument can be made that of the Dutch women a lot of them are willing to work. Looking at women in the armed forces of The Netherlands it is clear that there are not many women who have occupations in the military. Numbers of the whole military organization, including civilians, show that of the military organization 14.5 percent of the employees is a woman. Numbers differ when looking solely at the military side of the organization. In 2018, there were 39.839 people working for the Dutch armed forces. Only 3.312 of them were women, which means that only 8.3 percent of the military is female (Ministerie van Defensie, 2018). Women are thus only a small portion of the Dutch armed forces, but looking at numbers from previous years as well it is an increasing amount (*ibid.*). This makes the case interesting regarding the thesis of feminization of the armed forces. If it is true that an increased amount of women in the organization lead to feminization, this should be found in the Dutch armed forces as well.

It is still the case that most of the employees are male within the Dutch armed forces. And the main task still is to defend the country of The Netherlands and its interests, using force when needed. These are two aspects that Brown (2007) found to be present within cults of masculinity. Therefore, the case of the Netherlands is interesting because the cult of masculinity could be present according to the theories, but feminization could be present as well.

In the theoretical framework section it was also argued that there might be a need for more women and that this should be visible on the recruitment website as well. It seems that at least some high officers as well as the minister are well aware of this need of increased diversity and more women, given their statements regarding this topic in the media (Van Bijleveld 2019; Bauer, 2019). This case makes it thus interesting to see if this will be visible on the recruitment website as well.

An additional factor that makes the Netherlands a suitable case is the fact that the Dutch economy has been growing over the past few years (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek,

n.d.). In the theoretical framework is established that this might give an extra incentive for the military to try and recruit more women (Kümmel, 2002). Another fact that makes the Netherlands an interesting case is the fact that it is a very technologically advanced country, with a technologically advanced military as well. For instance, this is shown by the fact that the armed forces use drones (Ministerie van Defensie, n.d.). Looking back at the authors who theorize about the feminization of war and/or the military, it will be interesting to see if this becomes visible already in the recruitment of the Dutch armed forces.

3.3 Data Source: Recruitment Website

The Dutch armed forces have a website that is specifically aimed at recruiting. This is the website www.werkenbijdefensie.nl. It is this website that will be analysed in this research. Due to limitations in time, resources and the available number of coders (only one), not the whole website will be analysed, but sections will be selected that are deemed important. The selection of pages of the website that will be used shall be explained here.

The first section that will be analysed is that of the pages that contain the testimonials of employees ². On this page testimonials of seventeen different employees of the military can be found. Fourteen of these will be used, since three of them differ too much from the others. These three are descriptions of a specific mission, whereas the other fourteen are testimonials based on the complete military careers and experiences of the subjects. As has been pointed out by Kroustalis and Meade (2007), testimonials can be very important in determining the organizational culture. These testimonials and the images that are attached to them will therefore be examined, and the codes (which can be found in paragraph 3.3) will be assigned to them. This can give clear cues to whether there are feminine traits to be found in the organizational culture, or if they are masculine.

The second page that will be focussed on is the page on which the vacancies can be found ³. Applying the filter that this page offers, three types of '*interessegebieden*' (fields of interest) will be selected, and three vacancies at every first page will be analysed. Such a page consists of 10 vacancies, and the order in which they appear is random. Since the (required) level of prior education and age are no variables in this research, vacancies will not be selected on those variables. It can therefore be the case that for certain of the analysed categories more vacancies that require higher or lower prior education can appear in the

² <https://www2.werkenbijdefensie.nl/verhalen>

³ <https://werkenbijdefensie.nl/vacatures/militaire-vacatures>

results. This should not matter for the results, since the level of education should not matter for the organizational culture. Based on the stereotypes regarding gender and preferred occupation (Nuciari, 2018; Woodward and Duncanson, 2016) , and thus arguably masculinity and femininity the three selected fields of interest will be that of ‘*Gevechtsfuncties*’ (Combat functions), ‘*Verzorging, gezondheid en geneeskunde*’ (Care, health and medicine) and ‘*Facilitair, sport en overig*’ (Facilities, sport and others). For all nine vacancies the images and the texts will be analysed using the coding scheme that will be set up in the next paragraph.

3.4 Coding scheme

As pointed out earlier, a code scheme consisting of codes which are deducted from the used theories will be set up in order to conduct the content analysis. This will be done in this paragraph, and it will be argued why and how certain codes need to be interpreted. It will be explained how in texts and images masculinity and femininity will be measured, in order to say something about the expressed military culture.

The first code that needs to be made measurable is masculinity. In the theoretical framework three authors, Bem (1974), Wellens (2005) and Thomas (2000), were used in order to define what are believed to be masculine characteristics⁴. These are the sub-codes that are an expression of masculinity. Firstly it shall be explained how these sub-codes can be found in images. When one or more persons are shown carrying out physical tasks this will be seen as masculine, since it corresponds with the traits ‘athletic’ and ‘powerful’ as defined by Bem (1974). When images contain people in combat, it will also be counted as masculine, since it corresponds with both ‘willing to take risks’ and ‘aggressive’ of Bem (1974) as well as ‘courage’ of Thomas (2000). Clearly carrying out a task alone corresponds with the characteristics ‘independent’ and ‘individualistic’ of Bem (1974) and Wellens (2005) and is therefore masculine as well. More characteristics have been defined by the three aforementioned authors, but not all of them are deemed possible to be determined through images. For some of these it might be possible to be found in texts. These texts will be searched for these sub-codes as well. When there is talk of physical action, or needed physical capacities it will be regarded as masculine because this corresponds with ‘athletic’ and ‘powerful’ (Bem, 1974). Parts of text regarding combat or dangers of the job are masculine as well (‘willing to take risks’ + ‘aggressive’ + ‘courage’ (Bem, 1974; Thomas, 2000)). Other

⁴ See Table 1 on page 7.

traits that are mentioned in the table will also be part of the masculinity code. Most of them are straightforward. For example, the trait of ambition will be found when in texts one talks about his/hers career path or when future possibilities are discussed. Furthermore it is argued that a masculine organization is ‘focussed on action’ (Brown, 2007), this will therefore also be a sub-code of masculinity. The next chapter will discuss the coding more in depth, and some of the coding process will be discussed.

The second code that needs to be addressed is the code on femininity. The three authors Bem (1974), Thomas (2000) and Wellens (2005) described these characteristics like they did for masculinity as well. They can be found in table 2 in the Theoretical Framework chapter⁵. When looking at the table and what according to them are feminine characteristics it seems that they are harder to code than the masculine characteristics, especially when looking at images. It will still be done, although it will be less clear cut as with coding the masculinity. There might be more discussion over the possible assignment over these codes, but in the empirical chapter some of the coding will be discussed in order to create an overview of how the codes were assigned. Some of the characteristics can be seen easier. For instance, when a group is seen clearly working together it is corresponding with the ‘collectivism’ and possibly ‘collegiality’ as described by Wellens (2005). As mentioned, the other characteristics will also be taken into account, and if they are seen in images it will be seen as feminine. In texts it will be easier to determine whether feminine characteristics are at play. For instance, when there is talk about working together as a group this corresponds with ‘collectivism’ and ‘collegiality’ (Wellens, 2005). When there is talk of improving oneself, or getting to know yourself, it can be seen as ‘self-development’ (ibid.), and thus in accordance with femininity. The same goes when it is mentioned that someone can influence the decisions. This corresponds with ‘participation in decision-making’ (Wellens, 2005). This counts even more when it involves a lower than officer rank, since officers are leaders and decision makers by definition. The other described characteristics are less easy to define by forehand, but if they are found they will be discussed if needed in the empirical chapter.

⁵ Table 2 can be found on page 9.

4. Case Analysis

This chapter will focus on the results of the analysis that has been conducted. In the first paragraph the first overall results of the analysis that has been done will be presented. The second paragraph will go deeper into the process of coding. Some exemplary examples of found sub-codes will be given, as well as some that were more surprising. The coding process will be discussed here as well. Some additional findings that were interesting but were not part of the codes as they were shall be presented here too. Finally, the three hypotheses will be either falsified or accepted, followed by a discussion of the found results.

4.1 The Results at First Glance

At first sight it seems that the military is still a very masculine organization. All the pages that have been researched showed more masculine characteristics than feminine characteristics. Analysing the testimonials made it clear that it did not matter whether someone was male or female. For all but three (out of 14) texts of the analysed testimonials more masculine sub-codes were found than there were feminine sub-codes. For three testimonials there were more feminine sub-codes found in the images that were added to the testimonials. This gives more reason to assume that the military culture is indeed more masculine. This would mean that the authors Dunivin (1994), Brown (2007), Keats (2010) and Soeters (2018) are indeed right in maintaining the thought that the military is an masculine organization. On the other hand there were several other authors who argued that a feminization of the army is taking place (Kaldor, 1999; Van Creveld, 2000; DeGroot 2001; Titunik, 2008). Several feminine sub-codes were found as well, so an argument can be made that there is some feminization taking place within the military. This point is debatable however and it will be shown why in the next paragraph, where the coding process shall be explained in detail.

4.2.1 A Detailed overview of the Results

In this part I will present the results in more detail. This will be done by using certain examples in which it is either very clear that one or more sub-codes are present or the exact opposite, a text or image where it is debatable what kind of code should be given. This will eventually lead to a first conclusion regarding the findings. The first two hypotheses will be discussed together since in both hypotheses it is expected that the military will show signs of

feminization. This will be followed by a discussion of the results regarding gender stereotypes in the different kind of jobs, the subject of the third hypothesis.

4.2.2 Military Culture in Employee Testimonials

In the theoretical framework it has been argued that culture will always be visible in the image an organization displays. This was based on the Organizational Identity Dynamics Model of Hatch and Schultz (2002, 2004). The choice was made to conduct a content analysis of the military recruitment website of the Dutch armed forces. Images as well as texts have been analysed on the pages containing either testimonials or vacancies. The pages containing testimonials will be discussed here.

The fourteen analysed testimonials give reason to think that the military culture is predominantly masculine, although feminine sub-codes were also found. Below, in table 3 the total amount of times a masculine or feminine sub-code was found in either images or texts can be found.

Table 3. Amount of times masculine or feminine sub-codes were found in testimonials

	Texts	Images	Total
Masculine	97	69	166
Feminine	56	32	88

It can be seen that in both text and image masculine sub-codes were found far more often. In almost every testimonial, more masculine sub-codes were found than feminine sub-codes. Focusing on the texts of the testimonials it was however the case that certain parts corresponded with feminine and masculine sub-codes at the same time. This is not problematic per se, since this only increases the total amount of sub-codes found while the masculine/feminine ratio is not affected. This does need some explanation, since it seems odd that something can be masculine and feminine at the same time. Therefore some examples will be given, in order to clarify this duality.

The problem with the overlap stems from the way the sub-codes ambition (masculine) and self-development (feminine) were interpreted. Sometimes texts talked about the possibilities to educate yourself further within your job. This could be ambitious, because it gives a way to make yourself better and give better chances of promotion in the future. It can however also be seen as self-development, for partly the same reasons as with the sub-code

ambition. Education and training make it possible to improve and gain extra skills, therefore they enable self-development. This will be demonstrated with some examples picked from the testimonial pages.

A clear example can be found in the testimonial of Daan, who states the following: *“Bij Defensie krijg ik veel ruimte om mezelf te ontwikkelen. Zo heb ik niet alleen op kosten van Defensie mijn vrachtwagenrijbewijs en bhv-certificaat gehaald, maar ben ik nu ook bezig met een MBO 2-opleiding Primaire timmerkracht. Nog een paar maanden doorleren en dan heb ik mijn diploma op zak”*⁶. In this quote Daan tells us that the military gives him many opportunities to expand his skills and knowledge in several ways, and that he is taking advantage of that. This hints at two things, on the one hand it shows that structure is there to improve/develop yourself, as well as the fact that people are willing to do this. This corresponds with the feminine sub-code of self-development. On the other hand, this same willingness of developing oneself is also showing ambition, which is obviously corresponding with the masculine sub-code of ambition. In more testimonials, of Anke, Job and Renaldo, this was found. The problem is, that for this kind of self-development a certain kind of ambition is needed to take the step and follow additional training. This can be a possible reason why this was found in multiple testimonials.

Some sub-codes were barely recognized on the pages containing the testimonials. For masculinity these are ‘analytic’, ‘dominant’, ‘competitive’, ‘importance of hierarchy’, ‘rationality’ and ‘emotional control’. All of these did appear at least ones, but it was very clear that they were less present in the testimonials. One could then argue that these values are not important within the military. And for some a case can indeed be made. For instance the sub-code ‘competitive’ was given once when coding the testimonial of Thom. The image to which this sub-code was given can be found below, in Image 1. In this picture it is clear that he is taking part in some sort of competition. Therefore, the sub-code ‘competitive’ is appropriate. On the same time however, two feminine sub-codes can also be applied to this picture: ‘collectivism’ and ‘collegiality’. The colleagues of Thom are clearly encouraging him to make him get the best possible result. The image is however mostly masculine, since two other masculine sub-codes are seen here as well. His activity in the photograph is both ‘athletic’ and ‘powerful’ at the same time. The fact that that only one testimonial contained the sub-code ‘competitive’ gives reason to believe that there is no competitive culture within the Dutch military.

⁶ <https://www2.werkenbijdefensie.nl/verhalen/daan>.

Image 1. Competitive collegiality



Source: <https://www2.werkenbijdefensie.nl/verhalen/thom>

What is striking was the fact that in almost every testimonial the feminine sub-codes of collegiality and/or collectivity were found. The only exception to this were Kevin and Job, where there were no signs of the importance of these sub-codes. For the other twelve testimonials the sub-codes appeared in many different ways, either in text or in images (such as image 1, above this text). In the text the sub-codes were sometimes more explicit than in others. In the testimonial of Kim⁷ for instance, she mentions her team and the importance of them working together two separate times. *“Mijn team en ik zijn vooral verantwoordelijk voor missie-ondersteunende systemen, zoals onbemande vliegtuigen, communicatieapparatuur of het Patriot-luchtverdedigingssysteem”* and *“Je moet je bewust zijn van je rol binnen de keten en hebt anderen nodig om alle eindjes aan elkaar te knopen en een goed resultaat te bereiken. Dat vraagt natuurlijk om een stevig staaltje teamwork”*. In these quotes she explains the importance of the team (‘collective’) to work together and get results together (‘collegiality’). Important to note here is that it is not dependent on the rank whether these sub-codes were present. Kim is for instance an Officer, but collectivism and collegiality are also found at Maurits⁸ who is an Able seaman (Matroos in Dutch): *“De sfeer onderling is ook prettig; je leert elkaar goed kennen in krappe ruimtes”*, meaning that the atmosphere among each other is good and that you get to know each other well. He adds: *“Dat betekent dat we voor 100% op elkaar moeten kunnen bouwen”*, meaning that they should be able to rely on each other for 100 percent. The fact that this has been found in almost every testimonial, regardless of rank or even gender makes it clear that in the case of the Dutch military, a culture of collectivism and collegiality is present. That would mean at least some femininity would be present in the culture of the Dutch military.

⁷ <https://www2.werkenbijdefensie.nl/verhalen/kim>.

⁸ <https://www2.werkenbijdefensie.nl/verhalen/maurits>.

Of the feminine sub-codes some were never found in any of the testimonials. These sub-codes were 'shy', 'modesty' and understanding. All other sub-codes besides collegiality and collectivity were present in some testimonials but not as often to perceive them to be a characteristic of the military culture. As the numbers of the amount of times feminine or masculine sub-codes appeared suggest (see table 3) this is different for the masculine sub-codes. The 'high pressure to perform' was mentioned in various testimonials and appeared to be a key characteristic, regardless of rank or occupation. Furthermore 'courage' and 'willing to take risks' were sub-codes that appeared in almost every testimonial, and in some testimonials these sub-codes were found multiple times.

What can be concluded based on the testimonials is that more masculine cultural traits are put to the fore by the members of the military. One might therefore state that the military culture, based on testimonials, is mostly masculine. As has been pointed out however is that that there are two feminine traits that were found many times, 'collegiality' and 'collectivism'. This gives reason to believe that there is some femininity incorporated in the culture of the Dutch armed forces. The next paragraph will focus on the analysed vacancies of the Dutch armed forces. It will be interesting to see if other traits are more visible or appear more often.

4.2.3 Military Culture in Vacancies

In this paragraph the analysis of the vacancies of the military will be discussed. The vacancies will also help to determine the military culture, and to see whether there is a difference between the different types of occupation within the military, as has been hypothesised. Recall that three different types of occupations were selected, based on Woodward and Duncanson (2016) and Nuciari (2018). These three types are 'combat functions', 'care, health and medicine' and 'facilities, sport and other'. For each of these three types, three vacancies were analysed.

At first, there does not seem to be much of a difference between the vacancies and the testimonials. As can be seen in table 4 below, masculine sub-codes were given almost twice as many times as feminine sub-codes. This is the same as has been found within the testimonials, so overall there is difference between the two. This would mean that the military culture as displayed in the testimonials, is the same as in the vacancies, a mostly masculine culture with some feminine traits incorporated.

Table 4. Total amount of times masculine or feminine sub-codes were found within vacancies

	Texts	Images	Total
Masculine	41	8	49
Feminine	14	7	21

It is therefore interesting to take a look if there is a difference in the aspects that get highlighted, and if the hypothesized difference between the three occupational types exists or not. Therefore these three types will be analysed separately in the following part.

The first occupational type, will be that of the ‘combat functions’. Three vacancies have been analysed, and the results are shown in table 5.

Table 5. Amount of times masculine or feminine sub-codes were found within 'combat functions'

	Texts	Images	Total
Masculine	17	3	18
Feminine	5	1	7

It is clear that most of the found sub-codes were masculine. More than 60 percent of the assigned sub-codes were masculine. This means that the expressed culture in the combat functions seems to be more masculine than in the testimonials. The feminine sub-codes of ‘collectivism’ and ‘collegiality’ are present here as well, since these were encountered four times, out of a total of six feminine sub-codes. In the three analysed vacancies, some sub-codes were apparent in all three. For instance the ‘focus on action’ sub-code. In the vacancy ‘soldaat genie luchtmobiel (combat support)’⁹ the whole text was full with references of military actions that are part of the job. A good example can be found in the introduction: “*Je vliegt mee met helikopters, je springt met een parachute uit vliegtuigen en je loopt lange afstanden met zware bepakking*”. Which talks about flying helicopters, parachuting out of planes and walking long distances with heavy package. There is a clear focus on action here, combined with other sub-codes: ‘athletic’, ‘courage’ and ‘powerful’ are all present in this sentence.

Furthermore it is worth noting that the ‘willing to take risks’ sub-code was found in more ways than in describing the function specific tasks. For all three vacancies this specific sub-code appeared in the mention that as a soldier you should be willing to go on a mission,

⁹ <https://werkenbijdefensie.nl/vacatures/militaire-vacatures/soldaat-genie-luchtmobiel-combat-support-e194#0>.

and that going away for training is part of the job. The sub-codes ‘courage’ and ‘willing to take risks’ are present in the missions. For both training and missions the sub-code ‘spends a lot of time on work’ is also found. These are all masculine sub-codes, and it can be argued that the sub-code of ‘spend a lot of time on work’ goes directly against the feminine sub-code ‘balanced work-private life’. This would mean that for the combat functions, the culture is mainly masculine, with the addition of the feminine traits of ‘collectivism’ and ‘collegiality’.

The second category of vacancies that is analysed is ‘care, health and medicine’. The expectation here is that because more women are present in these kind of jobs, more feminine characteristics will be found. Looking at table 6, that can be found below, it is clear that this is not the case.

Table 6. Amount of times masculine or feminine sub-codes were found within 'care, health and medicine'

	Texts	Images	Total
Masculine	18	0	18
Feminine	5	4	9

While there are slightly more feminine characteristics found within these vacancies than in the ‘combat functions’ it is not enough to consider these types of jobs immediately as more feminized. In fact, one of the three vacancies (*‘officier operatieassistent’*¹⁰) was considered as having not one feminine sub-code present. These findings are surprising, since it was expected to find more feminization within this category. But, the overall painted picture of the culture is the same as in the previous category and the testimonials. Different from the ‘combat functions’ is that there is less ‘focus on action’ present. What was striking, is that in all of the pictures that were present on these pages, one or more females were present. Furthermore did the job-profile contain a specific heading for women regarding body length, this was not the case at the ‘combat functions’. This made no difference for the coding, since simply seeing a women in a picture makes no difference for seeing masculinity of femininity. It can however make a difference in perception for the visitors of the recruitment website, but this is something that should be looked at in a different study.

The last category of vacancies that is analysed is the category that was deemed most in line with the jobs regarding administration. This category is the category of ‘facilities, sports and others’ This is also a job category in which, as Woodward and Duncanson (2016) pointed

¹⁰ <https://werkenbijdefensie.nl/vacatures/militaire-vacatures/officier-operatieassistent-e5165>.

out, more women tend to work. The expectation was therefore that within this category more feminization would be found. For the coding results of this occupational category, a table has been set up as well. This table, table 8, can be found below.

Table 7. Amount of times masculine or feminine sub-codes were found within facilities, sports and others'

	Texts	Images	Total
Masculine	6	2	8
Feminine	5	1	6

This category clearly shows different results as compared to the other two job categories and the analysed testimonials. There is not so much more femininity present in these jobs, in fact less sub-codes for femininity appeared than it did in the 'combat-functions' category. What is however very interesting is the fact that there seems to be a less masculine culture in this kind of occupations. There is some talk of some masculine sub-codes, but not one sub-code appeared in more than one analysed vacancy. This gives reason to assume that these traits are not present within this specific type of job, at least not consistently. To say that this is feminized is however hard to argue, given the fact that there are less feminine sub-codes found as well. The ratio of masculine/feminine is however lower, so one could argue that is seems more feminine. I would argue that these types of jobs are not more feminized but are less masculine when compared to the other types that have been analysed. For this category it was also true that within the job profile, women got a specific mention regarding body length.

4.2.4 Explorative Findings

While not being a part of the scope of the research, and therefore not incorporated within the results, some things I encountered while coding the specific pages struck me as being interesting. Before concluding on the analysis and the implications for the hypotheses, I will therefore briefly discuss them here. They are well worth mentioning and are possibly interesting for follow-up research.

The first one is in the testimonials of Anke¹¹ and Daphne¹². In her testimonial Anke mentions that for a long period of time, she has been only one of the few women. And she felt

¹¹ <https://www2.werkenbijdefensie.nl/verhalen/anke>.

like she had to prove herself extra hard. She also notes that a change is happening, and that slowly but surely, more women are entering the work floor. The fact that she felt she had to prove herself extra hard, might hint to the fact that she felt an extra pressure because of all her colleagues being males with a ditto (masculine) culture. This would need more exploration however, as one can only guess of the reasons why people feel a certain way. The fact that females are accepted within the military is underlined by Daphne. She works at the infantry and states: *“al is de infanterie wel echt een mannenonderdeel. Maar ook hier kan ik gewoon mezelf zijn, vrouw zijn”*. In this quote she mentions the fact that it is a part of the army that it is a *men’s world*, but that at the same time she can be herself, be a woman. She seems to imply here that women do differ in character from men, but that this is no problem. If this is indeed the case, it might show in the military culture in the future, if there are more women present within the military ranks.

A second finding has been touched upon briefly in the analysis, but is worth highlighting separately. In the occupational categories that have been analyzed, the pictures on the pages regarding ‘care, health and medicine’ were showing women in almost every image that contained persons. This was a big contrast with the pictures in the ‘combat functions’ page, on which no women were to be found in pictures. This could be due to the fact that there are simply more women present in these occupations. The perceived Person-Job fit and Person-Organization fit of women might be decreased by this fact, since they will not be able to see someone similar to themselves.

A last finding underlines the theorized need of the military to recruit more women. On the recruitment website, a specific page was found solely aimed at women and specific questions they might have. These questions differed from asking what kind of occupation they can fulfil (all, except on submarines), to the question if it is allowed to wear make up on the job (yes, but it can be difficult). The fact that such a page exists highlights the need the military has to attract women. It might also prove the point that the military itself is aware of the possible obstacles women see regarding possibilities and/or culture when thinking about working for the military.

¹² <https://www2.werkenbijdefensie.nl/verhalen/daphne>.

4.2.5 Conclusion of the Results

This paragraph will focus on the implications of the findings for the hypotheses as set up in the theoretical framework. For every hypothesis a small recap will be given on how it was set-up. Then the implications of the findings of the content analysis for the hypotheses will be given.

The first hypothesis followed the research regarding military culture. In this section it was argued that it was always theorized that the military had a masculine culture. In more recent literature, some authors claimed that the military and the military culture is feminizing. This led to the following hypothesis:

H1. The organizational culture of the armed forces will show signs of feminization.

The findings of the analysis only give the impression of feminized culture within the military. With the exception of one occupational category, masculinity is far more expressed. In total almost half as much expression of masculine sub-codes were to be found in comparison to feminine sub-codes. For masculine sub-codes there was more of a pattern visible and the same sub-codes were given many times, sometimes even multiple times on one page. For the feminine sub-codes on the other hand, such a pattern was less obvious, besides for the ‘collectivism’ and ‘collegiality’ sub-codes. Femininity is thus in some way apparent within the military culture, but not as clear as some masculine cultural traits are. Still, one third of all the found traits in the testimonials and vacancies are feminine. So it can be argued that feminization is indeed happening within the military. The hypothesis can therefore be accepted for now. More research will be needed into this, but the findings here quite clearly indicate the fact that femininity is part of the culture. There might be less of a pattern of the same traits being present more times, but the fact that one can express him/herself in a feminine way can arguably also be part of feminization. One could even go so far and argue that the fact that people can express feminine traits is feminine behaviour corresponding with Bem’s categories of: ‘understanding’ and ‘sensitive towards others’ (1981) Therefore, hypothesis one will be accepted.

In the second hypothesis it was also hypothesized that feminization would be visible in the military culture, although for other reasons than the reasons in the first hypothesis. The second hypothesis based itself on the Person-Organization fit, combined with the theorized need to attract more women to the armed forces. This combination of factors gave reason to assume that the military would show more feminine traits in its culture. The hypothesis was as follows:

H2. The culture of the military will reflect the need to recruit more women by showing signs of feminization in the image of the organization.

The same argumentation can be followed here as was done for hypothesis 1. It seems that there are signs of feminization. In addition, it was argued in some analysed testimonials that women felt that they could be themselves and fit in. However, this last part does not mean that the culture is getting feminized. As was mentioned in the theoretical framework, gender is not one on one applicable to the masculine/feminine categories (Belkin, 2012). As for the hypothesis, it is true that the military is trying to recruit more women. This point has been proven by both commentary on this subject by the minister and high officers, as well as the finding of a page on the recruitment website specifically aimed at women. There is feminization visible, as has been pointed out at the first hypothesis. Therefore, this hypothesis is partly true. Feminization is found, but it could not be determined whether this had anything to do with the need to recruit more women.

The third and last hypothesis was based on the Person-Job fit and the distribution of women within the military organization. Women tend to work more in administrative and nursing-like jobs, which has been pointed out by Woodward and Duncanson (2016) and Nuciari (2018). The expectation has been raised that, although feminine characteristics are not attached to women per se, in the kind of jobs more women are active more feminization would be visible. The third hypothesis was therefore as follows:

H3. Within the military, jobs regarding nursing or administration will show more signs of feminization as opposed to more fighting oriented jobs.

As the analysis showed, this hypothesis is false. In both job categories where more women have an occupation, not more feminine characteristics were found. It can therefore not be proven that more feminization is taking place in these job categories. What was striking however is that in the category regarding administrative jobs less masculine traits were found. One could argue that this might also be an effect of feminization, but in this paper feminization was argued to increase the amount of feminine cultural traits. Since this was the case in neither of these categories it cannot be said that there is more feminization within these said categories.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The main goal of this paper was to determine whether the culture of the military is masculine or if it is undergoing feminization. In order to research this, a theoretical framework was set up. This framework built on theories derived from many different fields, such as political science, psychology and sociology. Based on the Organizational Identity Dynamics Model by Hatch and Schultz (2004) it was argued that organizational culture should be visible in the image an organization presents to the outside world. It was then shown that a discrepancy exists within the literature regarding military culture. Some argue that it is masculine. Dunivin and his combat, masculine-warrior (CMW) paradigm was highlighted as being still applicable to the military, as there were other authors who have written about the military culture in a similar fashion. Following Titunik (2008), Van Creveld (2000) and others, it became clear that some argue the military to become more feminized. They argued that, because of an increase in women within the armed forces and the change in the ways wars are fought, the military culture is feminizing. Based on this information it was hypothesised that feminization would be found in the armed forces.

Two more hypotheses were set up, based on the Person-Organization fit and the Person-Job fit. These fits, combined with the need for more women to be recruited within the armed forces feminization was also hypothesised here. Hypothesis two, based on the P-O fit, argued that the need for more women would lead to signs of feminization in the image of the military. Hypothesis three was based on the P-J fit, combined with knowledge of Woodward and Duncanson (2016) and Nuciari (2018) on the distribution of women over the different job types. It was argued that in job types where more women are present, more feminine characteristics would be expressed.

In order to research these hypotheses, a case study was conducted. In this study, the recruitment website of the Dutch armed forces was analysed. Fourteen testimonials and nine vacancies were picked from these pages. The content of these pages was coded based on a coding scheme that was based on masculine/feminine typologies of Bem (1974), Thomas (2000) and Wellens (2005). In the end, the first two hypotheses were accepted, while the third was rejected. Signs of feminization were found in both the testimonials and the analysed vacancies. But, there was not an increase in the amount of feminine characteristics in typically feminine jobs. With the found results, the main research question of this paper can be answered. The question, which was based on the CMW paradigm of Dunivin, was as follows:

Is the Combat, Masculine Warrior paradigm of Dunivin still applicable, or is the military culture becoming more feminized?

Based on the information gathered here, the question can be answered in favour of the latter. The CMW paradigm is not applicable anymore on the armed forces of today. The case of the Dutch military did indeed show that a large part of the culture is still masculine, it also showed that femininity is present. This means that the paradigm of Dunivin (1994) is not completely true anymore, and that it is very likely that feminization is taking place within the armed forces.

The results of this research are important for various reasons. Feminization of the military is still a relatively new subject with regards to the military. Many still see the military as purely masculine. This research is therefore a good addition to the existing literature, since it has been found that femininity is part of the military culture. Another addition that this research makes in the existing literature, is in the way that theories from different fields of interest are combined, boosting the scientific relevance. The findings can also have relevance for society. The recruitment website clearly showed feminine traits, but it was also clear that the culture still comes across as very masculine. If the military indeed wants to attract more women, they might need to change their recruitment strategy. They can achieve this goal by either showing less masculinity or more femininity. Furthermore, it was found that the military does display women in a stereotypical way in some vacancies. This might keep the imbalance in the distribution of women intact, because they might perceive less of a fit with non-stereotypical jobs, or the organization as a whole.

Important regarding the research design is that the coding process was done by one person only. As mentioned in the methods chapter this does have implications for the reliability of the coding. During this process it became clear however that the codes that were used were suited for the purpose, but that it was hard to define codes alone. Since there were no other coders, it might be that at some points during the research, codes were attributed, when they should not have been assigned. It might also be possible that coding opportunities were missed, while they should have been assigned. This might influence the validity of the research. Nevertheless, given the big difference between the amount of feminine and masculine traits, it is unlikely that the direction in which this results clearly point would be any differently with more coders.

This research gives reason for follow-up research and is a good starting point to do so. A couple possible researches will be discussed now. For a starters, feminization is an ongoing

process, and this research is a snapshot of reality. Therefore it might be interesting to take a look with a more longitudinal view. Two possible options to do so are asking the current employees how things have changed over the course of time, and tracking the recruitment website over a longer period of time, to see whether things change or not.

Another interesting thing to look at is how the feminization on the recruitment website of the military compares to possible feminization on the recruitment websites of other, more regular, businesses, or how it compares to the feminization on the recruitment websites of militaries of non-western countries.

For now, it is concluded that even though the military is feminizing, it is still very masculine. But since some feminine traits are very visible, one might call the military a masculine collective.

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