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Declaration

I, Synne Høie Gundersrud, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....

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Abstract

This analysis explores the extent to which gender equality exists within the Chilean military institutions. A clear political and legal space has been created for equality to grow in Chile, and many advances in Chilean politics demonstrate progress in terms of expanding the gender equality agenda in Chilean society. However, my analysis indicates that traditional and discriminatory ideas of gender, dominating the culture of the Chilean Armed Forces, are limiting the social process of integrating gender equal policies and practices in the Chilean military. I place a clear emphasis on the military as a central institution guiding the direction of this process, with the main issue being that traditional ideas of gender remain unchallenged within the Chilean military. While not officially objecting to gender equality policies and laws, the Chilean military is still demonstrating passive resistance through gender hostile and discriminatory practises. By allowing gender discrimination, seen as preventing change in power structures between genders, the Chilean Armed Forces are able to secure their masculine environment without having to officially resist government policies.

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Chapter 1: *Introduction*

Should women have the right to equal positions and opportunities as men in the military? For some the response to this question might seem obvious in terms of what they consider the natural biological limits of the sexes, or what they see as traditional gender roles. For others, however, it is indicative of both controversy and provocation. Arguments for and against the equal integration of gender in the armed forces are many, and will not constitute the focus of this thesis. However considering this debate as a part of a wider political agenda responding to gender equality, I propose in this thesis that it is possible to identify certain aspects that could be helpful in determining why resistance against such a process can be found and where the ideas or motivations behind such resistance stem from. With respect to the case of Chile it is also interesting in terms of contributing towards an understanding of the state and formation of civil-military relations in the country. I argue that it could be seen as indicative of the power of the military to determine their own involvement, interference, or resistance with regards to this particular political and social issue vis a vis the civilian state and political process.

Civil-military relations in Chile are largely influenced in the present by the country's shift in 1989 from a military regime to democratically electing a civilian government. In regards to this transformation it is interesting to look at the extent of the legacy of the military regime in Chile, and discuss to what degree the continuation of Pinochet's politics affect Chilean society today. Chile's modern history is marked by the most violent military coup to take place in South America during the 20th century. Initiated on September 11th 1973 in Santiago, the coup d'état resulted in a repressive, authoritarian, and military led regime - famous for its extensive human rights violations - headed by General Augusto Pinochet. Even after the transition to the government of Patricio Aylwin during the 1990s, Pinochet and his political legacy have continued to influence both the judiciary and the senate, making the further reconciliation of political actors from the 'left' and 'right' near to impossible. Linked to this was the fact that the punishment of perpetrators and retribution for victims of human rights abuses was extremely problematic, causing many aspects of the conflict to stay unresolved in the Chilean society. The legacy of Pinochet created strong tensions between the military and

larger parts of the civilian population, especially as more information about the “dirty past” (human rights abuses) of the military junta has come to the surface in recent years. During the last decade we have seen indicators of more direct resolutions in creating closure with the past. Examples include an increasing number of human rights violators from the Pinochet era being held accountable and brought to justice, and the speech ‘Nunca Más’ held by Chilean general Emilio Cheyre in 2003. These efforts signal a conscious change, creating distance from the past and diminishing military power and influence in politics (Skidmore & Smith 2005, Sigmund 2003).

Civil- military relations, the role of the military in society, and their legacy in contemporary Chilean society and politics is especially interesting because of its “dirty” and complicated history. When a military institution has been as powerful, and as embedded in politics, as the Chilean Army was under Pinochet’s rule, it is only natural to wonder what happens to that institution, and the culture and values it represents, when it no longer possesses the same formal role. Military institutions in the country (alongside the rest of the Chilean society) are in a process of a modernisation. This also indicates the establishment of a rights agenda with a more inclusive approach when it comes to gender, sexuality and ethnicity. Standing as a traditional symbol of masculinity, the military could be seen as challenging the idea of gender equality. Arguments against the possibility of achieving gender equality are often based on gender myths and stereotypes differentiating between the qualities of gender, such as claims that men are strong and rational while women are caring and emotional (Gutmann 1997). While these types of gender myths and stereotypes relate to all aspects of society, the military can be seen as a specifically powerful institution when it comes to constructing images of gender, the ideal of manliness, and what is seen as a necessary way of identifying yourself in order to belong to this particular environment (Hale 2012). The particularly strong representation of masculinity in this particular environment could then be seen as creating a distinct challenge to the implementation of a gender equality agenda. It is therefore interesting to study with some care the process of implementation, the actors involved, what challenges it faces, and what is being done to solve them.

My first objective with this thesis has been to study gender roles and identities within the culture of the military in Chile, and consider how their established views and values affect wider conditions of gender equality. I do this by asking my primary research question:

- *On what terms are ideas of gender constituted within the Chilean military?*

My second objective has been to establish the relationship between the military institution and the civilian government when it comes to working towards greater gender equality in Chile, while also considering the indications and implications of this relationship. I have done this by asking the following:

- *In what ways do the Military and the government of Chile work together to achieve increased gender equality within the armed forces?*
- *What can the process of increasing gender equality in the Chilean military institutions tell us about the status of civil-military relations in the country?*

I have used these research questions as the basis of an exploration of the extent to which gender equality exists within Chilean military institutions. I furthermore suggest that by studying how the government and the military work together to formally increase gender equality, and indications of whether the military accepts or resists such government efforts, laws and policies, there is also strong indications of the degree to which the military is showing political subordination to the civilian government.

Chapter 2: *Literature Review*

There is a vast literature concerning gender identity, gender equality, civil-military relations and gender and the military (Gutmann 1997, Hale 2011, Sigmund 2003, Davies et. al 2006, Moor 1988, Mirandé 1997, Taber 2011, Doña Molina 2012, Cohn 2000, Kovitz 2001, Williams 1989, Herbert 1998, Boyce & Herd 2003, Sasson-levy 2003, Silva 2008, Dichter & True 2014, Kümmel 2002, Sinclair 2009, Hunter 1997, 1998, Valenzuela 1995, Huntington 1959, Stepan 1988, Trinkunas 2001, Amar 2013)¹. The secondary sources used in this thesis are chosen by the author with a focus on being interdisciplinary and theoretically ‘up to date’ and relevant to the case of Chile. In this chapter I will first consider the concept of *gender* in terms of theory on identity and equality. Second, the gender theory will be linked to the debate on military culture and identity, and literature on gender and the military will be presented. Thirdly, literature concerning Chilean culture and society will be presented as a background for determining the country’s dominant values and how it can be seen as affecting the country’s politics with regards to gender equality. Considering gender equality from the perspective of both the military and the government (representing the general public), it is possible to identify similarities and differences in how they both view this issue. Moving on to civil-military relations, the concept itself, and theory on how to analyse it, is presented and then linked more directly to literature focused on the case of Chile.

2.1 *The Concept of Gender and Gender Roles: Masculinity and Femininity*

Studying *gender equality* is complicated since both the concept of *gender* and *equality* are in themselves highly complex and contested. In this thesis gender equality will be studied in terms of *gender relations*, which could be seen as a system of *power relations* where some (most often women) are at a disadvantage, while others (most often men) are privileged in a society. This unequal distribution of power decreases the level of gender equality in that society. Gender, in comparison to the concept of the biological *sex*, is a constructed idea differentiating between categories of people and which mainly builds on the idea that men and

¹ Even though research on gender and the military in the case of Chile is scarce there is plenty written about other contexts that have been used in this thesis, for example the US, Canada and Israel.

² Often enforced by law as in the US ‘Don’t ask Don’t tell’ military policy.

³ Both *Therapeutic* and *Elective* abortion is illegal in Chile.

⁴ Information from official website: www.portal.senam.cl

women have different personal identities, traits and qualities (Davies et. al 2006). In regards to this it is relevant to discuss the concepts of *masculinity* and *femininity*. A gendered identity could be interpreted as showing higher and lower degrees of masculine and feminine traits and behaviours (Davies et. al 2006). Traditional gender roles see women as having more feminine traits and qualities and men as having more masculine traits and qualities. These traits and qualities could also be seen as having different values. It is claimed that the difference between men and women, and seeing men and women as having separate gender-specific qualities, cannot in itself be seen as causing inequality. The imbalance of power is created in the different cultural value systems, giving different gender-specific qualities different values (Moore, 1988).

Gender myths and stereotypes often ignore individualism or context specificity, resulting in generalizations about men and women's abilities (Davies et. al 2006). Gender myths are an example of how generalized representations or ideas of gender can become embedded in cultures and societies, and even become universal "truths". There is a rhetorical power to such gender myths or stereotypes. As a result they often enable and maintain cultural, social and economic structures and conditions in society, even though there is little or no truth to them (Gutmann 1997, Moor 1988). In a context where such myths are seen as enabling or maintaining conditions of gender inequality, it becomes very problematic. However, stereotypical ideas of gender can also be challenged. In the book *Hombres y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture* author Alfredo Mirandé presents a study of Latino men and their perception and relation to the concept of masculinity, more specifically the image of the man as being macho. Mirandé, being a Latino man, sees the need for a new framework in which to both identify and interpret the concept of masculinity and what it means to be macho. Mirandé sees it as problematic that Latino men are often stereotyped in a certain manner, and does not recognise these traditional categorizations in his own experiences of what it means to be a Latino man. "Though much has been said and written about machismo or 'excessive masculinity' among Latinos in general, (...), until recently such generalizations were based on meagre, non-existent, and misinterpreted evidence" (Mirandé 1997:5). One of his main objectives draw attention to the complexity of Latino masculinities, and even question the very value that has been put on the term *macho*. In doing this Mirandé makes a clear distinction between what he sees as positive and negative conceptions of being macho. "When applied to entertainers, athletes, or other "superstars", the implied meaning is clearly a

positive one that connotes strength, virility, masculinity, and sex appeal. When applied to Mexicans or Latinos “macho” remains imbued with such negative attributes as male dominance, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and spousal abuse” (Mirandé 1997:66), the first clearly depicting a more positive notion of being macho than the latter.

In his study Mirandé proposes the *MSRI* (the Mirandé Sex Role Inventory), which can be seen as a tool in measuring masculinity (Mirandé 1997). When looking more closely into what ideas, qualities and traits that Latino men (and women) link with the notion of being macho, Mirandé identifies that the positive view of macho sees this concept as entailing a code of ethics with positive traits such as, being honourable, respectful and courageous. A macho man is someone that has compassion and understanding with a great concern for other’s welfare and well- being. On the other spectrum, what Mirandé would classify as a more traditional view, the term macho is identified with being violent, dominant and controlling. Another of the important findings in this study is the sign of a devaluation of the concept of *machismo*, “(...) these findings challenge the assumption that machismo, at least as traditionally defined, is somehow a positive trait or desired cultural value” (Mirandé 1997:124). Mirandé’s case study show how one concept, macho, can entail a spectrum of different definitions and meanings, making it next to impossible to generalize. It turns out that a lot of qualities traditionally viewed as masculine were not always as mentioned by his participants in relation to being macho. Another surprising finding was that many traditional feminine qualities, like being compassionate, loyal, and loving children were included to larger extent in a definition of being a ‘true man’ (Mirandé 1997).

Unfortunately, the findings such as those of Mirandé are not generally representative, and ideas about gender identity based on the separation of feminine and masculine qualities and images are still a major cause of gender equality. Nancy Taber describes an example that shows how a masculine role or ability, in this case driving a truck and bulldozer, becomes demasculinized when women are also put in that role or perform that ability. When men saw that women were also doing this type of work on a mining site, they refused to use these machines in their work. This is a clear example of a case in which men see themselves as having superior abilities or qualities to women, and when proven wrong they simply suggest “that if women can do it, it must not be a man’s job anymore”. The claim that there are some things only men can do, or that men do better than women based on their gender, is highly

relevant to consider when looking at gender equality in the military institution (Taber 2011). As will be shown in examples below, the military is also a context of gender discrimination as a source of inequality.

2.2 *The Femininity of Peace and the Masculinity of War*

The military in Latin America has throughout its history had a strong link with both patriarchy and the image of being a true man, a *macho*. Men are generally seen as the natural warriors and protectors of society. Being a warrior constituted a large part of a man's identity, in being an ability or status that differentiated men from women in society (Mirandé 1997). Much of the literature on gender and the military discusses the *gendered tensions* that are created between men and women working together in an environment dominated by masculinity, and how women often find it impossible to combine their military career and family life (Cohn 2000, Doña 2012, Taber 2011, Silva 2008, Sasson-Levy 2003, Dichter & True 2014). Whilst a lot has changed when it comes to the implementation of equal opportunity of employment, women are still seen as a rarity in the military, and are often found in more traditional female roles. This has partly to do with women's career opportunities being limited due to gender discrimination, and the fact that the military remains a masculine institution where "the heterosexual male warrior remains the ideal (...)" (Taber 2011:333). Women do not fit into this ideal as they are still generalized as being nurturing, caring and peaceful (Taber 2011).

"In the pre-Christian heroic era, women were the warrior's mirror on the battlefield (...). In the Christian era women shift from men's Mirror to their Other, possessing qualities that dominant men must deny within themselves; love, compassion, mercy, and pacifism" (Kovitz 2001:254). Women often face problems with being accepted in the military, especially as leaders, due to gender stereotyping and the traditional link between the military and masculinity (Williams 1989, Herbert 1998, Boyce & Herd 2003).). It is easier to accept women in the military when they are not directly challenging gender roles (Taber 2011). When women first entered the military it seemed important to maintain their feminine qualities, which separated them from men and their masculinity. This was done both by giving women different tasks, employing them in less masculine sectors (for example not allowing women in combat roles), and through enhancing women's feminine appearance with

separate uniforms or the use of make-up. Masculinity was seen as essential to being a soldier, and the military is seen as an environment that turns 'boys into men' (Herbert 1998). Femininity, being a woman, was seen as an antithesis to this particular form of masculinity. By enhancing and maintaining their femininity, women were made to seem less threatening. According to Melissa Herbert women have had to negotiate their position in finding their place in the military. She sees gender as something we do, not something we are. Women often struggle with having to balance identities of being both a woman and a soldier, and to be able to be accepted as both at the same time (Herbert 1998). Both military traditionalists and pacifist feminists use a combination of the biology and gender myth argument in claiming that while men can be seen as the aggressive gender women are inherently peaceful. According to some pacifist feminists women should not joined the military because it could potentially militarize them and stain their distinct potential as peaceful resolvers of conflict. An attribute that they claim makes them superior to men. Military traditionalist on the other hand claim that men are the superior gender in terms of their inherent warrior qualities as protectors of women and children, and that a feminization of the military would weaken the institution's capabilities (Kümmel 2002).

By having women perform soldering, traditionally seen as a masculine activity, the military could be seen as a space where ideas of gender could potentially be transformed (Silva 2008). Jennifer M. Silva argues for the importance of not only looking at women's equal access to positions of power in the military, but the degree to which they are able to challenge the existing ideas of gender within the institution (Silva 2008). In order to keep their identity of being women, female soldiers have been seen as reproducing traditional femininity instead of challenging male privilege within the military institution. While the military claim to be providing empowerment opportunities for women, in reality they could be seen as "privileging masculinity and reproducing traditional gender ideology" (Silva 2008:937). By excluding women from certain specialties, for example combatting positions, it highlights gender difference in exemplifying how there are still some areas in the military that are inappropriate for women, or in other words, there are still some roles that can only be played by men (Silva 2008). In her case study of male and female cadets from ROTC (the US Reserve Officers' Training Corps) Silva found that almost all the women in the corps were given a sense of empowerment from their experiences in the military, however, "none of them questioned the social construction of masculinity or femininity, instead interpreted these

concepts as natural, biological and fixed” (Silva 2008:947). The men in the sample were also seen as having very traditional ideas of gender, one male cadet stated that he saw the women in his officer corps as not being connected to his notion of femininity or maternity. In this way of thought, which in Silva’s case study is seen as shared by both male and female cadets, there is no logical connection between the idea of a soldier and the idea of femininity. In fact, “they see femininity as fundamentally incompatible with the core function of the military” (Silva 2008:954). Much like in the study conducted by Herbert, women could be seen as having to separate themselves from the idea of femininity in order to be accepted as equals within the military corps. But in doing so they are forced to “give up” parts of their identity as women.

In a similar study, Orna Sasson-Levy expresses how there is a clear chauvinist culture in the Israeli armed forces. She points out that even though military conscription is compulsory for both men and women, Israeli law is seen as prioritizing women’s family roles above their military obligations, often causing women to be excused from fulfilling the obligatory military service. Women are also put in an inferior category to men in the military with being excluded from combatting roles, often based on discriminatory ideas of gender stating that women are not aggressive enough (Sasson-Levy 2003). Because femininity is not perceived as compatible with the military women in the Israeli army are not allowed to use makeup or jewellery, and are told to hide what are seen as a “traditionally feminine appearance”. Female officers were seen as complying with the army’s norms in having discriminatory and misogynist ideas about gender, often seeing themselves as exceptions to the general norm (Sasson-Levy 2003). Sasson-Levy argues that Israeli female soldiers adopt masculine roles and behaviour in creating a distance between themselves and the image of traditional femininity. Through these *transgender performances* these women are seen as subverting to the existing patriarchal order and masculine dominated environment of the military institution instead of (Sasson-Levy 2003).

Nancy Taber also argues that women who find themselves in a male dominated environment learn to *perform gender* in particular ways. This means that women often see the need to enact or adjust different masculinities and femininities in negotiating their position between the workplace and at home. This is based on the idea that gender identities are something that has been learned, or socially constructed and are not inherent to us, and gives room for the

idea of being able to change how we act according to context. Women in the military often express that they work hard to get acceptance in the military, but are still labelled as ‘women soldiers’. They are often told through both words and actions that they don’t belong, one example being the lack of assistance or arrangements when it comes to being able to combine a military career and having a family (Taber 2011). What Taber describes is a gender hostile environment that is not willing to contribute towards maintaining women in active military service. “If those in military organizations supported mothers officially and unofficially, perhaps more women could be retained” (Taber 2011:345). Taber stresses the need for more criticism to be aimed directly at the military as a masculinized organisation.

In her research on US male military personnel Carol Cohn highlights that there are still many men who feel that women don’t belong in the military, but that expressing this directly would be seen as politically incorrect. Instead they manifest their emotions through expressions against injustice or unfairness and claim that women receive special treatment and lower standards when it comes to physical training. The argument that women are not as physically strong as men is seen as a legitimate claim for why women do not deserve an equal position to men in the military and “a fundamental barrier to men’s acceptance of women in the military” (Cohn 2000:131-132). An US military officer also expressed that potential motherhood is an indicator that women are a “bad investment” within the military institution (Cohn 2000:135). Cohn suggests that the expression of such sentiments indicates deeper issues about how men relate to gender equality within the military, and that male resentment has been built up as a reaction to the changing gendered culture in the US military stemming from the increased inclusion of women. She interprets this as male anger directed at a changing institution that no longer belongs to men alone. This anger is expressed through what they view as valid or acceptable arguments such as, “women are not as strong as men” or “women are a bad investment because they will leave once they decide to start a family” (Cohn 2000). From this viewpoint ‘the masculinity of the military’ is often taken for granted. It is the “gender weakness” of women (or homosexuals) that is seen to be the problem. Such attitudes or opinions are often manifested through masculine hostilities stemming from a deep sentiment of men wanting an environment of masculine exclusivity. As a result they make women (or homosexuals) the “enemy” who is trying to ruin their institution from within (Kovitz 2001). While the process has moved forward in terms of an official acceptance, unofficial condemnation still remains. Women are not being integrated fully in social terms,

and they are still not fully accepted as equals. Whilst officially an increasing number of women are welcomed into the military, unofficially they are met with resistance. Even with a change in formal gender policy women still struggle to be accepted within the military (Herbert 1998).

When talking about sexuality and gender identity (in terms of masculinity and femininity) and the military, there is a clear link between the power-relations of women and men and homosexuals and heterosexuals. Resistance towards accepting homosexuals in the military are also part of reinforcing the notions about masculinity and femininity in a struggle to maintain the military's traditional gender roles (Herbert 1998). It is important to address not only women and the military (which the majority of the literature is focused on), but gender and the military. There are indications that the issue is not necessarily objections against the integration of women, but against making changes in the masculine or macho image of the military. A lot of the same issues can be identified when comparing the integration of women and homosexuals in the military. They are both groups that were, and in most places remain, viewed as being incompatible with the image of the military institution. At the same time there is a distinction between the two groups when it comes to issues concerning reproduction and society's expectations about domestic responsibilities, which is predominantly a distinct issue for women. It is also argued that women are a much more visible *other* within the military. Because homosexual men often hide their sexuality when in the military² they are seen as being men, and their high performance and contributions might be judged as being correct male behaviour. A female military member who is performing well might, as some research indicate, be perceived as more threatening to the image of the macho warrior. An *openly* homosexual man, on the other hand, might be seen as more of a threat to a masculine environment such as the military. As is indicated in the 1993 US military policy 'Don't ask, Don't tell' stating that the presence of homosexuals in the military could be seen as harmful to military capability. It has also been pointed out that it is still important within the military to make a distinction between the capabilities of homosexuals and heterosexuals in how well they are able to perform soldiering. As with women, it seems important for heterosexual male soldiers to point out that they are better suited for the job because of their gender and sexuality (Sinclair 2009).

² Often enforced by law as in the US 'Don't ask Don't tell' military policy.

2.3 *A Changing Military*

Military culture cultivates a particular ideology, identity, norms and value system, both in terms of their self-perception and what it is seen as representing in society. The military in Latin America is known for being both patriotic and nationalistic and have in many cases, as in Chile, played a dominant role in politics. Often seeing themselves as being saviours or even creators of nations, this has led to a feeling of superiority and a separation of the military from the rest of society. Whilst many militaries have learned that being a powerful institution does not necessarily entail having executive power, patriotism with regards to *la patria*, or the homeland, remains very strong (Smith 2005). The military regime in Chile is described as having been an exclusionary authoritarian regime, meaning that it was built on the support of the higher classes of the society, with a clear anti-communist/socialist agenda. Certain conservative moralities and virtues are also mentioned as being very important in regards to the transformation of the nation's social and economic structures (Smith 2005).

The Military in Chile have been through a process of modernization since the time of Pinochet, and greater inclusion of women is an important part of this process. "Although, in general, the armed forces are perceived as conservative organizations hesitant or even resistant to social change and thus also to including females, in the course of time women have extended their military roles thereby challenging the common view of the armed forces as a male domain and the male-warrior paradigm" (Kümmel 2002:616-617). The military has become more inclusive in regards to giving women and men equal opportunities within the armed forces. An obstacle challenging this process is the fact that even though the military is gradually becoming a more gender equal institution, traditional gender views (stereotypes, myths) still stand strong, and the military in itself is still seen as a representation of masculinity. It is an important step to be able to identify the existence of discrimination against women in the Chilean military, and equally important to find possible ways to solve these issues, for example the creation of government policies aimed at eliminating these discriminatory conditions. However, the real challenge lies in the implementation of such policies. "Social prohibitions clearly excluding or discriminating against women are easy to challenge and dispute (...), but more difficult to confront are those patterns of discrimination that have the appearance of either universality or the authority of the 'natural'" (Davies et. al 2006:3).

In her doctoral thesis titled *Las Hijas de Minerva* Karina Doña Molina studies the incorporation and integration of women in the Chilean Armed Forces between 1974-2010. She argues that because political institutions mainly initiated the process of integrating women into military functions, it was initially rejected by higher-ranking officers, and created an environment of gendered tension limiting the equal inclusion of women in the army. This has also led to new forms of structured as opposed to open gender discriminations, one example being that women have systematically been given less access to powerful positions within the military, and have generally been given fewer opportunities than men to ‘rise in the ranks’. This has created, according to Doña Molina, an institutional framework that promotes discriminatory practises, creating obstacles that eventually limit women’s possibilities within the military institutions. These gendered tensions and institutional discrimination have also created disincentives for female officers in developing and promoting their own careers, leading them to more often choose a less demanding career path that seem more compatible with their possibilities, and/or with family life (Doña Molina 2012).

Furthermore, whilst the process of incorporating women in the military is one thing, the actual integration of women in the military institution is another. One argument that explains the existing issues with the process of incorporating women in the Chilean armed forces is the lack of a secure relation between genders in the military. Doña Molina claims that in Chile there exists a clear masculine hostility towards female officers, derived mainly from the presence of what is seen as ‘feminine’ standing in contradiction with a traditionally exclusive male dominated space. This gives reason to question the true objectivity that should exist within the military institutions, if the goal is to create an environment where men and women have equal opportunities. Another obstacle to achieving greater gender equality are claimed to be women themselves. The issues mentioned earlier are seen to generate a gender hostile environment, which has been seen to cause women to become their own obstacle in that it leads them to choose less ambitious and more ‘practical’ career paths, and conforming to the existing norms and expectations instead of challenging them. In doing this women are creating validation for gender discriminating practices instead of working towards breaking them down (Doña Molina 2012). A lot of progress has been made in incorporating women in the Armed Forces in Chile. It is in the integration process that gender equality falls short, where women can still be categorized as being the odd peace in a masculine environment.

There is a lack of an integrated gender perspective within the armed forces in Chile, especially when it comes to looking at the relation between men and women, enabling the continuation of gendered tensions and conflict (Doña Molina 2012).

2.4 Moral Conservatism and Gendered Cultural Rescue

Gerhard Kümmel proposes that there are five main dimensions impacting the role of women in the armed forces; the international environment, the national context divided into politics and society/culture, and the military institution. Embedded in these dimensions are the importance of looking at where the political parties of a country stand on the issue of gender equality, how actively this is promoted, and to what extent the law is involved in the process. It could also be relevant to look at the degree of threat to national or regional security affecting the demand for new recruits. Also embedded in these dimensions are the importance of looking at general societal attitudes towards the military and trends regarding gender roles and the social construction of the family (Kümmel 2002).

During the military dictatorship of Pinochet it was assumed that women were seen as the natural allies of the military government (Valenzuela 1995). This assumption stemmed from the myth that women were naturally subordinate and obedient, and therefore were natural followers of an authoritarian government. It was also argued that women, in general, shared the conservative political thought and value system of the right-wing military government (Valenzuela 1995). Women were not valued as less than men but seen as having distinct moral values and virtues, being the bearer of life, the center of the family, and a symbol of traditions. At the same time this distinct idea of women caused gender exclusion in that it kept women from obtaining positions of power in society since they were not to be directly involved in the public sphere. “Policies developed by the military regime toward women were based on a traditional conception of women’s role in society. The government promoted women’s return to family life and discouraged their participation in the work force and in government, focusing instead on their role as mothers” (Valenzuela 1995:162). Women were to be separated from the political sphere, their apolitical status was seen as a virtuous quality that it was important to maintain. Women should focus solely on procreation and the improvement of their domestic performance and responsibilities, and were to show a selfless sacrificial character that would bring them closer to God. Women were only encouraged to

organize, by the military government, when it came to protect their traditional role in society (Valenzuela 1995). During the process of modernizing society in Chile levels of gender equality have increased. Skidmore and Smith state that, “(...) women in Chile have enjoyed more opportunities than in many other countries. Females entered the work- force with relative ease, and by the 1970s, for instance, nearly 16 percent of Chile’s employed females held professional or technical jobs (...). Social customs also reflected fairly open and egalitarian standards in the relative treatment of the sexes” (Skidmore and Smith 2005:114).

Whilst a lot has changed since the dictatorship, and in many respects it could be claimed that Chilean society has relatively high levels of gender equality, it is still one of the most morally conservative countries in Latin America. While Chile has continued to liberalize its economy, the same cannot be said for the Chilean society in general. One example of how this is affecting the country’s politics, and in turn gender equality policies, is the abortion law³. In Chile abortion is illegal even in cases of rape or in order to maintain the health of a woman. This law was drafted and implemented by Pinochet just before he lost the election in 1989 (Blofield 2001), and all attempts aimed at liberalising the law since then have been unsuccessful. The country’s stand on abortion seems to reflect a continued morally conservative political path where the majority, over 25 years after the end of the Pinochet regime, is still not allowing the law to be changed (Blofield 2001).

In trying to explain the Chilean political climate Blofield describes three standpoints from which she sees the current Chilean politics evolving. The first being a *integralist Catholic worldview*, where natural law and morally conservative values are seen as non negotiable, for example in wanting to keep the traditional family structure based on the idea that women belong in the domestic sphere and men in the public sphere. This worldview is based on a literal interpretation of the Catholic doctrine. The second standpoint is a *liberal Catholic worldview*, still focused on maintaining a society with traditional family structures and conservative values, but seen as more flexible in not wanting to universalize law. According to this view individuality and context should be considered, which would in theory allow abortion to be legal under certain circumstances. Lastly we have the *secular worldview*, which stresses the importance of individuality and freedom, claiming that all individuals should be independent to choose their own moral path. According to Blofield this last worldview has

³ Both *Therapeutic* and *Elective* abortion is illegal in Chile.

almost disappeared completely from the Chilean political landscape since the 1990s. Most of the political right have shifted towards an integralist Catholic worldview and the centre-left towards a more liberal Catholic worldview (Blofield 2001). This shift is also seen as having an affect on the country's politics.

The roots of Chile's morally conservative culture stem from the Catholic Church, a powerful actor said to have a lot of influence on Chilean politics (perhaps most prominently in debates concerning gender equality). It seems to be a priority of both the Catholic Church and the political right to put new emphasis on family morality and keep liberal ideas off the political agenda. In other words, there are strong conservative values, brought forth by the Catholic church and the political right, preventing social change from taking place in Chile, "(...) eleven years of democratic politics have, paradoxically, witnessed a reinforcement of moral fundamentalism" (Blofield 2001:10). There is a solid foundation of 'power-coupling' between the Catholic Church, conservative elites, and the political right in Chile, all working together in maintaining, or increasing, morally conservative values. The passivity of the political left on moral issues concerning both family structure, traditional gender roles and sexuality could also be explained by efforts at avoiding conflict with such a powerful sector in Chilean society, but is also seen as connected to the link between the left and the Catholic Church from when they were allies in opposing the human rights abuses of the military regime (Blofield 2001). Blofield claim that the opposition lack a sufficiently string enough voice to challenge this seemingly hegemonic moral conservatism and set of values. She stresses how despite the signs of increased public support for greater gender equality and increased liberal values there is not sufficient pressure enabling a shift away from conservatism. The traditional groups and sectors working hard at preserving conservative values, like the Catholic Church and the Political right, are not being challenged enough to create a change in society, this also limits the degree of gender equality. At the time being, the political left seem to passive to make such changes happen, the most prominent example being the legalization of abortion, which is simply not a political battle the centre-left are willing to prioritize (Blofield 2001).

In the book 'The Security Archipelago' Paul Amar proposes the acknowledgement of what he sees as a new and alternative paradigm of governance to that of neoliberal democracy originated from the Global South, which he calls the 'human security state'. In his

comparative study of Brazil and Egypt, he looks at the dynamic role of the military and how their self-expressed responsibility has shifted from issues of state-security to issues of human-security, specifically focusing on issues related to the preservation of moral and religious cultures and the securitization of gender and sexuality (Amar 2013). With his bottom-up approach Amar claims that neoliberalism is losing importance in the Global South, and slowly being replaced by a “new humanitarian global security regime” (Amar 2013:16). This type of governing politics is, “explicitly aimed to protect, rescue, and secure certain idealized forms of humanity identified with a particular family of sexuality, morality, and class subjects (...)” (Amar 2013:6). The idea behind what could be called the ‘paradigm of human security’ lies in linking humanitarian work with military obligations by enhancing people’s safety through the improvements of their human rights. But, this type of securitization can also be seen as problematic in that it can have negative affects on issues of gender equality, and is often motivated by the military’s objective and responsibility of protecting the people within the state they serve. But this type of “protection” can often serve the opposite result to its official intention of securing human rights. This type of securitization is what Amar names ‘gendered cultural rescue’. In trying to oppose a neoliberal and globalised worldview, traditional masculine/feminine gender roles might be forced upon society in an attempt to secure or rescue people’s “true” cultural heritage. An example of this, provided by Amar, could be the forced victimization of subjects. That certain subjects in society, say for example women, need to be protected from harassment based on the notions of femininity as something weak and vulnerable and masculinity as something strong and possibly dangerous. This “protection” might happen regardless of the need or want from the subjects themselves to actually be rescued (Amar, 2013).

Even though Chile persists with a strong neoliberal approach to economic politics, there is a clear link between how Amar describes the rejection of neoliberal values and the preservation of moral and religious cultures and the morally conservative worldview dominating Chilean politics. Although this might not appear equally extreme as in the contexts of Egypt and Brazil in terms of securitization, many of the same objections against improving gender equality exist in Chile. The difference might be found by looking at the involvement of the military in these issues, as most matters of internal security are dealt with by the national police and not the military in Chile (Hunter 1997). However, when looking more closely at the context of Chile you find that the national police force, called *Carabineros*, are highly

militarized. There is also a clear link between the military and the Carabineros in that they share many of the same privileges, one example being the military justice system that is separate from the civilian justice system. This privilege is seen as creating imbalance in the country's justice system in that the military court has jurisdiction over civilian individuals charged with crimes against members of the Chilean military or police forces, but crimes committed by individuals from the military or police force are never subject to the jurisdiction of the civilian court (Fensom 2006).

2.5 Equality of Opportunity

Chile remains a highly patriarchal society and the conservative branches of the political right, parts of the centre-left, and the Catholic Church have all been part of the opposition to parts of the gender equality agenda in Chile. This type of opposition to gender equality, and its stronghold in politics, becomes particularly evident when comparing Chile to the more egalitarian democracies of northern Europe (Matear 1997). There have been advancements in efforts at integrating gender equality in Chilean politics, for example the creation of SERNAM (*Servicio Nacional de Mujer*) in 1991 by the Aylwin administration. This government organization aims to incorporate gender perspectives into public policy, and at improving the conditions of women in society and ending all gender inequalities and discriminations. SERNAM does not, however, have any form of power of enforcement. This means that they can only give suggestions and propositions towards measures that should be taken (Matear 1997). In other words, their position of power in reforming society or actually making societal changes is very limited, largely due to resistance stemming from the more conservative political parties. This limits what can actually be achieved through SERNAM in regards to challenging societies dominant ideas about sexuality and traditional gender roles (Varas 2012).

At the same time it is important to point out that Chile has also seen many advances in gender politics (this includes the important work done by SERNAM), examples of these legal agreements include the following: *no discrimination of employment based on actual or potential motherhood* (1998, Frei administration), *constitutional equality between women and men* (1999, Frei administration), *legalization of divorce* (2005, Lagos administration). The government of Michelle Bachelet has without a doubt created a political space enabling the

growth of gender equality in Chile. And the gender equality agenda, examples being the redistribution of gender roles and the establishment of more equitable relations between the worlds of family life and employment, has been a large part of her government's politics. However, it also remains of note that a lot of the gender equality politics has been aimed at protecting women in their traditional domestic or feminine role: *the right for women to breastfeed* (2007, Bachelet administration), *equal minimum wage for domestic workers* (2008, Bachelet administration), *right to public holidays for domestic workers* (2009, Bachelet administration) (Varas 2012). There have been some official efforts by the government towards reducing discrimination in Chile. In 2005 a project started aimed at creating a law against discrimination, so that the state would be responsible for ensuring people against discrimination. The project worked at defining the concept of gender equality, but experienced controversy when it came to including 'discrimination based on sexuality'. Religious conservatives claimed that the inclusion of 'sexual orientation' as a category in an anti-discrimination law would be the same as condoning homosexuality as a human right. They claimed this to be both anti-family and that not being able to speak freely (negatively) about homosexuality would be against their own right to freedom of religion. Such conservative objections and reservations limited the outcome of the project, whether directly or indirectly, by the time it was finally approved in 2012 (Varas 2012). These are all examples of how whilst the government is working at improving the conditions for women, it is limited in succeeding to deliver actual change in the patriarchal system itself. It has been suggested that what is missing in these efforts are the actual implementation of policies. What is needed to create a *real* equality of opportunities for all citizens are concrete plans directed at eliminating discrimination (Varas 2012). This is, as highlighted earlier, one of the same issues which Doña Molina confronts in her study of the integration of female officers in the Chilean Armed Forces.

2.6 Civil-Military Relations and Military Prerogatives in Chile

The concept of *Civil-military relations* deals with the relationship between the military and the government (representing the civilian population). An essential part of addressing this concept is to look at the power relation between the two sectors of society. In a country with a democratic civilian government this could mean the extent to which the military is under civilian subordination, or has its own political, social, or economic agenda and prerogatives.

When it comes to the role of the military in politics, it is relevant to consider Samuel Huntington's theory of civil-military relations. Huntington argues that there are two main strategies to achieving civilian control over the military. The first being *subjective control*, or achieving control of the military through convergence, meaning to have the military identify with the civilian government's goals and ideology. With this strategy the military and the government can work together in achieving common objectives, with a shared political perspective. One important aspect of this strategy is that the military is left with less room to develop their own separate strategy and rebel against the government. At the same time the military is very much integrated into politics, which can be problematic. The other strategy is called *objective control*, which means that the armed forces are differentiated from the civilian population, in that the military is completely separated from all politics. This could also be called a 'professionalization' of the military, and is what Huntington himself sees as a more ideal strategy in modern societies. In this strategy the civilian government maintains control of the military, who are professional soldiers working *for* the government (Huntington 1959). Linked to this is a theory presented by Alfred Stepan, which is focused on the prerogatives of the military. Strong civilian control is, according to this theory, characterized by the absence or weakness of military prerogatives. A prerogative could be seen as a form of exclusive right or privilege, or as a certain area in which actors see it as their right to play a significant role or exercise power or control. The power relations between the military and the government in these areas could indicate the degree of military prerogatives. In the cases where the government is the deciding factor and has control over the prerogative, the military prerogative is seen as low (Stepan, 1988). Another framework on measuring civil-military relations, presented by Harold Trinkunas, is focused on the level of military participation in four categories of state policy: 1) external defence, 2) internal security, 3) public policy, and 4) state leadership selections. According to this theory a society with effective civilian control is a society in which the military shows a strong degree of subordination, in that the civilian government has the dominant position within all of the four categories. The only exception being number one, external security, where power could be shared (Trinkunas 2001).

Latin American militaries have often seen it as their obligation to interfere if they see civilian governments as having dangerous, ineffective or unsuitable policies. General Pinochet is to have said about the coup in Chile that it was "a military movement aimed at salvaging the country" (Smith 2005:87). From the standpoint of the military, they coup was necessary in

order to guarantee their mission. They were proud of what they conceived as a victory in having saved the country from institutional crisis. They had won the war. “In this context, a return to the barracks is not a sign of defeat. On the contrary, it is the logical consequence of victory in battle” (Smith 2005:105). The military in Chile have, according to Smith, moved away from having a powerful, tutelary role (during the Pinochet regime), towards having an increasingly subordinate role in society. This type of civil-military relations, termed *conditional military subordination*, is characterized by less intervention from the armed forces in political issues. At the same time the armed forces maintain their “right” to intervene in protecting the nations interests and security (Smith 2005). Even though the transition from military to civilian government in Chile could be seen as having gone relatively smoothly, it was not without its sacrifices from the side of the civilian government. The budget of the military continued to be considerable in size throughout the 1990s being connected to a 10% return from the country’s nationalized copper mines. The military was also reluctant to apologize for any actions that had led to what they viewed as an improved Chilean society left a lot of the issues regarding human rights abuses unresolved (Smith 2005).

The Armed Forces of Chile consists of three branches, the Army (Ejército), the Navy (Marina), and the Air Force (Aérea). Ever since the transition to democracy there has been a continuous professionalization of the Armed Forces, consisting of several changes in regards to the relationship between the military, the government, and rest of civil society. Several constitutional reforms have limited the role of the military in politics, making the Armed Forces subordinate to civilian control. This is also seen as having led to a reduction in military prerogatives. At the same time it has been pointed out that during the transition period those high up in the armed forces kept what could be seen as a ‘privileged ideological-political relationship’ with the political right, the Catholic Church and the business world. There has been a close relationship between the Armed Forces and the Catholic Church dating to long before the Pinochet era. Even though the Catholic Church in Chile is known for opposing the Human Rights abuses of the military regime, there are some (often belonging to the more conservative and traditionalist parts of the institution) that either condoned the coup de d’état or simply stayed away from publicly addressing human rights issues in order to avoid conflict with the government. The two institutions are also identified with many of the same morally conservative values and ideologies, one example being their conservative view on sexuality,

reproductive rights and gender relations integrated into politics by the military regime's 1980 Constitution (Varas 2012).

The Chilean Constitution, in part a legacy of the military regime, can be seen as containing distinct conservative values, such as the abortion law, and can therefore be seen as directly moulding gender equality in Chile. "In the wake of the shocking defeat in the plebiscite of 1988, military architects made some crucial alterations in the constitution" (Smith 2005:152). The legacy of the military government could therefore be seen as living on through the country's legal foundation. However, seeing that most of the laws in the constitution have been reformed, it shows how the civilian government has become the deciding factor in what should remain of the 1980s constitution.

Since the transition to democracy the Chilean government has been attempting to limit the military's influence in politics by challenging military privileges. In such a process it is to be expected that the military will try to resist this in trying to maintain their position of power and strong prerogatives. In the case of Chile, the transition from military to civilian government could be seen as distinct with regards to the amount of power and access to resources that was maintained by the military. Pinochet constructed a political system that maintained his allied political right in a powerful position. The centre-left governments that followed have had to tread lightly in this transition process, and the military kept many of its prerogatives throughout the 1990s, one example of this being the lack of prosecution and punishment of military human rights violators from the Pinochet era. Wendy Hunter uses a game theory framework in her analysis of civil-military relations in Argentina and Chile, and explains how she sees these governments as having come very far in challenging military prerogatives, except when it comes to issues related to human rights. Both the government and the military in Chile seem interested in avoiding major conflict, and have therefore been in a process of bargaining for prerogatives. Such a process could be seen as having two outcomes, either cooperation or defiance (Hunter 1998). An important point made by Hunter in explaining the government's somewhat flexible approach after the transition is the importance of maintaining a strong (but professionalized) military institution needed to protect the interests of the nation and its citizens. As executive power is taken away from them, there is a need to give the military a sense of importance and purpose, but also to maintain a "friendly" and collaborative relationship between the military and the government.

If the government is not willing negotiate and bargain at some level, it could lead to a resentful and disobedient military institution. But this 'easy approach' has also led to the military gaining more bargaining power, in that they are not unconditionally accepting the decisions of their civilian government. At the same time, Hunter points out the success of civilian government efforts in reducing military prerogatives in Chile, and see these as signs of a military moving towards a apolitical and professional role (Hunter 1997, 1998).

In a highly hierarchal institution as the military it is the higher-ranking officers who are directly involved and make the final decision in negotiating prerogatives with the government. But these officers could also be seen as facing pressure from the lower ranks, much in the same way as the government receives pressure from the civilian population on political issues (Hunter 1998). Another point to be made is that the threat of violence is not the only weapon the military can use to demonstrate disobedience. It is possible for the military to not cooperate with the government without actively revolting or resisting policies, for example through passive resistance (Hunter 1998). The military's unofficial resistance to the gender equality agenda could be see as an example of this. "It is a safe way for militaries to appear gender-equitable at the same time as they are able to protect the militarized hegemonic masculinity that characterizes their organizational culture" (Taber 2011:345).

Chapter 3. *Methodology and Description of the Research Process*

The decision to carry out a qualitative research strategy can be explained by my interest in employing *inductive logic* in my research. Meaning that I wanted to create new knowledge based on observations and my interview subject's subjective understanding of a topic. A qualitative approach allows for a more in-depth and cyclical research process, which again creates greater flexibility. What this means in practice is that it allows you to adjust your strategy during the process according to the findings you are actually able to produce, which might not be what was initially intended (Berg & Lune 2012). I am interested in being close to what I am studying, and therefore chose to do empirical field research in the specific country of interest for this thesis, namely Chile. I spent approximately two months in Chile between the 15th of October and the 8th of December 2014. Between the 10th and the 28th of November, during which time most of the interviews were conducted, I worked closely with my supervisor and his Chilean research assistant, who were also collecting data and research material for a project on civil-military relations in Chile. Since our research topics were very much interlinked it seemed beneficial to do much of this work together, instead of having separate interviews with the same subjects. I should also mention that being connected to a larger project gave me access to interview subjects I might not have otherwise been able to speak to. Throughout my stay in Chile I was able to conduct a total of 15 interviews, visited the military court, and visited the Chilean Ministry of Defence on several occasions. In addition I was able to get literature I would not have found otherwise, have many unofficial conversations about the main issues of this thesis with Chileans, and generally observe the society and context I was studying.

3.1 Sampling Approach

When choosing a sampling strategy I firstly considered what I actually wanted to achieve with my research. My primary research question is aimed at creating an understanding of the role, identity, and culture of the military in Chile, with a focus on how these elements affect the process of increasing gender equality in the Chilean Armed Forces. A larger part of my data collection has therefor been to establish knowledge, ideas, attitudes, and opinions on this issue from relevant sources. In choosing what subjects to interview I used a non-probability sampling approach based mostly on convenience and snowballing strategies. I chose a non-probability strategy because I had a clear idea of what kind of groups or subjects I wanted to have represented in my sample (Berg & Lune 2012). The sampling also needed to be somewhat systematic in that the available subject participants should be seen as relevant in terms of discussing the issue of gender equality and civil military relations in Chile. An example could be choosing subjects specifically because they represented the government, the military, or had relevant academic expertise. I used convenience sampling in choosing mainly subjects that were located in Santiago, where I was based. I was flexible to travel to other places in the country if necessary, but because of somewhat limited time this was the most practical option. My supervisor's local research assistant formally set up most of the interviews, but I was part of the process of deciding which subjects should be contacted. The use of a snowball sampling strategy was very helpful during this time in that we continuously received recommendations and assistance in getting in touch with relevant people to interview (Berg & Lune 2012).

There are several determinant factors in accessing the subjects you want, and it is not always easy to get permission, cooperation and time from all your ideal subjects (Berg & Lune 2012). Limited accessibility was a factor that affected who ended up in my final sample. I experienced on many occasions, mostly through emails, that possible subjects were very positive and eager to cooperate at first, but ended up not being able to participate. This was most often due to the fact that I was only in Chile for a limited time, during which many of the subjects asked were too busy to meet for an interview. This could potentially have been avoided if the planning of the interviews and the contacting of potential subjects had started earlier. But because I relied heavily on a snowball sampling strategy this would have been challenging. Another obvious solution would have been to extend my stay in Chile, which

was not possible in my case. But as mentioned, I still got access to 15 respondents. As a result of my chosen sampling approach the generalizability of my research became very dependent on the size of my sample groups (Berg & Lune 2012).

I chose to make a system of dividing the subjects into four main groups, though many subjects belong to more than one group. These informants could therefore be seen as representing ideas, knowledge or opinions from several viewpoints, when relevant these multiple representations have been pointed out. The biggest sample group was *academics*, which over half of the subjects could be identified as being. We spoke to *politicians* from three different political parties, all from the centre-left coalition government. A clear perspective from the political right could therefore be seen as missing from the sample. Samples from both the *academic* and the *politician* categories could be seen as giving the perspective of the Chilean Ministry of Defence, where our sample consisted of subjects working within the Ministry itself, or working closely with the Ministry in having an advisory role. Two of the subjects belonged to the group representing *The Chilean Armed Forces* (a former General, and a former Commander in Chief of the Army), and two subjects could be seen as representing the group of *civil society*.

The biggest issue with the sample is the lack of representatives from the military, people who are in active military service or have experiences from being in the military. It would have been very interesting, and given a greater amount of depth to this thesis, if the perspective of this group was represented to a larger extent. Another limitation was the size of the sample group representing civil-society, especially groups focused on gender/women's rights. Such groups could have provided a unique insight and contributed towards making a more balanced presentation of societal efforts and viewpoints in the analysis. The reason for these limitations was, as mentioned earlier, lack of accessibility or limited cooperation. It proved very challenging to get access to both military and former military personnel. The two former military subjects that are in the sample are also academics. This might have affected their accessibility in terms of their willingness to participate in this type of research.

3.2 Data Collection

When starting the data collection process it is important to consider how you will get the data you need to answer your research questions. But when using a qualitative approach you are allowed to adjust the questions you are asking according to the observations and findings you make along the way. It's a dynamic process that allows for more flexibility (Berg, Lune 2012). My data collection consists of both primary and secondary information. My primary information I got mostly from the interviews I conducted and general experiences and observations made during my stay in Chile. In addition to conducting interviews I have also looked at some official documents, for example the Chilean Constitution and other government or military policies and laws. These documents were useful in discussing the Chilean government's gender equality agenda, and the official process of integrating gender equality in the Chilean Armed Forces.

The purpose of the interviews was to gather information that would not only help me answer my research questions, but assist me in getting new insights to the topic I was investigating. Flexibility was key during the interviewing process. It was essential that I, as a researcher, adjusted to new knowledge and information that was given by the interview participants (Berg & Lune 2012). I chose to use a semistandardized interview model because I wanted room for improvisation during the interview process. This entails that there were certain topics or issues that were presented to the participant during the interview, followed by an open discussion, with a possibility of asking follow up questions. "The flexibility of the semistructured interview allowed the interviewers both to ask a series of regularly asked questions, permitting comparison across interviews, and to pursue areas spontaneously initiated by the interviewee" (Berg & Lune 2012:114). Most of the interviews were conducted in Spanish, except two that were conducted in English. Since I was able to conduct all interviews in Spanish or English, languages I speak, there was no need for an interpreter. In general there were no major language issues, other than adjusting to the Chilean accent, and since all the interviews were recorded I could go back and listen through them multiple times if I thought I had misunderstood something.

The secondary sources I used have been presented in the former chapter, and their use is mostly to back up the empirical findings I present in my analysis. The only exception might

be that I have on occasion, because of limited access to informants representing military personnel, relied on secondary sources when addressing the perspective of the military. I have mainly looked at the empirical data (consisting of quotes and reflections from interviews) from the doctoral thesis of Karina Doña Molina, who has analysed the current situation and role of female officers within the Chilean Armed Forces regarding their possibilities of rising in the ranks and their access to positions of power (Doña Molina 2012). Even though this is not ideal, it gave me a form of access to the perspective of military personnel on some of the issues that are being addressed in my analysis.

3.3 Analysing the Data

The analysis and conclusions made in this thesis are based on a combination of looking at prior theories and empirical work, and the totality of the experiences and data I collected throughout my stay in Chile. Before starting the analysis process it was important for me to go through all the data that had been collected and make a coding system. This made the data more understandable and was helpful when trying to identify themes, patterns, and make interesting observations (Berg and Lune 2012). I started this process by going through and writing thorough notes from the audiotapes of all the interviews, and adding relevant observations I had made in my interview notes. In this way I created a text that was more understandable and was able to map out patterns or statements that seemed interesting and relevant to my research objectives.

When analysing the interviews it was also important to address the possible objectives or motivations of the subjects. The subject's statements and opinions, or how they chose to answer a question, might be influenced by their personal experiences or by the institution or organization they belonged to. One example of this being political actors, especially those in government, who could be seen as wanting to promote their political agenda, defend their politics and portray their efforts at increasing gender equality in a positive light.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

The general rule when it comes to field research is: *do no harm*. During the actual data collection phase it is very important to be respectful, not pass judgement, and to show a genuine interest in taking in the participant's true opinion (Berg & Lune 2012). I conducted my interviews having this in mind. It is also important to ensure that the participants are aware of both the purpose of their participation and the future use of the interviews they are taking part in, and that they give an informed or implied consent to their participation (Berg & Lune 2012). The purpose of the interview was explained to most participants in writing, through email correspondence, before any meeting took place. But at the beginning of each meeting the purpose and use of the interview was explained again. I did not use a written consent form, but all participants orally agreed to have the conversation be recorded, which can be seen as a good way of getting informed consent without keeping written records of the informant's identity, and thereby ensuring anonymity (Berg & Lune 2012). The participants could themselves choose to stop the recording at any point during the conversation if they wanted to say something 'off the record'. This only happened on one occasion. It is also very important that all the data that is being collected is secured and not made available to anyone but the researcher herself (Berg & Lune 2012). Both the recordings that were made and any notes taken during the interviews have been kept anonymous and secure. The names of the participants are not mentioned during the recordings, and the recorded files have been secured by having coded names (not entailing any of the informants personal information). I have not given anyone else access to either the recorded files or my personal notes from the interview process.

Even though I do not have any official written consent form I chose to use the identities of the participants throughout the analysis/discussion chapter. I made this choice because all participants were very much aware of the intention and use of the interviews they were partaking in, and I did not see that any potential harm would come to the participants or others from me using their names in this thesis. Because of this choice it has been essential for me to render the views and statements of all participants in an honest and balanced manner (Berg & Lune 2012). When presenting or discussing my findings I have been focused on doing this.

Chapter 4. *Findings and Discussion*

The ethical principle that all people should have equal rights in society, and that none should be discriminated against based on their gender is the foundation of gender equality. When addressing gender equality within the Chilean Armed Forces we therefore need to consider the rights women have in terms of employment opportunities and to what degree this is free from discrimination, exclusion, marginalisation and the unequal distribution of positions of leadership based on gender. It is important to address what the government is doing to increase gender equality and the equal opportunity of employment. We need to consider what they are doing to eliminate existing barriers to gender equality, and how this affects the process of increasing gender equality within the military institution. With regards to this it is also essential to address the role of the military as an important actor in this process, and consider how dominant ideas of gender existing within the military are affecting the political and social process of integrating gender equal policies and practices in the armed forces.

I will start this chapter with a summary of the political changes that have occurred in Chile with regards to the advancement of the gender equality agenda, and explain how this has affected the country's military institutions. Focus will then move to my primary research question i.e. how ideas of gender within the Chilean military impact on this process and the forms of resistance they generate with regards to the gender equality agenda. I place a clear emphasis on the military as a central institution guiding the direction of this process. To a large degree the military remain determinate of civil-military relations and of the space and form of gender relations in Chilean society.

4.1 *The Gender Equality Agenda in Chile*

Throughout the 1970s, 80s, and 90s there has been a growing international interest in putting gender rights on the agenda, demonstrated through several international conferences aimed at increasing efforts towards eliminating gender inequality and discriminations (Lucero 2011). One result of these efforts was the UN *Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women*, or CEDAW created in 1979. Post-Pinochet Chile has responded to this international trend. Since the dictatorship, and especially during the last decade, there seems to be a new emphasis on gender equality in Chilean politics. Considerable progress in terms of gender equality was made by the *Consejo de Ministereos para la Igualdad de Oportunidades*. This was a council of ministers that was created during the Lagos administration. In particular it is important to highlight the *Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades*, a political plan aimed at increasing equality of opportunity in the timeframe from 2000 to 2010 (Lucero 2011). These types of efforts were later continued by the first Bachelet administration in which a council of ministers, representing all the ministries in the government, addressed the integration of gender equality in their respective political areas (Lucero 2011). SERNAM is now a key institution in Chile when it comes to putting gender equality on the political agenda, but could be seen as having limited capabilities in terms of enforcement (Matear 1997, Varas 2012). In March 2014 SERNAM collaborated with the current Bachelet administration to create a new ministry i.e. *El Ministerio de la Mujer y la Equidad de Género*, aimed at ensuring gender equity and eliminate any form of gender-based discrimination in the country⁴.

A clear political and legal space has been created for equality to grow in Chile, and many advances in Chilean politics demonstrate progress in terms of expanding the gender equality agenda in Chilean society. One Chilean academic that was asked by the author about the current state of gender equality in Chile stated that the country had come a long way in integrating gender equality in society, especially in regards to equal rights to education and employment opportunities. One example that was especially highlighted were the efforts within the primary school system to challenge gender roles and stereotypes (Interview with Carmen Godoy 29/10/2014). At the same time many gender imbalances remain in terms of expanding policies and laws beyond protecting women in their traditional roles and in

⁴ Information from official website: www.portal.sernam.cl

tackling issues of sexuality and reproductive rights (Varas 2012). SERNAM argues for the continued importance of their work by claiming that gender equality has declined in Chile since 2010, pointing to the fact that Chile has fallen back from being placed at 46th to 87th place on the ‘World’s Economic Forum’ equality indicator. SERNAM claims that a major reason for this is the fact that little is being done to re-establish a new system of redistribution of household or domestic responsibilities, leaving women at a disadvantage. They also point to the still grave problematic of domestic gender based violence occurring in the country. For these reasons SERNAM sees a need for a new gender agenda in Chile in order to create actual change in society⁵.

4.2 Gender Equality and the Chilean Armed Forces

The political process of increasing gender equality in the Chilean Armed Forces, follows the country’s general move towards modernization and increased gender equality. Important progress is indicated in the changing role played by women in terms of their transition from an auxiliary role to having a professional role within the military institution. During one of the interviews it was highlighted by an *academic*, Karina Doña Molina, that the integration of women in the armed forces is indicated by distinguishing between women having been seen to have an equal role and women actually performing equal function (Interview with Karina Doña Molina 28/11/2014). During the dictatorship women were seen as the natural allies of the military regime (Valenzuela 1995) and in 1974 the Pinochet regime established educational institutions creating a space for women to join the military i.e. ‘Escuela de Servicio Auxiliar Femenino del Ejército’ and ‘Servicio Femenino Militar’ (Lucero 2011). In 1974 both the army and the air force in Chile allowed women to have a professional role within their institutions (Lucero 2011). However, even though the establishment of a military school and service for women by the military regime could be seen as positive in regards to creating a space for women to be a part of the country’s military service, it was not great progress in regards to gender equality. In this time of violence, conflict and social unrest, it is likely that there was an increased need for greater capacity within the armed forces in Chile. This could explain an increase in the integration of women in the Chilean military (Kümmel 2002). But these female soldiers were not to be seen as equals to male soldiers. First of all, the military school and army service was constructed in a way that separated women from men.

⁵ Information from official website: www.portal.sernam.cl

The names themselves, with ‘femenino’ being a key word, indicated the effort at emphasising gender difference. The importance of maintaining gender difference was also evident when it came to appearance, in that women should be recognised not just as being soldiers, but as being women, by their uniforms, makeup, long hair and jewellery (Interview with Karina Doña Molina 28/11/2014).

The last decade can be seen as a paradigm shift when it comes to both gender equality and defence politics in Chile. In recent years Chilean women have been seen as entering powerful positions in defence politics, a known example being Michele Bachelet becoming the country’s first female head of the Ministry of Defence in 2002. As head of the Ministry of Defence Bachelet created a new voluntary military service for women, *Servicio Militar Voluntario Femenino*, which substantially increased female interest in enlisting (Lucero 2011). In Chile gender equality has become a topic that is integrated in the politics of the Ministry of Defence. In 2005 a committee was created regarding the integration of women in the armed forces and national police force (called the Carabiniers/*Carabineros* of Chile) in an effort at distributing information about the situation of women within these institutions and integrate gender politics in the Ministry of Defence. This has led to many advances with regards to the inclusion of women in the Armed Forces, making Chile one of the leading countries in Latin America on the issue of eliminating discriminatory or marginalising practices when it comes to the professional employment of women in the Armed Forces, one example being the initiation of integrating women as professionals in the Navy in 2003 (Lucero 2011). Women are now officially able to work as commanding officers and achieve the highest level of rank in many branches of the armed forces, although certain exclusions still remain in specialties like the infantry, cavalry the submarines and others (Lucero 2011, Doña Molina 2012).

The general impression given by the participants interviewed for this thesis is that there has been a significant change when it comes to the integration of women in the Chilean Armed Forces in recent years. One example of this being that women have been given more equal positions and career opportunities as men. While some put emphasis on remaining issues, others claim women to be fully integrated in the armed forces, and focus the discussion more on the current work being done to improve civilian/political control, limiting military prerogatives, and establish focus on integrating diversity in the armed forces. In regards to

this it should be mentioned that Gabriel Gaspar, current secretary of the armed forces in the Chilean Ministry of Defence, was one of the subjects who stressed the need for a greater inclusion of all groups of society, although notably not talking specifically in terms of gender equality. He also stressed that there was a lot of work to be done with regards to gender discrimination and the equal distribution of power between men and women in the military institution (Interview with Gabriel Gaspar 19/11/2014).

Chilean political culture tends to be morally conservative, even the politics of the centre-left. There seem to be a contradiction, or a paradox, between Chile's economic and social process of modernization and the existing conservative values and norms in the country's politics. It is argued that this conservatism, and the traditional sectors sustaining it, needs to be culturally defeated in order to make a more gender equal society in Chile (Blofield 2001). After conducting several interviews with active Chilean politicians, some of whom are working in the Ministry of Defence, left the impression that Chilean politics are in many ways moving in a more progressive direction. One subject stated that Chile was becoming increasingly secular in that the Catholic Church is losing its cultural and ideological influence on society and politics. He could also see the military as mirroring this change, and explained how he saw the gender debate, increasing gender equality in the armed forces, as being a completely open issue in society in that both women and homosexuals were welcomed into the military. He continued by adding that he thought Chile was moving towards a similar approach as the US and their 'Don't ask Don't tell' policy in regards to homosexual military personnel, and pointed to an example of a commander in chief of the navy who through a press conference demonstrated acceptance of one of his privates being homosexual (Interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014). Another interview subject indicated that even though Chile is liberal in terms of economics, they are still restrictive in terms of values, and that the process of achieving gender equality within the armed forces is still a long-term project (Interview with Carla Vidal 13/11/2014). This view was also present in the interview with Gabriel Gaspar, who described Chile as having returned to a culture of more traditionally conservative social values (Interview with Gabriel Gaspar 19/11/2014).

4.3 Gender Relations Within the Chilean Military

Another way of approaching the integration of gender equality in the Chilean Armed Forces is to address it as a social process. In other words, to look at the social acceptance and the degree to which gender equality policies substantially generate equal gender rights and opportunities. Although a lot of progress has been made in recent years when it comes to integrating women in the military in Chile, the process has been long, challenging, and not without resistance. Much of this resistance, stemming from both men and women, is found within the military institution itself (Doña Molina 2012). *What can explain this resistance?* In discussing this question it is helpful to look at case studies from other contexts addressing the issue of gender equality within the military, as military culture is shown to have many universal traits and shared ideas of gender. Research presented in the second chapter of this thesis, predominantly from the US, Israel, Canada and Chile, depicts military environments where there is still a dominant preference for what are seen as masculine traits and qualities when it comes to belonging in the military. These realities demonstrate how women are often made out to be an antithesis to what it means to be a soldier, and as an invader of the traditional ‘male warrior’ space (Cohn 2000, Taber 2011, Kovitz 2001, Doña Molina 2012, Sasson-Levy 2003). This causes challenges for women to be accepted within the institutions, particularly when it comes to possibilities in getting equal access to positions of power and opportunities at advancement of their careers, even though these are officially their rights by law (Williams 1989, Herbert 1998, Boyce & Herd 2003, Doña Molina 2012).

There are indications that military personnel, both men and women, frequently share a traditional view of gender roles. Women themselves seem to struggle in trying to balance feminine and masculine qualities in efforts at maintaining their identity as both a soldier and a woman, often leading to women submitting to the existing male dominated gender structures instead of challenging them (Cohn 2000, Herbert 1998, Doña Molina 2012). The Chilean military is seen as being built on a form of family legacy, a concept termed *la familia militar*, meaning that there is a tradition for sons to follow in their military fathers’ footsteps (Interview with Francisco Vidal Salinas 20/11/2014). This in itself could be seen as a gender discriminating trend. Traditional ideas of men as a macho warrior and women as a caring mother are classic depictions of gender in Chilean military culture, and very relevant in terms of explaining the unequal gender structures that exist in the Chilean military. During one

interview it was mentioned how the generation that entered the Chilean military academy before women were integrated call themselves that last ‘pure generation’ (Interview with Karina Doña Molina 28/11/2014). There is still a dominant presence of a more conservative/macho culture within the Chilean military, an example being the idea that women are physically weaker than men and should be protected from violence and situations of direct combat (Interview with Gloria Requena 21/11/2014). Even though the military has become more inclusive and made efforts towards creating equal rights and opportunities for men and women within the armed forces, discriminatory ideas of gender based on stereotypes, prejudice and traditionalism still remain. You could argue that these traditional ideas of gender roles and gender equality are shared by different sectors of Chilean society such as: the military, the Catholic Church, the conservative political centre-right, and more conservative parts of the population in general. The Catholic Church could be seen as playing an essential role in both shaping and maintaining conservative values and ideas about gender and family morals that affect members of the military on a similar level as any individual in Chilean society (Blofield 2001). At the same time it could be argued that there is a distinct aspect of military culture, not directly linked with either the Catholic Church or moral conservatism, that seeks to maintain their military image and masculine environment. The resistance towards the integration of women and homosexuals in the military might then stem from men in the military not wanting “their” institution to be made less masculine by the inclusion of individuals with ‘feminine qualities’. Or in other words, the male majority of the armed forces seem to want to maintain their environment of masculine exclusivity. This causes masculine hostilities, gender tension/resentments and discrimination. all of which limit the de facto practice of gender equality within the Chilean Military (Cohn 2000, Doña Molina 2012, Taber 2011, Kovitz 2001).

In recent years there has been an increase in government efforts aimed at changing the role of the Chilean military. In an interview with Gabriel Gaspar he described how the Chilean military is moving with the rest of society in a process of modernization. The integration of women in the military institution could be seen as being part of this progress. He continued by saying that the armed forces should reflect the same diversity that exists in the rest of society (Interview with Gabriel Gaspar 19/11/2014). A part of this modernization process is also that the military could be seen as moving away from its authoritarian and violent past, one example being the institution’s increased participation in peacekeeping operations. By

changing its role and function the military could also be seen as changing its image. These changes have the potential to affect ideas of gender within the military. The implementation of new technologies, more peaceful times leading to less direct combat, along with new military responsibilities such as peace building and humanitarian interventions are seen as creating roles within the military that are more “female appropriate” (Lucero 2011). There are claims that a shift towards peacekeeping and the use of technologies that rely more on brain power than physical strength is positive for the inclusion of women within the military in that it creates a more gender neutral working environment (Kümmel 2002). Recognising that women are accepted in such roles within the military it could be argued that this leads to greater gender equality and less gender discrimination within the Chilean Armed Forces.

On the other hand this could be seen as an acceptance of gender stereotyping, in the stereotyping of women as caring pacifists that led them to being accepted in military roles. One could argue that women should be accepted in the military regardless of there being changes in terms of the role and responsibilities of the armed forces. Women should not rely on fitting into an ideal gendered image based on what are seen as appropriate responsibilities for women to take on. This might also have a discriminative or restrictive affect in leading to the continuation of women being excluded from attaining specific specializations, like the infantry. Socially constructed gender myths could in this way be seen as creating limitations to the full and equal integration of women in the Chilean Armed Forces (Lucero 2011). It is problematic that instead of contributing to eliminate gender difference, this type of argument is based on emphasizing how men and women could be seen as having different qualities that affect the extent they can belong to the military. Claiming that women are now more accepted in the military because of a change in focus towards peacekeeping operations is not a good indicator of increased gender equality but rather a change in job description making it easier to accept women in this formerly more brutal and violent profession. This does not change the existing limitations that continue to exclude women from being accepted in certain military roles that are viewed as only appropriate for men.

One important issue highlighted during several interviews was education’s potential to change military culture, and existing ideas of gender roles. Education was for example emphasized as an important mechanism to assist the transformation of values, attitudes and ideas about gender (Interview with Carmen Godoy 29/10/2014). During another interview Augusto Varas

explained how the military have started to introduce human rights courses in the military academies and are offering courses in political science with civilian lecturers from outside the military schools (Interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014). It was also suggested that this new educational system was part of creating a much needed cultural change in the military institution (Interview with Emilio Cheyre 11/11/2014). Another interview subject mentioned that the integration of what could be seen as “civilian pedagogy” has taken place in the military educational system. Discussion is made within this new educational regime of human rights and the integration of gender equality and sexual minorities in the armed forces (Interview with Cristian Garay 12/11/2014). It was also stressed how the military academic program is essential in creating a foundation for the modernization process of the armed forces, and also essential in determining the future progression of gender equality and other developments in the shifting role of the armed forces towards the areas of human rights and peace building (Interview with Gloria Requena 21/11/2014). Educating the armed forces on the issues of human rights and gender equality could prove to be a determinant factor in changing military culture.

Another important point in terms of addressing ideas of gender within the Chilean military is that the armed forces should be more directly criticised as an overly masculinized organisation (Taber 2011). The integration of women in the Chilean Armed forces is limited by the nature of the military culture (Davies et. al). This culture is based on traditional ideas of gender, natural law, and conservative family values. In order to change the existing gender hostile environment in the armed forces it is important that the nature of traditionalist and discriminative ideas of gender are not accepted as a natural reaction to the changes that have come with increased integration of gender equality. Many of the subjects interviewed were vague when addressing the resistance to the integration of women in the armed forces, only indicating in general that there was now less discrimination or prejudice against women in the armed forces than when the process was initiated. Gloria Requena indicated for example that she saw resistance against change within the military institutions as something natural (21/11/2014). During interviews the Chilean military was rarely directly criticised for being a masculinized organization.

4.4 Limitations to Gender Equality in the Chilean Armed Forces

Despite government efforts at improving gender equality and eliminating discrimination, the armed forces seem to be an example of how unequal conditions and opportunities based on gender still exist. Carla Vidal expressed how the military could still be seen as very restrictive when it comes to gender equality. Using herself as an example, as having worked with the topic of national defence, she explained how she was the only woman in this particular working environment. She continued by adding that most of the national defence apparatus consist of men, with women more often seen in the role of the secretary. She experienced this uneven gender distribution as making it more challenging to take a stand on women's issues (Interview with Carla Vidal 13/11/2014). The existing ideas of gender that are dominant in the Chilean military are constructed from gender stereotypes, demonstrated through an idealisation of masculinity and the idea of what a 'true' soldier should represent. In being a male dominated environment, a symbol of masculinity and patriarchy, the armed forces might be seen as a specifically challenging area in which to integrate gender equality. It should therefor be a priority for the government to implement and ensure more direct policies aimed at eliminating discrimination within these institutions. When changes in institutional structures, cultures and practises do not happen it creates an acceptance of the existing patriarchal system, and the unequal power relations between the genders in the military is maintained. A further question to ask is then; *why are these changes not happening within the Chilean military?* The three following sub-chapters presented some of the limitations to the process of including gender equality in the Chilean Armed Forces. These are summarized here.

4.4.1 Conflicting Ideas of Gender and Gender Roles

When women enter an environment dominated by traditional ides of gender it can cause them to struggle with having conflicting ideas about their own gender identity (Silva 2008). They are forced to find a balance between being masculine enough to be accepted as a soldier and feminine enough to be accepted as a woman (Herbert 1998). In order to keep their female identity, women have been seen to reproducing traditional femininity instead of challenging male privilege within the military institution (Silva 2008), and could be seen as submitting to certain stereotypes and ideas of gender that are traditionally found in the military (Cohn

2000). During one interview it was mentioned that as part of the process of assimilation in the military, there is a tendency for women to adopt masculine behaviours and conduct in order to feel a sense of belonging (Interview with Carla Vidal 13/11/2014). This could be seen as a tendency of military women accepting the traditional ideas of gender roles within the military culture instead of challenging them. Karina Doña Molina explained how both male and female officers in the Chilean armed forces seem to generally agree that masculine qualities is what constitutes being a soldier. Femininity does not go well with this classic image of a military man as a *caballero*, and women don't have many female role models to assist them in changing this perception (Interview with Karina Doña Molina 28/11/2014).

The official arguments behind the exclusion of women from certain careers within the Chilean military, like the infantry, are based on biological/or gender differences, seen as constituted through reproductive capabilities (motherhood/maternity) and the difference in men and women's physical capacity (Interview with Gloria Requena 21/11/2014). These exclusions could also be seen as a result of lack of pressure or efforts made from women themselves in obtaining such rights. This is part of what Doña Molina describes as a kind of auto-sabotage in that women are themselves creating validation for discriminative behaviour (Doña Molina 2012). In an interview Doña Molina describes that when first joining the military many of the women are very ambitious and dream of becoming Generals or at least high-ranking officers in powerful positions. But after they finish the military academy many women seem to have changed their minds, often using the argument that they don't see the possibility of combining having an ambitious military career with having a family. This could be seen as a form of self-blocking. Throughout the academy women also seem to be discouraged from being ambitious, in being continuously told that having a military career will become very challenging once they start a family (Interview with Karina Doña Molina 28/11/2014). This portrayal indicates that there is pressure for young women in the Chilean armed forces to start a family, and that this should be prioritized before their career.

The Chilean constitution states that the family is the foundation of society⁶. This statement illustrates what could be seen as a key issue limiting the role of women in the Chilean

⁶ From article 1. of the Chilean Constitution stating that, *La familia es el núcleo fundamental de la sociedad*.

military. Previous research indicates that the combination of having a military career and starting a family is experienced as challenging for women (Cohn 2000, Herbert 1998, Doña Molina 2012). An issue that is not only relevant in the case of Chile, but for women with military careers around the world. Firstly there is a practical limitation to combining motherhood with a military career in that there is a general lack of assistance, acceptance and arrangements for women when it comes to combining motherhood and an ambitious career within the military (Taber 2011). But there could also be seen as being a symbolic limitation in the sense that motherhood in itself could be seen as highlighting the distinction from the traditional imagery of what it means to be a soldier (Taber 2011). If motherhood is seen as being both symbolically and practically incompatible with belonging in the armed forces, it potentially makes women incompatible with belonging in the armed forces.

It seemed that there is a lot to be done in regards to enabling an equal integration of women in the armed forces in terms of both their identity and reality as mothers. A representative from the Ministry of Defence explains how they are currently looking into the issue of the exclusion of women from units such as the infantry, working at modifying the regulations or rules in regards to discrimination, and in how to improve conditions for women in terms of maternity in combination with having a military career, adding that there is a very open space in the Ministry for discussing the further integration of women in the armed forces. (Interview with Gloria Requena 21/11/2014).

4.4.2 Legal Integration vs. Social Integration

As previously mentioned, there is both a political process and a social process in terms of the implementation of a more gender equal approach in the military institutions. This could also be seen as the difference between the formality of actual integration and the quality of that integration (Lucero 2011). What could be observed in the case of Chile is that the legal or formal process is moving forward, while the social process seems to be lagging behind. In other words there is a lot to be desired when it comes to the quality of the formal integration. The integration of the gender agenda in the Chilean Armed Forces could be seen from two standpoints; Firstly, the formal acceptance by both the government (representing the civilian population) and the military to allow an equal integration of women and homosexuals in the military institutions through the implementation of law and policy. Secondly, how this

integration actually occurs within the military institutions, the unofficial acceptance or resistance of gender equality from within the military itself. While gender equality in the former has come a long way in Chile, especially considering the dominant political regime of moral conservatism, in the latter it is lacking greatly. During one interview it was pointed out that there has long been an open discussion and liberalization of rights within the military institution, an example being the integration of women and minority groups, but it was indicated this has not been the case in terms of liberalizing values within the institution (Interview with Carla Vidal 13/11/2014).

A challenge stands out when looking at the integration of women in the Armed Forces is that women in Chile still seem to be left with a double burden. They are expected to combine a military career with having children and maintaining their domestic responsibilities. Generally speaking Chile could be seen as having made much progress, in having implemented many policies, in terms of gender equal employment opportunities. The law states that women have the right to achieve the highest possible rank in all branches of the military, with only a few exceptions where women are not permitted (Lucero 2011). On paper it seems that the Chilean government is doing well when it comes to gender equality, but in terms of fighting discrimination and changing the unequal patriarchal power relations and structures within the military they have a long way to go. While the Ministry of Defence has expressed the need for more recruitment to the Armed Forces, also with particular emphasis on wanting female recruits⁷ this does not mean that these women will have equal opportunities as their male colleagues once they have joined. During one interview it was expressed that while the Chilean armed forces has come far in terms of formal change of values and the implementation of reforms, there might still be a lack of a cultural shift within the military, which could be seen as causing internal gendered conflict on an inter-personal level (Interview with José Miguel Piuzzi 21/11/2014).

Government policies by themselves cannot ensure gender equality. It also needs to come from changes being made within the military institutions. One interview subject explained that while the armed forces seemingly welcome diversity, there is still space for further

⁷ Stated by Gabriel Gaspar through the Chilean Ministry of Defence official website, the news article can be found at the following link: <http://www.defensa.cl/noticias/hasta-el-momento-la-cifra-de-voluntariado-es-importante-particularmente-el-numero-de-mujeres-volunta/>

integration. Continuing by saying that the issue that is now at hand concerns how to move beyond informal resistance and improve gender relationships within the armed forces, which is a work in progress for the government (Interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014).

Because of the gendered nature of the Chilean military, where women are often seen as not fitting the image of what it means to be a soldier, women are often discouraged from seeking higher rank or to have an ambitious career (Doña Molina 2012). There are many disincentives keeping real change from occurring in regards to the quality of the integration of women in the Chilean military. Gender hostilities and discriminatory practised from within the military could be seen as a result of both traditional ideas of gender, men as warriors women as mothers, and a dominant military culture claiming that one gender belongs while the other is an invader with the potential to ruin the institution by changing the idea of what it means to be a soldier. The combination of a gender hostile environment, also making it difficulty to combine motherhood and having an ambitious military career, and societal expectations might be what is limiting women in the military from fighting more fiercely to change the existing conditions and structures from within the military.

In an interview Varas explained that while some years back there was an explosion of interest among women to participate in the military, this could now be seen as declining, and the proportion of women in the Chilean armed forces is still seen as low in that the target of 10-12 % is not met (Interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014). The lack of female military recruits is explained by one interview subject as possibly having to do with a general lack of interest among young people to join the armed forces in Chile (Interview with Jaime Baeza 18/11/2014). Another point is the fact that there is no immediate need for women in combatting roles in Chile because the country is not under any immediate threat, this might be limiting to their integration in terms of lack of demand in this particular field (Kümmel 2002).

4.4.3 A Lack of Military Involvement in the Process

One element that is interesting to observe when looking at this process of integrating a gender equality agenda in the military institutions is the degree of resistance and/or acceptance demonstrated by the military. The Chilean military have officially accepted a lot of efforts in both promoting and increasing gender equality within its institutions. This process can be seen as reflecting a positive change towards a more gender equal culture within the military.

Some subjects interviewed speak very positively about this development. They highlight that even though politicians initiated changes in integration policy they are generally welcomed by the military. One subject interviewed said that even though there are examples of resistance on an individual level, mostly towards homosexuals, these individuals do not represent an official military rejection of the process. The armed forces are not supposed to have societal values or follow political ideologies. Individuals within the military are to follow orders from their commanding officers that are following orders from the government/Ministry of Defence, and are essentially not allowed to have an opinion on the matter of gender equality (Interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014). But even though it is not supposed to happen, it was indicated when discussing this with Cheyre, former General and Commander in Chief of the Chilean armed forces, that many of the existing discriminations might stem from individual's religious or moral values (Interview with Emilio Cheyre 11/11/2014).

On the other hand, higher-ranking officers have rejected the gender equality approach, initiated by political institutions (Doña Molina 2012). This demonstration of resistance could be seen as having established, and not eliminated, gender discrimination and created a gender hostile environment (Doña Molina 2012). Because of this it seems that the implementation of gender equality policies in the Chilean armed forces are the result of pressures from government and/or civil society, and does not change the inherent gender tensions and discriminations that exist in this masculine environment (Doña Molina 2012). As previously mentioned, women are often limiting themselves from seeking positions of power or high rank within the Chilean military, and thereby stop gender equality from increasing. If some of the issues causing women to make such choices were eliminated, or at least decreased, this might give women more opportunities or greater incentive to be more ambitious in challenging gender stereotypes and the existing discriminative environment.

While it is an important step to be able to identify the existence of discrimination against women in the Chilean military, and equally important to find possible ways to solve these issues (for example through the creation of policies aimed at eliminating these discriminatory conditions), the real challenge lies in making sure that the implementation of such policies will actually have a desired effect. An obstacle to achieving success in implementing gender equal conditions in the Chilean Armed forces is the lack of acceptance of the gender equality agenda from actors within the military institution. The lack of military participation in the

process of establishing policies and laws during this process could be seen as causing the resistance in the implementation of these laws and policies. More work needs to be done in terms of tackling such issues, and deal with the existing resistance to the changing gender relations that comes with the integration of women in the military. When politicians representing the Ministry of Defence ask for more women to join military service, they should ensure that these women are welcomed when they get there. During one interview it was expressed that there is a state obligation to not allow discrimination to happen, and that people who feel discriminated in the military can take their case to the justice system (Interview with Carla Vidal 13/11/2014). If such a system were to work in practice (the author is currently unaware of the actual practices and outcomes regarding this obligation) it would be a step in the right direction.

An important factor in ensuring a more successful process of equal integration of women in the armed forces would be to have the military more directly involved in this process, instead of forcing changes upon reluctant male soldiers. In order to improve conditions for women there is a greater need for a more open and direct discussion in addressing the issues of discriminatory practices and the existing gender hostile environment in the military. According to a representative from the Ministry of Defence, these are issues that are currently being addressed in Ministry committees, where representatives from the armed forces are also partaking as part of a participative strategy (Interview with Gloria Requena 21/11/2014).

4. 5 Gender Equality & Civil-Military Relations in Chile

To understand the process of increasing gender equality in the Chilean armed forces it is important to consider the relationship between the government (as representatives of the civilian population) and the military institutions. The Chilean Armed Forces have since the end of the dictatorship been going through a process of radical change. They could be seen as moving away from having a dominant role in politics towards a more separate and professional role. This military professionalism has not happened over night. It is the result of several constitutional reforms, policies and laws that have been implemented throughout the last to decades. The military was seen as demonstrating critique, or disappointment, towards the Piñera administration's top-down political approach regarding the future of the military institution. This case was mentioned during several interviews in that it was seen as having

created a tension between the government and the military during this time (From interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014, Jaime Baeza 18/11/2014 & Carla Vidal 13/11/2014).

Although Carla Vidal points out that the official rejection or opposition to the governments political reforms did not come directly from the military, but from political or civilian communities seen as backing up military dissatisfaction (Interview with Carla Vidal 13/11/2014).

Many of the people we interviewed seemed very clear in stating that the military has a very limited role in Chilean politics. Jaime Baeza stated for example that the armed forces had no official relevance in terms of Chilean politics, and that they generally seem detached from the ‘daily politics’ that is not directly concerning their own institution. Although pointing out that they are very interested in having a role in the discussion of issues that directly concern them (Interview with Jaime Baeza 18/11/2014). Augusto Varas, working as an external advisor to the Chilean Ministry of Defence, explained that no military personnel is directly involved in politics or policy-making (Interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014). The secretary of the armed forces, Gabriel Gaspar, indicated that the Chilean military could be seen as not having any prerogatives of their own, although adding that he might be impartial in judging this factor having been involved in working on the professionalization of the armed forces for the last 20 years (Interview with Gabriel Gaspar 19/11/2014). Cristian Garay (belonging to the sample group of academics) pointed out that after the democratic transition in the 90s there has been a reduction in military prerogatives (Interview with Cristian Garay 12/11/2014). Hugo Fröling (also belonging to the sample group of *academics*) similarly pointed out that the armed forces could be seen as an influential actor in society in issues regarding national defence or in maintaining a positive international image for the country, but that they have very little evident or direct influence on politics in general (Interview with Hugo Fröling 12/11/2014).

One concept that was brought up and discussed in several interviews was the concept of *el profesionalismo militar participativo* (participatory military professionalism). This concept was part of *la Ordenanza General del Ejército* a document consisting of a set of governing principles concerning the role and conduct of the military that was approved in 2006. One of the objectives with this new strategy for the armed forces was to make the institution less exclusive, create a new institutional responsibility for the military in terms of maintaining

human rights, and making changes towards a clear subordination of the military under civilian rule (Interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014, Emilio Cheyre 11/11/2014). This could be seen as a new stage in civil-military relations that lies between Huntington's definitions of subjective and objective control, leaning more towards the latter. Here the military is professional and apolitical. According to Cheyre, who himself had a leading role in the creation of the 'Ordenanza', the aim of having a professional military that also participates is to avoid a total isolation of the military from the rest of society (Interview with Emilio Cheyre 11/11/2014). When addressing the same concept former General of the Chilean armed forces Jose Miguel Piuzzi explained that it has nothing to do with direct military participation in politics, but is based on the premise of looking at the military as an asset that should be put to use, or participate in society, in times when there is little threat to national security (Interview with Jose Miguel Piuzzi 21/11/2014). Augusto Varas on the other hand seemed more critical to the concept of a 'participative' military in terms of the widening of their responsibilities and involvement in the public space of society beyond the area of national defence (Interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014). By looking at Trinkunas' theory of seeing the degree of military subordination measuring military subordination by degree of military participation in areas of state policy, this could be viewed as potentially decreasing effective civilian control, depending on what responsibilities the military is actually given (Trinkunas 2001). In an interview with Carla Vidal she indicated that the function of the military in times of peace was an open topic and one currently under discussion in Chile (Interview with Carla Vidal 13/11/2014).

A central issue that stands out from several of the interviews is the contradiction of presenting the military as being an increasingly professionalized institution, while at the same time being presented as one of the institutions in Chile still enjoying many privileges seen as separating them from the rest of the civilian society. If military prerogatives could be seen as privileges, a sense of exclusivity, and control over certain areas (Stepan 1988), the Chilean military could be seen as maintaining many such prerogatives. These prerogatives seem to be focused on maintaining existing privileges such as their economic resources and separate legal system. The military justice system was on several occasions pointed out as being an exclusive right distinguishing the military from the rest of society (Interview with Carla Vidal 13/11/2014 & Cristian Cruz 26/11/2014). Gabriela Zuñiga (representing the sample group of *civil society*) described how she experienced the military as being segregated from the rest of civilian

society in that they have their own schools, hospitals, pension system, and generally getting special treatment from the government. She also pointed out that the military could be seen as having their own separate rights constituted through their separate legal system and military court. She sees the military as feeling superior to civilians, and in a way creating social segregation where they are at the top (Interview with Gabriela Zuñiga 24/11/2014).

Chilean governments since the dictatorship have shied away from directly addressing military human rights abuses and in limiting military privileges. During one interview it was pointed out that it is also an interest of the government, a political objective, to “clean up” the image of the Chilean armed forces after the Pinochet era and also to ingratiate with the military in building a strong civil-military relationship. This could be seen as a reason for the military being able to maintain many of their privileges. The issue of the grave human rights abuses committed by the military could still be seen as unresolved. One interview subject sees the government as being more eager to please the military in not wanting to ‘disturb the bees-nest’ with regards to this issue (Interview with Cristian Cruz 26/11/2014).

An important issue, also seen as causing military privilege, is the existing judicial system that separates the civilian and the military courts. Cristian Cruz, a human rights lawyer, mentions that public protest is often met with brutality from the Carabineros/Chilean police forces (Interview with Cristian Cruz 26/11/2014). It is also seen as more likely that a protester will end up being arrested for violence against a military or police officer, than a military or police officer being arrested for violence against a civilian (Fensom 2006). While civilians can be prosecuted in military court for crimes committed against military personnel or Carabineros, members of the military and police force are not prosecuted in civilian courts but also in the military courts, for crimes committed against civilians (Fensom 2006). Cristian Cruz sees a need for changes to be made to Chilean law, through constitutional reforms, in order to reduce this military privilege. This issue was also illustrated to the author through a visit to the Chilean military court, or military tribunal, when attending a case hearing. There were five judges, two being civilian judges and three being military judges. During the hearing, when the lawyers were presenting their cases, several of the judges looked as though they were sleeping, one judge was even wearing sunglasses. What this demonstrated to an outsider was that the judges expressed a general disinterest in the case. This behaviour was quite shocking

to the author, especially seeing that the case being discussed was of a very serious nature (Narrative based on visit to the Chilean military court, November 2014).

Cristian Cruz explained how he saw the need for a more equality-based approach in the integration process of the armed forces, seen as enabling a break with the trend of *la familia militar* in not treating applicants and members based on their family connections (Interview with Cristian Cruz 26/11/2014). Another interview subject also seen as representing civil society added to this point by stating that in order to democratize the armed forces Chile will have to come to terms with their past and generally be more open when it comes to both discussing and acknowledging what happened during the dictatorship. She continuously points direct critique at the military for not having admitted that what happened during the dictatorship was wrong (Interview with Gabriela Zuñiga 24/11/2014).

In terms of addressing military benefits and civil military relations it is interesting to look at the possible gains and losses for the military when it comes to demonstrating subordination or resistance towards political efforts at increased gender equality within the Chilean Armed Forces. As previously mentioned in this chapter the military could be seen as having such policies 'forced' upon them, in not having been properly included during the process. While this has led to passive resistance in terms of social integration, officially women are welcomed to join the armed forces. Carmen Godoy expressed that when it comes to maintaining their male dominated environment, official objections from the military are a rarity. She continues by saying that the military could be seen as being neutral, and usually not publicly involved, in matters regarding gender equality (Interview with Carmen Godoy 29/10/2014). One could argue that since the military is showing little official resistance to the increased gender equality approach, an idea standing in contrast with the organization's traditional culture and values, it is a sign of military subordination to the civilian government.

Another argument could be that it does not seem like a priority for the military to officially oppose the idea of gender equality. One explanation for this could be that the military are more concerned with maintaining their other prerogatives. One important military prerogative, pointed out in an interview, is for the Chilean armed forces to establish themselves internationally (Interview with Francisco Vidal Salinas 20/11/2014). During several interviews the military prerogative of financing was brought up, and it was mentioned

that the military are particularly interested in securing their income, which they partly get through their share in CODELCO (10% of national copper sales), and they do not want this privilege reduced or removed (Interview with Jose Miguel Piuzzi 21/11/2014). During the several of the interviews with subjects linked to the Ministry of Defence it was explained that the Bachelet government is currently discussing potential changes to modify the existing military framework. It was also indicated that the financial aspect, concerning the military budget, is one of the last issues for the government to go over. During one interview a current public debate regarding the military's retirement fund, which accounts for almost half their budget, was mentioned as an important essential issue in this process (Interview with Augusto Varas 10/11/2014). Another interview subject mentioned that members of the military receive much higher pensions than the average Chilean (Interview with Hugo Fröling 12/11/2014). Cheyre mentioned that past political efforts at implementing military financial reforms have not been approved, and he gives the impression that the reason for this might be because of the importance of allocating resources towards ensuring national defence. He thinks that the existing laws have allowed Chile to maintain a high level of security and a strong national defence, which is beneficial for society as a whole (Interview with Emilio Cheyre 11/11/2014).

Another military objective could be seen being to increase their general public support and change their image as an effort at distancing themselves from Pinochet and past human rights abuses. With growing popularity they are more likely to maintain their position of power and access to resources. To officially resist gender equality might be considered counterproductive. When looking at both Chilean politics and the general international development of Western militaries the integration of a gender equality approach in the armed forces could be seen as an inevitable progression. By promoting themselves as a modern and inclusive military institution the armed forces are more likely to gain positive publicity amongst the Chilean population and the international community. One interview subject mentioned that the armed forces are generally more likely to be judged by the public according to what they stand for as a brand than what they actually do (Interview with Hugo Fröling 12/11/2014). If this is true the military could be seen as having a lot to gain, in terms of improving their public image, from officially following government policies and applying a gender equality approach.

4.6 *Final Considerations*

It is not enough to state that individual members of the armed forces are *not suppose to* have an opinion when it comes to gender equality, that they are *supposed to* follow orders without resisting, and that they are *not allowed to* discriminate, if this does not constitute reality. The military might tolerate the inclusion of women in the armed forces to a certain degree because they still see themselves in control. By allowing discrimination to happen the military is able to secure their masculine environment, by not allowing a change in power structures between genders, without having to officially resist government policies. In this way the Chilean military could be seen as showing passive resistance (Taber 2011), as demonstrated through gender hostile and discriminatory practises. This raises questions regarding the objectivity of the military institution (Doña Molina 2012). Currently there is not enough pressure, from the government or from within the military institutions, aimed at changing this. However, a general impression from interviews is that the nature of the entire process of integrating women in the armed forces, and in changing the role of the military in general, has been one of slow progression. Every interview mentioned political efforts promoting progressive ideas. What remains lacking are the concrete results to back up these progressive claims and ideas.

There is a general consensus amongst the interview subjects that there has been a major transformation in terms inclusiveness within the military institution, seen as following Chile's general societal progress, but that the process of integrating gender equality is still moving slowly. However, there were some disagreements amongst the subjects interviewed with regards to emphasizing what issues remain. Some saw the process of integrating gender equality in the Chilean armed forces as moving forwards in a positive direction, and pointed out progress already made or currently in the making. One interview subject pointed out that, based on how he saw the current progression of gender equality moving, Chile would soon have female Generals in the army (Interview with Francisco Vidal Salinas 20/11/2014). Others were more pessimistic when talking about the future of gender equality in the Chilean armed forces. One subject pointed out that true social integration and acceptance of women in powerful positions within the armed forces was not a realistic idea if the current structures and ideas of gender remained unchallenged within the military institutions. If a change were to happen, it would be long into the future (Interview with Karina Doña Molina, 28/11/2014).

My analysis seem to agree more with the latter, at least in suggesting that a lot is still missing in terms of actual implementation of the gender agenda within the Chilean armed forces. Having female generals in the different branches of the armed forces will certainly demonstrate positive progress, and give women in the military more role models to look up to. However, having a handful of female officers with high rank does not by itself demonstrate that passive resistance or gender discriminatory structures within the armed forces have been eliminated. By not focusing more directly on eliminating the issues of discriminatory practises and gender hostilities, seen as creating disincentive for women to have ambitious careers within the military, the existing power relations will remain unequal.

Chapter 5. *Conclusion*

I have pointed out in this thesis that there are several issues limiting the integration of gender equality in the Chilean military institutions. While the legal integration of women and homosexuals in the military is progressing in Chile, there is still a lot to be done in terms of social integration and acceptance of gender equality in the Chilean military. The military is not officially resisting increased gender equality within its institutions, but unofficially there is resistance limiting this process. Passive resistance against the implementation of a gender equality agenda within the Chilean armed forces occurs on both an individual level and institutional level. While many individuals within the military could be seen as resisting change due to their personal values and traditional ideas of gender, a graver issue is the existing culture of gender hostilities and institutionalized gender discriminations that discourages women from having ambition and maintains the patriarchal and traditionalist ideas of gender and gender roles intact (Doña Molina 2012). While the armed forces in Chile are supposed to be professionalized and apolitical, this behaviour is signalling a form of unofficial opposition towards government policies.

Religion, or to be more specific the influence of the Catholic Church, does not have a direct influence on this military culture. However, this institution could be seen as creating prejudice ideas about gender, and in maintaining views of moral conservatism affecting both the Chilean society and individual members of the military (Blofield 2001). The struggle for women to gain acceptance as equals within the military is also stemming from societal expectations of motherhood and care-taking responsibilities. This issue is seen, according to SERNAM and Doña Molina, as leading back to women having a double burden in society due to an uneven distribution of domestic responsibilities between men and women. Pressure for female soldiers to prioritize motherhood and family responsibilities before their career could also be seen as coming from within the military, where women are often discouraged from seeking powerful positions of higher rank (Doña Molina 2012).

There is today a legal space in Chile allowing women to be equally included in the military and have access to the same career opportunities and positions of power as men, with only a few exclusions remaining. However, in reality there is no space for women to be fully integrated or have successful careers in the Chilean military while at the same time fulfilling societal expectations and pressures regarding family life. Women officers in the Chilean armed forces are seen as, generally, prioritizing motherhood and family obligations above their military careers, and in that they are conforming instead of challenging traditional ideas of gender within the military (Doña Molina 2012). What might make the case of Chile particularly challenging is the domination of moral conservatism favouring patriarchal structures (Blofield 2001). There are indications that military resistance is stemming from male soldiers wanting to maintain their masculine exclusivity and avoid changes from happening to their gendered masculine image (Cohn 2000, Kovitz 2001). However, traditional ideas of gender and morally conservative family values is also affecting the slow progression of gender equality within the country's military institution, in creating a form of validation for the continuation of exclusionary and discriminatory practices.

Ideas of gender within the Chilean military are built on gender myths and stereotypes in having a dominant culture that idealizes masculinity and see femininity as not being compatible with war, violence, and being a true soldier. In order to achieve an acceptance of gender equality within the military, there is need for a change in these dominant ideas of gender, making femininity compatible with the idea of being a soldier. This has only happened in terms of changing military responsibilities towards more 'female appropriate' activities such as peace building, but not in terms of accepting women in traditional military combatting roles such as the infantry, nor in encouraging women to seek positions of power within the military institution. The Chilean military still seem to be focused on avoiding a 'feminine touch' from spreading and potentially changing the existing masculine image of the military, and move the military environment away from being dominated by male exclusivity.

Ideas of gender that are discriminatory towards femininity, or devaluating what are deemed feminine qualities, could also be seen as causing validation for the discrimination and exclusion of women in the military (Cohn 2000). But as seen in several of the case studies in this thesis it can also cause women to have conflicting ideas in terms of their gender identity (Cohn 2000, Sasson-Levy 2003, Silva 2008, Kümmel 2002, Taber 2011, Herbert 1998).

There is a conflict between societal expectations and military expectations when it comes to the role women in the armed forces have to play. In many contexts, also in that of Chile, women could to a large degree be seen as submitting to the existing discriminatory practises instead of directly challenging them (Doña Molina 2012). Based on what was expressed through larger parts of the interviews conducted for this thesis, passive resistance towards increased gender equality within the military is seen in Chile as being natural or something that the interview subjects expected to happen. Such sentiments indicate a form of acceptance of existing discriminatory ideas of gender, making it more challenging to eliminate discriminatory practices within the armed forces.

The lack of official resistance from the military indicates that the military culture, and the dominance of traditional ideas of gender, is not creating adequate incentive to directly reject the process of equal gender integration from happening. This could be explained by looking at the country's civil-military relations that demonstrate how the Chilean military might have stronger incentives towards maintaining their privileges, improving their image internally and internationally, and increasing their public support. It could also be argued that because the military institution is allowing discriminatory and gender hostile practices to happen, they are able to secure their masculine environment, by not allowing a change in power structures between genders, without having to officially resist government policies.

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