"*In Some Situations You Have to Bang Your Head into the Wall in Order to Get Respected*"

A Qualitative Study of Female Cadets' Experiences whilst Studying at the Swedish Military Academy and Serving in the Swedish Armed Forces

*By Irja Malmio, Stéphanie Björklund,
Johan Österberg & Sofia Svénsen*

In 1980 it became possible for Swedish women to apply to the Armed Forces. While its purpose was first and foremost to widen the recruitment base, this move was also partly a response to a changing societal environment in the Cold War's final decades, which called for a greater emphasis on diversity.[1] However, despite the fact that Sweden is one of the most gender-equal countries in the world, the number of women serving in combat positions in the Swedish military still remains low, and they are also markedly underrepresented higher up in the hierarchy.[2] Ever since women started to enrol in the armed services, there has been a growing awareness that there is a problem with female representation, and several attempts have been made to increase their numbers. In recent years, the Swedish Armed Forces (Saf) have undergone a profound transformation in that regard, in large part implemented as a response to Resolution 1325 passed by the UN Security Council in 2000. The conversion to this new framework was also an echo of larger changes in a world where new technology was leading to complete renewals in many areas, and where the military's main focus lay on peacekeeping operations rather than on operational combat skills.[3]

In order to respond to these developments, it has become a necessity not only to recruit more women to the services but also to increase the number of females in leading positions. However, despite the firm political consensus and outspoken determination at higher command levels to focus on these matters, this ambition has not been realized.[4] In fact, as of 2015 only 5% of all Saf officers were women, with 10-12% found in other military positions.[5] Making things worse is the fact (reported in the Swedish Armed Forces annual reports since 2016) that, while a large number of officers are expected to retire in the next fifteen years, the volume of candidates for the Officers' Programme is well below what is needed to meet future force level requirements.[6]

---

[1] Carreiras, 2006 ; Österberg *et al*., 2017.

[2] Swedish Armed Forces [SAF], 2015 ; Alvinius, Krekula & Larsson, 2016 ; Österberg *et al*., 2017.

[3] Egnell, Hojem & Berts, 2014.

[4] SAF, 2015.

[5] SAF, 2015 ; Österberg *et al*., 2017.

[6] SAF, 2016.

Since 2008 the Swedish Officers' Programme has been conducted by the Swedish Defence University as a three-year (180-ECTS credit) degree-granting education programme, mostly delivered at the Military Academy Karlberg. In order to be admitted to the programme applicants first have to undergo basic military training.[7] The number of slots available to applicants has fluctuated between 100 and 150 over the last few years, and it has been a great challenge to fill those slots with candidates possessing the right qualifications.[8]

In 2014 the Swedish Defence University conducted a longitudinal study whose main purpose was to follow cadets during their training in order to study their motivation and commitment, but also to see how well prepared those individuals were to pursue a professional career within the Swedish Armed Forces after graduation. According to this study, the motivation of female cadets significantly decreases, compared to their male counterparts, in the second year of the programme.[9]

Women in the Swedish Armed Forces

The military is all too apparently a highly hierarchical and traditional organization with a clear differentiation of decision-making levels,[10] and a distinct masculine connotation. Characterized by a stereotypical allocation of labour, it can be said to be one of the most highly gendered organizations[11] : historically, the military has been staffed by men and women's access has been greatly limited.[12] Men in the military still enjoy a clear numerical advantage and their dominance is even further accentuated in the upper echelons.[13] In spite of this skewed distribution, however, it took quite some time before gender research showed an interest in military matters. This can partly be explained by the fact that feminist theory was initially closely connected with the peace movement which viewed the armed forces as a masculine construction, men as aggressive perpetuators and women as peaceful victims of the traditional patriarchal order.[14]

Since the beginning of the last century, women have to a more or less extensive degree been employed on various tasks in the military. From the start, they were deployed in different volunteer organizations where their main function was to relieve the men from less demanding assignments, so that they could focus on the more serious military matters. However, the demand for more manpower in the midst of the Cold War opened up discussions as to whether women should be enrolled in the armed forces. In 1980, these discussions eventually led to restricted opportunities for women to function as soldiers, before all obstacles were finally removed in 1989.[15] Gender-neutral volunteer service

---

[7] Swedish Defence University, webpage 2017.

[8] SAF, 2016 ; Jonsson & Österberg, 2017.

[9] Jonsson & Österberg, 2017 ; Österberg *et al*., 2017.

[10] Wong, Bliese & McGurk, 2003.

[11] Carreiras, 2006.

[12] Goldstein, 2001 ; SAF, 2015.

[13] Berggren, 2002 ; Alvinius, Krekula & Larsson, 2016.

[14] Goldstein, 2001 ; Berggren, 2002 ; Carreiras, 2006.

[15] Berggren, 2002; Sundevall, 2011; Österberg *et al*. 2017.

under arms was instituted in 2011, and it was not until 2017 that a general conscription law applying to both men and women alike came into force.[16]

Women in the Swedish Armed Forces are mostly represented in the lower ranks and are vastly outnumbered higher up in the hierarchy. Another characteristic is that most female military personnel serve in the Air Force, where for the main part they occupy support functions.[17] Berggren contends that the recruiting process represents a problem in itself. Beside a "glass ceiling" for women who want to climb the corporate ladder, there is also a "glass corridor" where, through various recruiting processes, women are allocated to occupations of less importance, with their careers moving in only one direction.[18] Some researchers have pointed out another reason for the low representation of women in the military, namely, that the organization itself is "greedy". A greedy organization demands 24-hour availability for service from its members, which makes it challenging for women to fit in since they generally take on more direct responsibility than men for family care and social activities outside of service hours.[19]

From 2015 onwards, the SAF's gender equality plan has followed a two-pronged approach : implementing UN Resolution 1325 on female participation in peacekeeping operations, and gender mainstreaming at national level. One of the reasons cited in this plan to justify the need for action was that achieving gender equality, in spite of its firm political and legal anchorage, is not seen by some defence employees as a vital part of their role and is thus not prioritized.[20]

Motivation and Performance

Motivation is connected to expectations and aspirations, and acts as the driving force behind goal-oriented behaviour. Motivation is higher when, in spite of high demands, the individual's perception of it is that the goal is achievable and will be rewarded with positive feedback and other benefits.[21] Motivation can thus be defined as a certain orientation that prompts the individual to behave in a variety of ways in order to achieve a desired goal.[22] The inclination to reach a certain goal is higher when set personally by the individual and when those goals are congruent with motivational drives, defined as aspirations for goals based on either agency-oriented or communal values.[23] Motivational factors can also be described as internal, when individuals try to improve competencies with self-fulfilment or personal satisfaction in mind, or external, when behaviour is driven by economic incentives, the search for power and status, or fear of retribution if the goal

---

[16] Försvarsdepartementet, SOU 2016:63, pp.227-231 ; SAF, 2015.

[17] Berggren, 2002 ; Sundevall, 2011.

[18] Berggren, 2002.

[19] Wong *et al*., 2003 ; Carreiras, 2006 ; Alvinius *et al*., 2016.

[20] Försvarsmakten, 2015.

[21] Armstrong, 2009.

[22] Simanjuntak, 2010.

[23] Diekman & Eagly, 2008.

aspired to is not achieved.[24] Individuals who set their aims themselves are more driven by internal motivation factors, and are more likely to sustain effort, attain the goals and experience positive changes in well-being from goal attainment.[25]

Early studies on motivation and performance revealed that the motivation of women was shaped by their wish to feel likeable and to fit into their social milieu. Men on the other hand were motivated to perform on top of their abilities and to strive for financial success. Women were also described as having a more family-oriented approach, with the well-being of their families set as first priority, while their professional career was not recognized as having the same importance.[26] However, more recent research contradicts this stereotypical assumption by adding more weight to the context where the achievement takes place. Equally important are the individual's expectations of a happy outcome and other people's perceptions of how much that achievement is worth. Expectations of achievements are connected to self-esteem, and due to normative socialization processes women tend to underestimate their ability while men are more likely to overestimate theirs. Other factors that influence women's motivation to perform include social environment and context where any disturbance, from sexual harassment to more subtle forms of discrimination, has a profoundly negative influence.[27]

Diekman and Eagly point out that role congruity is a powerful force that fosters different motivations for men and women as well as different methods of fulfilling aspirations, suggesting that rewards stem from role congruity and punishments from role incongruity.[28] This concept relates to human desires to feel accepted and integrated into one's social environment. The individual is shaped by the environment, and motivation to fulfil expectations from a superior or colleague can push the person to strive for conformity, although sometimes other forms of compensation can be of more importance.[29] Another interesting study by Smith, Lewis, Hawthorne and Hodges on the motivation of women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) found that women not only perceived themselves to be expending more effort than their peers in order to succeed, but also as a result experienced a decreased sense of belonging and motivation, and were less interested in applying for places in male-dominated programmes.[30]

Culture and Social Identity

Culture can be defined as visible and invisible norms and values that pattern human behaviours. A dominant culture can both include and exclude certain groups.[31] By studying where in an organization men and women are being allocated, the understanding can

---

[24] Ahl, 2006 ; Armstrong, 2009 ; Bratton, 2010.

[25] Ryan & Deci, 2000 ; Diekman & Eagly, 2008.

[26] Alper, 1974 ; Farmer, 1976.

[27] Alvesson & Billing, 1997 ; Hyde & Kling, 2001.

[28] Eagly & Karau, 2002 ; Diekman & Eagly, 2008, Eklund *et al.* 2017.

[29] Eagly & Karau, 2002 ; Diekman & Eagly, 2008.

[30] Smith, Lewis, Hawthorne & Hodges, 2013.

[31] Alvesson & Billing, 1997 ; Wahl, 2010.

deepen of how that organization functions and what norms and values it embodies.[32] Discrimination on the basis of gender is often hidden in the cultural climate that permeates the organization as a whole and lies in the very foundation of what that organization really is. Culture can thus be said to relate to mechanisms that shape typical behaviour rather than specifying a given behaviour.[33]

In order for a specific culture to flourish in an organization, it is necessary for its members to identify with that organization. An explicit corporate identity translates into a self-image and is an important aspect of power and control in an organization.[34] Social Identification Theory offers a model that describes how the individual sees her/himself as part of a social group. Social identification involves different categories, consisting of the individual, the distinctiveness of the group, and its perceived prestige; it is also affected by how other prominent groups are regarded in comparison. The process of identification goes hand in hand with activities that reflect social identity and is expressed in stereotypical assumptions based on the individual and his or her relation to others.[35] An organization that is in the public eye and exhibits a pronounced distinctiveness has a greater tendency to provide a specific social identity for its members.[36]

Gender and the Organization

Scientific discourse on gender was originally unconcerned about how gender is created and maintained in work environments, and was more focused instead on the family and its social institutions.[37] Today, however, many researchers agree that the organization, with its hierarchies and functions, constitutes an important building block in how gender is being created and maintained.[38]

Rosabeth Moss Kantner put forward the lineaments of a theory, based on her case study of an American company in the middle of the 1970s, which probed how structure is created in gender-biased companies.[39] One of the most important concepts in her theory deals with the distribution of numbers and its effects : where women are a minority, they are turned into "tokens". This position sees them as representing all women while at the same time posing as the great exception, described by Kantner as the "visibility effect".[40] Their minority status also accentuates perceived differences between men and women, and makes the majority group defensive about its prominent position. In order for women to cope with the minority situation, assimilation of various stereotypes on how women should

[32] Berggren, 2002.

[33] Alvesson & Billing, 1997 ; Alvesson, 2016.

[34] Alvesson, 2016.

[35] Ashforth & Mael, 1989.

[36] Alvesson, 2016.

[37] Carreiras, 2006 ; Wahl 2010 ; Regnö, 2013.

[38] Acker, 1990, Wahl, 2010 ; Holgersson, 2012; Alvesson, 2016.

[39] Kantner, 1977.

[40] Kantner, 1977 ; Carreiras, 2006 ; Wahl 2014.

behave then follows.[41] Kantner was criticized for her supposition that numbers are the only thing that matters, since gender equality according to this principle should be easy to apply if you balance the numbers. In reality however, when the volume of the discriminated group increases the opposite effect has been shown to occur, since the majority group feels threatened and will then actively defend its position.[42] Many researchers also agree that gender is a most significant factor for reasons beyond the imbalance of numbers, since negative consequences only occur when the minority group belongs to a category that has a lower social status than the majority group.[43]

Joan Acker suggests that even in "gender-neutral" organizations, a gender-based division of labour exists which is implicit in the nature of the tasks to be performed. She adds that it is affected by the perceived amount of responsibility assumed by individuals, the complexity of their assigned tasks and their hierarchical status. These silent expectations are crucial for deciding who is to be considered most suitable for a position. Because of the binary demarcation between masculine and feminine qualities applied to different types of work, both work and hierarchy are considered impersonal and gender-neutral even though men and women are treated differently.[44]

Leadership generally implies gender stereotype-based expectations that affect not only who best "fits" the preconceived notion of a leader, but also influence how women view themselves.[45] One such common stereotype on leaders is that women "take care" while men "take charge", a notion which implies that women do not fit the traditional leader image.[46] Women are traditionally associated with communal traits that accentuate a concern for others, whereas men are viewed as rational and exhibit characteristics that emphasize confidence, self-reliance, and dominance.[47] Male subordinates usually maintain stereotyped expectations that female leaders will be considerate and emotionally expressive, while female leaders on the contrary are more governed by the context and situation in which they exercise their leadership.[48] Female leaders often find themselves caught in a double bind where women who exhibit a high degree of empathy are criticized for being deficient as leaders, while more assertive women get blamed for not being female enough.[49]

In order for women to function in a male-dominated service environment, they can adopt different coping strategies. The conformist strategy emphasizes the similarity with those of the majority group, while at the same time distancing themselves from other women and relating to the men instead. Women can also apply a positive strategy which

---

[41] Kantner, 1977 ; Regnö, 2013 ; Wahl 2014.

[42] Carreiras, 2006.

[43] Acker, 1990 ; Carreiras, 2006.

[44] Acker, 1990.

[45] Hoyt & Murphy, 2016.

[46] Wahl 2010 ; Simanjuntak, 2010 ; Holgersson 2012 ; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016 ; Eklund *et al.*, 2017.

[47] Wahl 2010 ; Simantjuk, 2010 ; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016 ; Eklund *et al.*, 2017.

[48] Simantjuk, 2010.

[49] Wahl 2010 ; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016.

accentuates the advantages of belonging to a minority, despite the fact that such positive advantages are the product of a negative system that greatly limits women's possibilities in terms of power and influence.[50]

Masculinity and Homosociality

In the 1980s, Raewyn Connell offered 'hegemonic masculinity' as a theoretical concept, which describes the mechanisms that create masculinity. The concept implies an idealized notion that men relate to and rely on to provide a justification for men's superiority as a group.[51] The hegemonic system is seen as a process contingent upon its historical and cultural setting and requires the approval of other men and women who are not part of it.[52] In his research, Jeff Hearn stressed the strong association between men and the military, where in fact the obvious connection neutralizes masculinity and makes it invisible. In this way, the military incarnates the very concept of masculine hegemony.[53] Closely related is the concept of homosociality which describes how men relate to other men and is often expressed in rituals whose purpose is to indicate the superiority of the male group.[54] Heterosociality on the other hand describes how women relate to and confirm the male norm, often expressed in a negative attitude towards questions of gender equality.[55]

The main purpose of this article is to elucidate how female cadets experience their training at the Officers' Programme and how they perceive the professional opportunities that the Swedish Armed Forces offers them. How can the SAF motivate more women to seek employment within the armed services, and which factors are important in order to make them feel more motivated to pursue a professional career as officers.

Method

In order to probe how female cadets experience their training to become officers at the Military Academy, a qualitative research method was applied together with a thematic analysis. The data collected to do so consist of semi-structured interviews and open interview questions, whose purpose and question formulations directed the selection of the study's informants. The data were thereafter interpreted and put in relation to prior research and relevant concepts.[56]

Participants

Six female cadets aged 21-29 were chosen for the interviews so as to be representative of the target population in terms of status and service (Army, Navy, Air Force) affiliation.

---

[50] Wahl, 2010 ; Wahl 2014.

[51] Conell & Messerschmidt, 2005 ; Wahl 2010 ; Holgersson, 2012.

[52] Conell & Messerschmidt, 2005 ; Carreiras, 2006.

[53] Hearn, 2011.

[54] Kantner, 1977; Wahl 2010 ; Holgersson, 2012. Persson, 2011; Regnö, 2013; Wahl 2014; Holgersson 2012

[54] Denscombe, 2010.

[55] Berggren, 2002 ; Persson, 2011 ; Holgersson 2012 ; Regnö, 2013 ; Wahl 2014 ; Alvinius *et al.*, 2016.

[56] Denscombe, 2010.

They were all Military Academy students during the time when the interviews were conducted, but to some degree also had previous experiences of serving as SAF employees. Access to interview persons was provided via a contact currently serving at the school. Lists of female cadets in the programme were also handed down, which helped with the selection. Another cadet not selected in the study also helped to share information on the study's topic. The choice of informants can be described as a comfort selection,[57] since the participants were picked among those available during the time when the study was planned to take place.

Data Collection

Initial contact with the informants was made via email. Two of the interviews were conducted at the Military Academy Karlberg, two at the Swedish Defence University and two via Skype since the informants were not currently present in Stockholm. Both interviewers were present at four of the interviews while one was present at the first and fourth interviews. When both researchers were present, one had the main responsibility to ask the questions while the other one was taking notes and asking supplementary questions. The interviews were introduced with a recap of information on the purpose of the study, and informants were notified that participation was voluntary and that they could chose not to answer a question they didn't feel comfortable with. Permission to record the interviews was asked for. The interviews followed an interview guide with set themes and open questions, and took approximately one hour to conduct.

Data Analysis

Data processing was initiated with a conversion of the recorded audio material into written text before the analysis took place.[58] This transcription work came shortly after all interviews had been conducted in order to secure an overview of all available information and make adjustments if needed. The process of analyzing data proceeded in accordance with the norms of thematic analysis : the material was read and compared to find similarities and disparities in expressions, speech and quotes.[59]

The overall theme emerging from the data was the informants' experiences of their situation at the Military Academy Karlberg whilst studying as cadets in the Officers' Programme or subsequently serving as junior officers in the Swedish Armed Forces. Factors that affect that experience are individual ambitions, the culture of the organization, and the issue of visibility (more on that below).

In order to illustrate, opinion-bearing units excerpted from quotes where the informants link similar aspects were categorized in various subcategories that together form a more comprehensive category (see Table 1, next page).[60]

---

[57] Bryman, 2015.

[58] Denscombe, 2010.

[59] Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014 ; Bryman, 2015.

[60] In quotes offered in Table 1 as well as under the Results section later on, the symbol **(...)** is sometimes present to indicate that parts of that quote have been left out in order to make more sense in the context.

Table 1: Example Drawn from the Study's Data Analysis

Significant Unit	Subcategory	Category
My knowledge that I actually want this. I don't do it for anyone else, but for my own sake and that's what is most important. This is something that I want to do and I'm not giving up. I'm going to move forward and I really want this.	Personal objective	Ambition
(...) I believe that due to this male jargon that exists, in order for a woman to be recognized as a part of the team, you almost have to become like one of the men, both subconsciously and deliberately (...). Those women who maintain their female approach to address things get more questioned than those who try to become more like the men.	Personal treatment and jargon	Culture
There's a lot of focus when Combat Camera films an exercise and even though only a small part of those present consist of women, they're the only ones who are seen.	Gender before performance	Visibility

Ethical Considerations

In accordance with the ethical principles described by Bryman as the requirements of sound science – information, consent, confidentiality and usage[61] –, the study respondents were beforehand given thorough information on the purpose of the study. As already mentioned, the participants were also informed that participation was voluntary and that they could terminate their involvement at any point in the process, or to pass a question they didn't want to answer. In order to ensure anonymity, the informants are referred to by means of capital letters A to F, with their rank and military unit left out. A copy of the study was also sent out to the participants before publishing.

Results

Three factors were found to be common to the informants in describing their experiences at the Military Academy Karlberg and in the Swedish Armed Forces, namely: ambition, culture and visibility.

The category named 'ambition' covers the informants' career goals and choices, and consists of the subcategories 'expectations of the education offered', 'physical demands and performance', and 'future aspirations', which also includes thoughts on family planning. 'Culture' is connected to traditions, narratives on special treatment, personal treatment and jargon, masculine ideals as a feature of military culture, and adaptation strategies. 'Visibility' deals with how women are made visible in marketing campaigns as tokens, the focus on female soldiers in institutional transformation efforts, and the invisibility of female achievements.

---

[61] Bryman, 2015.

Ambition

In spite of the military's "greedy" character and of the open-ended commitment it demands of its members, the informants describe the SAF as a natural choice of employer since they share the values and purpose of existence that the organization embodies:

> You contribute with something to the society (...). What I do actually is of great importance (...). You are part of something immensely grand while at the same time contributing not only to the safety of your family but also to the safety of Sweden (Informant F).

Working as a team towards a common goal and having a varied job description have also been stated as reasons why the informants thrive in the SAF and why they initially chose the military profession.

Expectations

The informants mentioned that their initial expectations regarding the educational contents of the programme were high. These expectations were to a certain extent influenced by what senior commanders and colleagues had told them about their own experiences at the Academy. Other contributing factors that formed pre-existing expectations were the information given by the Swedish Defence University, the Military Academy and the SAF. The informants also expressed expectations that their Academy education would have a profound relevance for their future employment as officers and leaders. Unfortunately, the impression of the informants is that these expectations failed to materialize.

> I had enormous expectations actually. (…) My bosses that I look up to had all attended Karlberg. Now in hindsight I have understood that maybe not all of them attended Karlberg but just belong to the older generation, but I expected a lot more of everything. (A)

Physical Demands and Performance

The Military Academy's physical demands are experienced by the informants as somewhat problematic. The heavy significance put on physical capacity generates a widespread feeling that how well you perform physically has a great influence on your social status at the school, and even tends to put a shadow over other achievements.

> There is a lot of focus at Karlberg on your physical performance. (...) I got more appraisal when I did two chins than when I got the highest grade on a written exam (Informant F).

The interviewees also felt that there is a great lack of acceptance of individuals with different bodily characteristics when it comes to physical performance:

> There was one instructor whom I still recall (...); he said to me that "if you can't manage to bang up your 80-kg fighting comrade with full combat gear over your shoulder and run away with him then maybe you shouldn't be here" (...). I didn't really get it straightaway ("wow, did he just say that to me") but it struck home soon afterwards. I was in a state of shock but laughed it off (Informant E).

Future Aspirations

High ambitions were expressed by the informants as regards their future career paths within the SAF. One of them wanted to become a military attaché while another saw herself as a future commander-in-chief, and a third dreamt of following in the footsteps of the newly appointed field officer in the Svea Life Guards. They all shared an explicit career goal, and this is what motivated them in pursuing their aspirations :

> I feel certain that this is actually what I want to achieve. I am not doing this for anyone else, I do this for my own sake, and that is what is most important. This is what I want to do and I'm not giving up. I'm moving forward and I really want this (Informant F).

One cloud of worry regarding their future career aspirations centred around thoughts on how to combine a military career with raising a family. One of the informants stated that in order to make a success of her career within the SAF, it is crucial for a woman not to have children, and that women who have family plans get passed over for promotion or positions that are viewed as more demanding.

Regarding ambitions, expectations and aspirations, the overall impression is that the participants expressed a certain disappointment. They felt that the information they were given beforehand did not correspond to the reality, and that their expectations about what has been described as "one of the best educational programmes on leadership in Sweden" were not met on any level. They also wanted to sense that their performance is valued and that there are future possibilities of combining a family with a successful career.

Culture

There is a certain cultural environment, or collective social identity, at the Military Academy Karlberg which is referred to in the interviews as the "Essence of Karlberg", mainly created through conducting different social activities based on tradition and historical anecdotes. The majority of the informants appreciated these traditions and felt that they contribute to the creation of affinity amongst cadets and strengthen overall cohesion. However, a culture can also create barriers, and those were indeed experienced by the informants in various ways.

The Idealization of the Military

A recurring theme in the interviews is the emphasis on the Army as an ideal at the Military Academy, which explains why the education also is focused on this area. Even the cadets' previous experiences are evaluated based on whether or not they come from an Army troop – considered to be more "macho" – while other experiences don't weigh as much. Also, the masculine ideal is implicit in military-speak that invokes a vision of the soldier as masculine through and through.

The masculine majority in the SAF and at the Military Academy contributes to a widespread feeling among our informants that there is a masculine ideal that you have to

adjust to, and if a woman wants to be fully accepted as "one of the boys" she needs to act in a masculine way.

> I believe that much of the male jargon that exists here is due to the fact that in order for a woman to be accepted as a part of the group she has to become almost like the men, consciously and subconsciously. That is what I have reflected on from outside of it all, that the women who maintain their female approach get more contested than the ones who try to behave like the men (Informant E).

Narratives on Special Treatment

The informants wanted to be recognized for their ambitions, capabilities, experience and for their ability to take on the challenges their chosen profession will provide. They didn't want to be subjected to assumptions that they have an easier time than the men in the military or are enjoying special advantages just because they are women, either in their training or later in their careers. Still, several of the interviewees mentioned that they themselves or someone in their proximity had been exposed to comments to the effect that they were there only because of gender quotas or some kind of affirmative action.

> I don't want quotas because I'm a woman. I am not a female cadet, I am a cadet at Karlberg, and I would like others to get that message through. But I know that not everyone thinks like this, but see me as a woman and as a female cadet (Informant B).

Personal Treatment and Jargon

Personal treatment at the school and in the SAF in general is described by the respondents as both positive and negative, i.e. good camaraderie and affinity, or lack thereof. Negative treatment may arise from the attitudes of instructors and other male soldiers, officers and fellow-cadets. The initial sentiment expressed by the informants is that treatment had generally been good, but when answering other questions, several instances were revealed in which treatment had been experienced in a negative manner. Informant B initially said that she never had experienced any problems of ill-treatment but said later in the interview that…

> I have experienced things where I had to grab that person and say 'now you better calm down, because if you do this to the wrong person you can lose your job' (Informant B).

During the time when the interviews were carried out several scoops appeared in the media which focused on negative treatment that some women have experienced in the SAF, and a "Me too" appeal was released in the form of an op.-ed. in one of Sweden's most widely distributed newspapers, *Dagens Nyheter*.[62] Therefore, part of the data contained in the interviews centred on experiences of the "Me-too appeal", and the informants shared recollections of episodes that either happened to themselves or to other female cadets who had experienced sexual harassment, bullying and other offensive special treatment:

---

[62] *DN Debatt*, 2 December 2017.

> You consciously subject individuals to bullying or harassment because you don't share the same opinion or want that person there (…). I know of a situation where a guy told a girl "I have bullied you the whole time while studying because I didn't want you here" (...) (Informant F).

The informants noted that the SAF address the question of harassment with grave concern and deal with the problems accordingly. In some instances, however, support from the closest superior was lacking.

Strategies for Adaptation

Data from the interviews revealed a number of strategies to adjust to the women's minority situation. A positive hetero social approach was the most commonly displayed one, exemplified by comments such as "*it was nice to bypass fussy quarrels amongst women, intrigue and drama*", or to the effect that the straightforward communication style of men was much preferred. Another adaptation strategy is to silently accept a certain jargon, simply because the women feel outnumbered and don't have the energy to confront a colleague every time comments are a bit on the offensive side. It can also be a sort of survival mechanism to consciously and subconsciously ignore negative experiences in order to socially fit into a masculine environment.

Visibility

The SAF actively promote gender mainstreaming issues in the organization in a way that the informants experience as "*putting all the lights on women*", which can entail both positive and negative consequences:

> Yes, and in part of because you're in a minority, you get extra attention. It is much easier to notice a minority, how well they are doing and you screen them a bit extra (Informant D).

Furthermore, the informants felt that they had to prove themselves, and defend their position both at the Academy and in the organization, because they are women:

> I have to prove that I belong here (...). In some situations you have to bang your head into the wall in order to get respected (Informant F).

The way the SAF are marketing women in their recruitment campaigns is something the informants reflect on, notably the fact they are often singled out as the main attraction even though their numbers in the rest of the organization remain low. This brings about a feeling that women are made visible mainly because of their gender rather than because they are soldiers, which in turn puts an invisible cloak on their achievements.

The informants also expressed some critique of the SAF's efforts to promote gender equality in the organization, which they feel is conducted in an unsystematic way. One interviewee referred to a gender equality day in school which was thrown in at the last minute on a day that according to the original schedule was supposed to be a day off. As a result, a more structured plan that would focus on equality and gender issues as an integral part of the curriculum is desired. Upon completion of their Academy education, to be

equipped with the right tools to turn the value system into ingrained practice in the SAF's daily routines is something that one informant claimed would be of huge benefit from a leadership perspective.

Discussion

The three categories identified in the interviews – ambition, culture, visibility – need to be analyzed and discussed in more detail.

Ambition

The participants in this study display high levels of ambition and have clear-cut aspirations for their professional careers. They want their achievements to be recognized on their own merits and not because they were accomplished by women. The physical demands, which are not adjusted to different biological conditions, can be perceived as a way to confirm a stereotypical image of the SAF as in essence masculine, and can in fact lead to deterioration in performance.[63] There is also a notable discrepancy between the Academy's physical requirements and those set by the different armed services. Our interviewees think that Army standards need not be applied in blanket fashion at the Academy – even to those with a Navy or Air Force career on their minds. Also connected to the Academy's physical demands and the lack of justification in regard to them are the expectations of others when it comes to the performance of the cadets. This can be exemplified by the quote where one informant reported a comment from her instructor that if you can't carry a colleague weighing twice as much as you, there is no place for you in the military at all, which implies a stereotypical assumption that women essentially don't belong in the Army.

The ambitious outlook on career goals evinced by the informants, illustrated by the extreme case of the female cadet hoping to make it one day to the military's top job as Supreme Commander, seems to contradict the stereotypical image of women as being soft, caring and empathetic, but can rather be described as a masculine trait.[64] Armstrong suggests that motivation is intricately connected to expectations and ambitions, where goals set by an individual impel that person to strive harder than if set by someone else.[65] His or her motivation generates incentives for the individual to reach set goals by making the efforts needed.[66] The informants do not sense that their Academy education meets their initial expectations formed on the basis of official information previously received, or of what officers and other colleagues had informally told them beforehand. The fact that these expectations are unmet negatively impacts upon their motivation. Another contributing factor for decreasing motivation is the insufficient interaction between the Defence University and the Military Academy/ SAF. On the other hand, what motivates the informants to complete their officer education is the very motive that prompted them to

---

[63] Hoyt & Murphy, 2016.

[64] Eagly & Karau, 2002 ; Diekman & Eagly, 2008 ; Simantjuntak, 2010.

[65] Armstrong, 2009.

[66] Bratton, 2009.

consider a career in the SAF in the first place, which is that they share the values that the organization embodies. They are also greatly motivated by their individual career goals. All of these incentives derive their strength from internal motivation factors, which according to Ryan and Deci result in high level of achievement and endurance.[67] The informants also express a desire to be accepted as soldiers on the sole ground of their competence and ambitions. However, their career aspirations soon conflict with motherhood plans. In the informants' own perception, these roles are hard to combine and the general feeling is that women who start a family do not get promoted or considered for the more demanding positions. Behind this notion lie stereotypical views of gender roles still alive within the SAF, in line with role congruity theory which sees women as naturally associated with caring qualities which can be seen as a negative indicator for taking on leadership responsibilities.[68] More or less subtle forms of discrimination, and even in some cases sexual harassment (to be further investigated below), have also been shown to influence motivation.[69]

Our informants sense that in order to escape the description of how women act and prescriptions as to how they should behave, they need to work extra hard to defend their position in the programme as well as in the organization.[70] This finding is further substantiated by other studies of male-dominated environments, where women feel that they are putting in more effort than their male peers in order to succeed, which in the process drains from them any sense of belonging and motivation to continue.[71] Furthermore, expectations of female underachievement and the preservation of stereotypes result in lower self-esteem, with stereotyped expectations of inferiority eventually leading to a self-fulfilling prophecy of disengagement from the organization itself.[72]

Culture

Culture, if psychosocial and institutional discourse is anything to go by, can be seen as a binder of behaviour that both reproduces and (when it changes) challenges norms in the society. It is a concept bearing a myriad of meanings depending on the context.[73] As identified from the data in this study, culture at the Military Academy can be defined as inherited traditions whose main purpose is to provide cadets with a social identity by preserving and enforcing "the essence of Karlberg". Culture in this way is expressed symbolically and contributes to the framing of the military as a distinctive organization following its own set of rules, while at the same time fostering unity among its members. Traditions as institutionalized practice correspond to the idea expressed in Ashforth and Mael's Social Identification Theory and function as a social glue for those who belong to

---

[67] Ryan & Deci, 2011.

[68] Diekman & Eagly, 2008; Holgersson, 2012 ; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016 ; Eklund *et al*., 2017.

[69] Hyde & Kling, 2001.

[70] Wahl, 2010 ; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016.

[71] Smith *et al*., 2013.

[72] Hyde & Kling, 2001 ; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016.

[73] Alvesson, 2016.

the same group while also consolidating the opposing image of the outgroup.[74] Those who belong to a deviant category or for some reason do not want to participate in the group's social activities run the risk of being excluded.

Such activities can also be interpreted as a means to bolster the masculine ideal, or as Regnö would have it, a "male glorification" process.[75] The masculine ideal meaningfully relates to the image of war and the warrior, both closely associated with manhood, and forms the basis of mainstream attitudes when it comes to men and women in the military.[76] This ideal is further enhanced by upholding the image of Army troops as quintessentially masculine, in the process setting a standard for Academy training itself, while also bestowing higher social status on service members with a professional Army background. Taking into account Ackers' theory on the internal division of labour between masculine and feminine categories,[77] a binary division into *core* (land operations) and *supporting* activities (Air Force and Navy contributions) can be identified. Persson suggests that the view of ground combat troops as the core of the military organization provides them with substance and exclusivity, and for an individual who wants to assert his or her status in the military it is a clear advantage to be associated with them by highlighting previous Army experience.[78] Physical capacity in this regard also becomes a prominent feature of officer training – one liable to constitute a hindrance for women. The masculine ideal has a serious downside: a degradation of feminine aspects apparent in the experiences of our informants, who feel that a female soldier or officer does not enjoy the same prominence as her male counterparts. Such a social construct is created through myths and rumours that make female service members suspect of being the recipients of positive special treatment and thus of having an easier time in the military than their male colleagues. Considering the actual low representation of women on the higher rungs of the career ladder, this narrative hardly reflects the facts of the situation at all.

One finding of particular interest is that our informants see personal treatment and jargon as culturally contingent, and ignore them when offensive or negative. This can be seen as a coping strategy since deprecatory discourse on women has a profoundly negative impact on their self-image.[79] The interviews showed that, in order to cope with their minority situation, they resort to different adaptation strategies, the most common of which is to focus on the positive effects of being few in number.[80] A hetero-social approach can also be spotted, whereby women distance themselves from other women and instead rely on men.[81] An example of this is the appreciation, expressed by the participants in the study, of a clear and direct communication style associated with men while at the same

---

[74] Ashforth & Mael, 1989.

[75] Regnö, 2011.

[76] Berggren, 2002 ; Carreiras, 2006 ; Hearn, 2011 ; Person, 2011.

[77] Acker, 1990.

[78] Persson, 2011.

[79] Regnö, 2011.

[80] Wahl, 2010 ; Wahl, 2014.

[81] Regnö, 2011 ; Holgersson 2012 ; Wahl, 2014 ; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016.

time displaying contempt for the fussy, quarrelsome communication style of women. However, this could also be a personal preference or again a form of social adjustment to a culture where direct communication is held as ideal. Another adjustment strategy is to assume an accepting approach whereby women just have to put up with existing jargon (which supports research findings on other male-dominated work environments).[82]

Culture can also define boundaries for approved conversation topics, and in that regard equality and sexual harassment issues were approached with great caution by our informants. Some, because they were anxious to project a positive image of the SAF, adopted a certain evasive strategy during the interviews when asked questions directly linked to such topics. But this attitude also betrayed a cultural climate where sensitive topics are not to be discussed, which according to Ashforth and Mael can be the result of social identification – of strong bonds entailing unwritten understandings of what you can and can't reveal to outsiders.[83]

Visibility

Visibility can be analysed at both the individual and societal levels. From the perspective of women's personal experience at the Military Academy Karlberg and in the SAF, the visibility of uniformed females derives from their minority position, and the curiosity raised by the seeming anomaly that is the presence of women in the military. It is boosted by SAF marketing campaigns where female soldiers often are the focal point. Such visibility stems from a commonly accepted image of the military whose main function, beyond protecting the nation, has historically been to "turn boys into men".[84] The fusion of hegemonic masculinity and the military profession is so ingrained that it is almost impossible to differentiate or separate them.[85] Female cadets are thus a deviant group, made visible because they belong on the margins of the normative group, which means that the individual woman becomes a representative for all women.[86] The visibility that arises from their minority situation also entails that the woman views herself as a token rather than as an individual.

Of course, the beauty of a token is that it can also generate a positive effect where the presence of a few women becomes a symbol of changes taking place in the society.[87] But the SAF's visualization of female employees in recruitment campaigns is also instrumentalized : it serves both external and internal purposes. The highlighting of female soldiers helps spread myths and rumours on gender quotas and special treatment while their personal skills and achievements remain in the shadow. The picture of the SAF and its operations as a preserve of men will be further consolidated if the focus of marketing campaigns is perceived as showing off women just because they are women. The SAF's

---

[82] Persson, 2011 ; Wahl, 2010 ; Wahl, 2014.

[83] Ashforth & Mael, 1989.

[84] Carreiras, 2006 ; Hearn, 2011 ; Person 2011.

[85] Hearn, 2011 ; Persson, 2011.

[86] Kantner, 1977.

[87] Wahl, 2010.

2015 implementation plan recognizes the visibility effect as a negative aspect of gender mainstreaming, but it contains no suggestion of how to overcome this dilemma.

One way to approach the ambiguity expressed in the interviews regarding how the SAF have conducted the transformation work is to say that the highlighting of a problem that needs fixing can at the same time make it worse. While transformation is at the centre of a power struggle between renewal and reproduction, its short-term fall-out is the reinforcement of gender roles.[88] A sentiment shared by our informants is that the visibility effect consolidates the idea that women are seen as an anomaly from the norm,[89] which is further strengthened by the drive for equality. Yet, the transformation work is needed. When women are positioned as the deviant group, the emphasis is placed on their own specific way of acting as soldiers, which in turn leads to higher demands on their skills and less acceptance for their failures. At the same time, stereotypical gender categories re-emerge in a process whose final destination is assimilation.[90]

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine the experiences of female cadets regarding their time in training at the Officers' Programme, as well as how they perceive a professional career within the SAF. The military's will to increase the number of female service members, in part through implementing a new set of values at the very heart of the organization, has run into a number of problems. One difficulty is how in practice the new values are put to use as the informants feel that there is a great discrepancy between official doctrine and reality. Instead of a common goal for all to strive for together, the work on gender mainstreaming has become a symbol of the void, or lack of adequate fit, between management and those parts of the organization where activities are of a more operational nature.[91]

The practical use of values is partly to blame for this predicament. To put women at the heart of all official rhetoric, marketing campaigns and external communication with a particular focus on their sex adds to the construction of narratives on quotas and special treatment, which in turn breeds resentment towards women. At the same time, the SAF are the product of their society, culture and history, and are thus imprinted with deeply-embedded (male) gender constructions – the source of hegemonic masculinity.[92] In the SAF this is expressed forthrightly, albeit implicitly, in the dominant understanding of the military profession's essence. This contributes to shaping the SAF's self-image and identity as a distinctive and particular organization with its own set of values and rules, making transformation work if not harder to put into effect, then more challenging than it would be in any other organization. For the study's respondents who are all motivated to participate

---

[88] Wahl, 2010 ; Persson, 2011 ; Holgersson 2012 ; Regnö, 2013.

[89] Regnö, 2013 ; Wahl, 2014.

[90] Kantner, 1977.

[91] Alvesson, 2016.

[92] Conell & Messerschmidt, 2005.

in the transformation conducted by the S<small>AF</small>, this generates the feeling that they need to adjust to the existing culture, since the military is in a class of its own and there are no alternative defence organizations they could turn to.

Practical Implications and Further Research

Among the practical lessons that could be drawn from this study, one is that a mentorship programme would be useful to enhance the function of female role models. The existing network for women in the military, N<small>OAK</small> (network officer/ female employee) is perceived by our informants as too much associated with the precarious situation of women in the S<small>AF</small>. And it may not be the right level in terms of influence on the culture. A major obstacle is indeed that the most thorough and influential discussions on gender mainstreaming and sexual harassment take place high up in the hierarchy. There is certainly a need for lower-ranking service members to make their voices heard in these discussions in order to gain some leverage. One way of achieving this is to introduce into the curriculum of the Officers Programme a structured implementation plan devised to bring practice into line with the value system. A final suggestion that can be made on the basis of this study is to remove some of the emphasis on women in advertising campaigns. Equality issues involve both men and women and it is essential to put in place a gender-neutral public image of the military.

In addition, future research could usefully study in closer detail how the current recruitment strategy and exposure of women in internal and external communication are affecting the work environment of S<small>AF</small> female employees. In the wake of the international "Me too" movement, it came to light that as many as 10% of all Swedish servicewomen shared experiences of sexual harassment and special treatment. In more general terms, therefore, probing how the male-dominated culture is affecting the female condition in the military[93] would be in order.

On another front, several researchers have pointed out the unfair differences in career options between women after a pregnancy and men[94] of the same age or rank and on similar career paths. This concern was also expressed by our informants who feel unfairly treated when they have to choose between raising a family and pursuing a career. If no way is made available for them to combine the two, the chances are that many servicewomen will start looking for career opportunities elsewhere. In order to avoid such an unfavourable scenario, further research is needed to investigate how starting a family affects Swedish military women's careers.

Finally, it would also be of major interest to study where in the organization women's careers are apt to lead them since a common phenomenon is that when females gain access to power positions, power is shifted elsewhere.[95] Likewise, a study of the cultural climates in the different services or branches would be interesting in view of the fact that women

---

[93] As stated in the newspaper *Aftonbladet*, 17 November 2017, and in *DN Debatt*, 2 December 2017.

[94] Carreiras, 2006 ; Wahl, 2010 ; Holgerson, 2012 ; Alvinius *et al*. 2016.

[95] Wahl, 2010 ; Regnö, 2013 ; Wahl, 2014.

tend to look for employment in the Air Force, while they avoid Army formations if they can because of their strong masculine connotation.[96]

References

ACKER, J., "Hierarchy, Jobs, Bodies : A Theory of Gendered Organizations", *Gender & Society*, vol.4, n°2, 1990, pp.139-158.

AFTONBLADET, "Var tionde kvinna kränkt i Försvarsmakten", 17 november 2017. Available online at : https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/nk5Rd/var-tionde-kvinna-krankt-i-försvarsmakten.

AHL, H., "Motivation in Adult Education : A Problem Solver or a Euphemism for Direction and Control ?", *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, vol.25, n°4, 2006, pp.385-405.

ALPER, T.G., "Achievement Motivation in College Women : A Now-You-See-It-Now-You-Don't Phenomenon", *American Psychologist*, vol.29 n°3, 1974, pp.194-203.

ALVESSON, M. & Y. DUE BILLING, *Understanding Gender and Organizations*, London, Sage Publications, 1997.

ALVESSON, M., *Organizational Culture*, London, Sage Publications, 2016.

ALVINIUS, A., C. KREKULA & G. LARSSON, "Managing Visibility and Differentiating in the Recruitment of Women as Leaders in the Armed Forces", *Journal of Gender Studies,* vol.25, 2016, pp.1-13.

ARMSTRONG, M., *Armstrong's Handbook of Human Resource Management Practice*, 11th edition, revised, London, Kogan Page, 2009.

ASHFORTH, B. & F. MAEL, "Social Identity Theory and the Organization", *The Academy of Management Review*, n°14, 1989, pp.20-35.

BERGGREN, A., *Undercover Operations in No-Woman's Land : The Swedish Armed Forces through a Gender Lens*, Disputation, Department of Psychology, University of Lund, 2002.

BRATTON, J., *Work and Organizational Behaviour*, 2nd edition, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

BRYMAN, A., *Social Research Methods*, 5th edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015.

CARREIRAS, H., *Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*, New York, Routledge, 2006.

CONELL, R. & J. MESSERSCHMIDT, "Hegemonic Masculinity, Rethinking the Concept", *Gender & Society*, vol.9, n°6, 2005, pp.829-859.

DENSCOMBE, M., *The Good Research Guide*, Buckingham, Open University Press, 2010.

DIEKMAN, A.B. & A.H. EAGLY, "Of Men, Women and Motivation : A Role Congruity Account", in Y.J. Shah & L.W. Gardner (eds.), *Handbook of Motivation Science*, New York, Guilford Press, 2008.

DN Debatt, "1 768 Kvinnor i försvaret : Alla anmälningar måste tas på allvar", 2 December 2017. Available at : https://www.dn.se/debatt/1768-kvinnor-i-forsvaret-alla-anmalningar-maste-tas-pa-allvar/.

EAGLY, A.H. & S.J. KARAU, "Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice toward Female Leaders", *Psychological Review*, n°109, 2002, pp.573-598.

EGNELL, R., P. HOJEM & H. BERTS, *Gender, Military Effectiveness, and Organizational Change – The Swedish Model*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

EKLUND, E.K., S.E. BARRY & E.N. GRUNBERG, "Gender and Leadership", in A. Alvinius (ed.), *Gender Differences in Different Contexts*, London, InTechOpen, 2017. DOI: 10.5772/65457.

FARMER, S.H., "What Inhibits Achievement and Career Motivation in Women ?", *The Counselling Psychologist*, vol.6, n°2, 1976, pp.12-15.

---

[96] Berggren, 2002 ; Sundevall, 2011.

FM 2015-15593:1, "Försvarsmaktens handlingsplan för jämställdhetsintegrering 2015-2018" ["Swedish Armed Forces Implementation Plan for Gender Mainstreaming 2015-2018"].

FM 2016-17170:2, "Försvarsmaktens årsredovisning 2016" ["Swedish Armed Forces Annual Plan 2016"].

FÖRSVARSDEPARTEMENTET, "En robust personalförsörjning av det militära försvaret", SOU 2016:63 [Official Reports of the Swedish Government, Stockholm, Swedish Defence Department], 2016.

GOLDSTEIN, S.J., *War and Gender : How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2001.

HEARN, J., "Men/ Masculinities : War/ Militarism – Searching for the Obvious Connections", in Annica Kronsell & Erika Svedberg (eds.), *Making Gender*, *Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*, London, New York, Routledge (Advances in Feminist Studies and Intersectionality series), 2011. Available online at : http://portal.research.lu.se/portal/files/5501673/5155687.pdf.

HOLGERSSON, C., "Recruiting Managing Directors: Doing Homosociality", *Gender, Work & Organization*, vol.20, n°4, 2012, pp.454-466.

HOYT, L.C. & E.S. **MURPHY**, "Managing to Clear the Air: Stereotype Threat, Women, and Leadership", *The Leadership Quaterly*, n°27, 2016, pp.387-399.

HYDE, J. & K.C. **KLING**, "Women, Motivation, and Achievement", *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, vol.25, n°4, 2001, pp.364-378.

JONSSON, E. & J. **ÖSTERBERG**, "Effective Recruitment of Military Women: Developing New Methods", *Res Militaris*, ERGOMAS issue n°4, July 2017.

KANTNER, R., *Men and Women of the Corporation*, New York, BasicBooks, 1977.

KVALE, S. & S. **BRINKMANN**, *InterViews : Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*, London, Sage Publications, 2014.

ÖSTERBERG, J., E. **JONSSON** & A.-K. **BERGLUND**, "Officer Recruitment – Improving the Method", *Journal of Contemporary Military Challenges*, 2017.

PERSSON, A., *Changing Boundaries, Defending Boundaries, Gender Relations in the Swedish Armed Forces*, Disputation, University of Linköping, Department for Thematic Studies, 2011.

REGNÖ, K., *Det osynliggjorda ledarskapet. Kvinnliga chefer i majoritet.* Disputation, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Department of Organization and Leadership, 2013.

RYAN, R.M. & E.L. **DECI**, "Self-Determination Theory and the Facilitation of Intrinsic Motivation, Social Development, and Well-Being", *American Psychologist*, vol.55, n°1, 2000, pp.68-78.

SIMANJUNTAK, R., "Motivation in Times of Change : Women and Educational Professions", *Humaniora*, vol.1, n°1, 2010, pp.107-114.

SMITH, L.J., L.K. **LEWIS**, L. **HAWTHORNE** & D.S. **HODGES**, "When Trying Hard Isn't Natural : Women's Belonging with and Motivation for Male-Dominated STEM Fields as a Function of Effort Expenditure Concerns", *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, vol.39, n°2, 2013, pp.131-143.

SUNDEVALL, F., *Det sista manliga yrkesmonopolet – Genus och militärt arbete i Sverige 1865-1989*, Gothenbourg, Makadam, 2011.

SWEDISH DEFENCE UNIVERSITY webpage (retrieved 12 January 2017) : "Officersprogrammet". Available online at : http://www.fhs.se/sv/utbildning/officersprogrammet/oversikt/.

WAHL, Anna, "The Impact of Gender Equality on Management and Leadership: Reflections on Change and Resistance", in L. Husu, J. Hearn, A.-M. Lämsä & S. Vanhala (eds.), *Leadership through the Gender Lens*, Helsinki, Hanken Research Reports, 2010.

WAHL, Anna, "Male Managers Challenging and Reinforcing the Male Norm in Management", *NORA, Nordic Journal of Feminist & Gender Research*, vol.22, n°2, 2014, pp.131-146.

WONG, L., P. **BLIESE** & D. **MCGURK**, "Military Leadership : A Context-Specific Review", *The Leadership Quaterly,* n°14, 2003, pp.657-692.