

Dublin City University

Women in Combat:
The status and roles assigned female personnel in the
Permanent Defence Forces.

Thesis submitted to the School of Applied Language and
Intercultural Studies for the degree of Ph.D

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Thomas Martin Clonan
B.Ed. M.A.C.C.S.

Supervisor: Dr. Maggie Gibbon

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Ph. D. is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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DATE: 01 August 2000.

ABSTRACT

Women in Combat: The Status and Roles Assigned Female Personnel in the Permanent Defence Forces (PDF).

The aim of the PhD study is to examine critically the integration of female personnel within the Permanent Defence Forces (PDF). Their integration is examined in light of the deployment of women in the international military, and in light of a liberal-feminist examination of the workplace in terms of its equality of opportunity agenda.

It is argued that the sex-role stereotyping used to recruit young men in to the military in the past along with socio-biological theories of women's and men's appropriate spheres of activity have combined to disempower women within military culture, i.e; women's involvement represents a threat to the constructed masculinity the military embodies. Despite the persistence of patriarchal culture within the sphere of the military, there has been an unprecedented growth in the numbers of women within the military in the west due to the demands of modern total and technological warfare. Military planners are recruiting women not for reasons of equality of opportunity, but out of a strategically determined necessity.

In this light and in the light of the role of women in combat, the study examines the effect that women have had on the culture of the PDF. This effect is measured in terms of the roles and status assigned them and the policies evolved by the military authorities to deal with their recruitment, training, deployment and promotion.

A detailed sociological, and semiological analysis of PDF culture shows that as an institution the army is organised according to the values of patriarchy: the gender divisions within military culture extend from deployment to dress codes. From a liberal-feminist perspective, the 'masculine' patriarchal culture of the PDF could be said to be the antithesis of an equality of opportunity work environment.

Despite this and evidence of resistance from within the PDF to the recruitment of female personnel, the numbers of women within the PDF has trebled in recent years. This trend is continuing. The author has found evidence of the effects the advent of female personnel has had on PDF culture and evidence of the effects the growth in numbers of female personnel has had on recruitment, training and deployment policies.

In summary, the study examines a 'women's effect' on PDF culture as their numbers increase. The study examines a culture in transition.

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DEDICATION

~ To my mother and father ~

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations not included here are given in the text.

2/Lt	Second Lieutenant
A.G.	Adjutant General
APC	Armoured Personnel Carrier
Aptce	Apprentice
Brig Gen	Brigadier General
Capt	Captain
Cdt	Cadet
CMPO	Command Manpower Officer
Col	Colonel
Comdt	Commandant
COS	Chief of Staff
Cpl	Corporal
CQ	Company Quartermaster
CS	Company Sergeant
DFR	Defence Forces Regulation
GOC	General Officer Commanding
GPMG	General Purpose Machine Gun
Lt	Lieutenant
Lt Col	Lieutenant Colonel
Lt. Gen	Lieutenant General
Maj. Gen	Major General
NCO	Non Commissioned Officer
PDF	Permanent Defence Forces
PDFORRA	Permanent Defence Forces Other Ranks Representative Association
Pte	Private
RACO	Representative Association for Commissioned Officers
Rec	Recruit
RQMS	Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant
RSM	Regimental Sergeant Major
Sgt	Sergeant
SOP	Standard Operating Procedure
TSEOTC	Tri Services Equal Opportunities Training Centre

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Women in Combat

Foreword

Captain Tom Clonan, the author of this study, is currently serving as Assistant Press Officer, Defence Forces Headquarters, Parkgate Street, Dublin. In 1995, I completed a Taught Masters Programme in Communications and Cultural Studies in Dublin City University. As part of my fulfilment of the requirements of that course I completed a dissertation on Female Officers in the Defence Forces. This work sparked my interest in the history of women in combat, and the cultural issues surrounding women, violence and combat. At the suggestion of the external examiner and my supervisor, I applied to Dublin City University to expand on this dissertation and further my researches for the award of PhD.

I have widened the focus of my study to include all female personnel of the Defence Forces and have examined the de facto role of women in combat both at home and abroad in depth. References to the original dissertation are cited in the text.

CHAPTER ONE

Missing in Action: The search for women's experience of war and military culture

1.1 Introduction

This study was conducted in order to establish, *inter alia*, whether or not female personnel have been incorporated fully into the group identity of the 'iron frame' of 'Kameradschaft' that binds soldiers as a peer group. (Janowitz, 1960). I intended to examine this integration against the background of women's proven record in combat, recent international military trends in the deployment of women and within the context of the 'equality audit' of the workplace as implied in an equality of opportunity agenda.

As a hierarchical organisation, status within the PDF is measured through one's rank and by one's appointment. It was intended to analyse the status and roles assigned female personnel within the PDF by examining their visibility or numbers within the organisation, their participation rates across the primary (combat/line), and secondary (support/ 'A' and 'Q'), roles of the Defence forces and their representations across the ranks. In essence this meant establishing whether or not a gender division of labour existed within the Forces: a division which relegated women to the secondary or lower status functions within the organisation. An analysis was required of the 'tenor' of women's service within the organisation to ascertain and critically deconstruct the nature of the service of women within the PDF.

This examination and exploration would attempt a detailed sociological, semiotic and cultural analysis of the army culture in order to ascertain whether or not a systematic gender division of labour (role), and status (rank, power) exists within the organisation. This analysis would draw on the author's professional experience and access to the setting. The theoretical perspectives of the study reflect the author's own political position – a liberal-feminist one. In examining status and role, the study considers the various strands of feminist theory, namely Marxist or socialist feminism, radical feminism, and liberal feminism. The study thus addresses the issues of patriarchy in an attempt to explore and critique the workplace culture of the Permanent Defence Forces.

The thesis consists of ten chapters. This first chapter is a very brief outline of the thesis and an account of the motivation for the research. Chapter two gives an exhaustive and detailed account of the methodology used to conduct the research. The methodology is outlined in depth for reasons adduced in chapter two including the secrecy of the setting, the sensitivity of the subject under study and the contribution to knowledge contained in the account of method. The method chapter emphasises the qualitative nature of the study and elaborates on the techniques employed. These consisted mainly of participant observation, interviews and a documentary and archival analysis of the Permanent Defence Forces.

Chapter three provides an account of the theoretical perspective of the study. It incorporates within it a literature review in the form of an analysis of feminist theory, the advocacy of a liberal feminist approach to the study and a definition of patriarchy. In relation to theory, the theoretical perspective articulated in this chapter resides chiefly within the liberal feminist position and adopts the aspirations and assumptions of the equality of opportunity agenda, which derives from the liberal feminist position. The chapter contains a definition of patriarchy which functions as a diagnostic tool for the study in assessing the workplace culture of the PDF. The chapter concludes with a liberal feminist treatment of the gender division of labour in the workplace, including a number of models of a segregated work environment, to assist in the assessment of the equality agenda of the PDF workplace. The final section of this chapter on theoretical perspectives deals with the equality of opportunity agenda of liberal-feminism that is posited as the antithesis of a patriarchal dynamic in the workplace. Chapter three has resonances throughout the subsequent chapters and conclusion.

Chapter four consists of a brief account of women's experience of combat in recent times. This is included in order to contrast culturally or ideologically driven constructions of combat as a masculine preserve with the 'de-sexed' account of experience which defines combat as a 'unisex' or human experience. This chapter gives an account of international trends in the deployment of female personnel, and concludes with the role of women in conflict and combat in Ireland. It is a useful context setter or backdrop against which to critically examine the status and roles assigned women in the PDF today.

Chapters five to eight form the main focus of the thesis. These chapters provide a detailed analysis of the integration of women to the PDF in terms of their recruitment (chapter five), their training (chapter six) their deployment (chapter seven) and promotion (chapter eight). Use is made throughout these chapters of data gained from participant observation in the setting, interview data, unit audits, a simple analysis of PDF statistics and archival and documentary analysis. The data, gathered by the methods described in chapter two and

critically examined in light of the theoretical perspective and domain assumptions outlined in chapter three, provide the empirical evidence, which forms the basis for the conclusions and proposals.

Chapter nine widens the focus of the study to include the Garda Síochána, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the British Army and the international military community in terms of an equality of opportunity agenda, policies and initiatives. There is a further consideration in this chapter of EO policies throughout the public service. The chapter concludes with a comparison of the public service trade unions and the PDF's representative associations' equality agendas. This chapter is useful for comparison in assessing the equality environment of the PDF.

Chapter ten consists of a conclusion which sums up the findings of the thesis and draws up a set of proposals for changes in policy and practice. Throughout the thesis, I have endeavoured to return to the issues raised in chapters two and three. I have attempted to analyse and amplify those issues affecting female personnel in the PDF, within the theoretical framework established at the beginning of the study. To this end I quote from and cite many of these initial sources throughout the study.

1.2 Motivation for Research

Simply by selecting an issue to study, sociologists reveal what aspects of society they believe are significant.
(Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 763)

During the course of a post-graduate degree in Communications and Cultural Studies, a course in Feminist Theory provoked me into a re-examination of my own 'domain assumptions' (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 763), about the roles and status assigned female personnel in the PDF. As part fulfilment of the requirements of that degree, I completed a dissertation on female officers in the Defence Forces. This work sparked my interest in the history of women in combat and the cultural issues surrounding women, violence and combat.

This dissertation gave rise to the expanded research themes covered in this work. Some of these themes suggested further categories of study. This process is dealt with under the section on research design. This account of events draws the reader's attention to the mindset

or 'domain assumptions' of the author on embarking in this project. This is important as, according to Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 764), "The researcher's values will influence what events they believe to be important."

Carroll (1995: 3), in her MA thesis titled '*Biting the Bullet, An Exploration of Issues Raised by the Participation of Women in the Irish Defence Forces*', quotes a woman soldier as stating: "I was never a feminist until I joined the army". I think it fair to say I was never a feminist until I considered the status of women in the PDF in the context of the feminist theory module of the Masters degree.

This draws the reader's attention to what 'aspect of society' or 'events' the author believes to be significant. The reader thus knows the bias or influence, which prompted me to select this particular topic for research. As with any bias or influence, consideration must be taken of its limiting effect on the reliability or validity of the research. According to Shipman (1972):

This is a crude generalisation, but it is important to look at the extent to which the writer involved himself or got interested in the human problems as well as the working efficiency of his subjects.
(1972: 38)

This study is therefore 'tainted' perhaps by the influence of a liberal-feminist viewpoint, as outlined in detail in the theory chapter, and perhaps 'contaminated' by my own personal and professional experience. I hope to counter this bias by transparency – in method and outlook – by providing an exhaustive account of method in chapter two, and by openness with reference to my position as a male officer in a male-dominated organisation. Those domain assumptions as articulated by Gouldner in Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 763), are at variance with a positivistic view of research where a "sociologist's values should be kept out of their research" (Weber, quoted in Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 764).

Notwithstanding Weber's view, I feel it was not possible for me to conduct research in the PDF from an ideologically neutral perspective. Therefore I would endorse Gouldner's rejection of the feasibility of a value-free study and reiterate to the reader the bias inherent and inevitable in this work:

If sociologists ought not to express their personal values in the academic setting, how then are students to be safeguarded against the unwitting influence of these values which shape the sociologist's selection of problems, his preferences for certain hypotheses or conceptual schemes and his neglect of others? For these are unavoidable and, in this sense, there is and can be no value-free sociology.
(Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 764)

The issue of objectivity and bias control is dealt with in great detail in chapter two, which as stated previously contains of necessity an exhaustive account of method.

1.3 The constructed masculinity of military service

Another motivation for the research was to contribute to knowledge, or, shed light on a 'hidden' aspect of Irish society, the service of women in the Defence Forces. Apart from Carroll's (1995) study, to my knowledge, no contemporary published research exists on female personnel in the Defence Forces. The purpose of the study was to shed some light on the service of women in what is often considered an exclusively male or 'masculine' area of activity. To some extent, the study may challenge the 'constructed masculinity' of military service.

The call to arms is often referred to as a masculine profession. In Keegan's definitive works, "The History of Warfare" (1994) and "The Face of Battle" (1976), war is constantly described in terms of male combatants, a masculine experience. Dictionary definitions reinforce the notion of the masculinity of the profession of arms. According to the Chambers English dictionary (1998):

Army:	A large body of men armed for war and under military command; A body of men banded together in a special cause.
Warrior:	A veteran soldier, a fighting man, a redoubtable person.
Soldier:	A man engaged in military service, A man of military skill, martial, brave, continues doggedly in the face of difficulty.

As is the case with Keegan, other learned discourses endorse the notion of the masculinity of the profession of arms. Tiger and Fox's (1974) 'biogrammar' claims a genetically or biologically determined division of labour for society which implies that fighting, combat, and military service, are a male preserve, "the master plan of the human species" (Tiger, 1969: 44). Slattery (1992: 86) asks the question that Tiger and Fox have claimed to answer:

Is a man's place out in the world, - working, fighting and organising -
whilst a woman's place is in the home? And most especially, are men naturally the
dominant sex; and so entitled to rule society - and women?

For Tiger and Fox (1974), the world of warfare and battle is considered a 'man's world'.

War and fighting and the hunt have always been the business of human males, just as the protection of the troop is the business of male primates. Women are always a potential source of disruption to the unity, loyalty and trust necessary to comrades in arms.
(Tiger and Fox, 1974: 78)

This view of combat as a male preserve, is reiterated by Wright. (1994: 391) For some anthropologists, the 'ultimate sacrifice', to fight and die for the kinship group, is a phenomenon that is clearly associated with the male of the species.

This tendency to associate war and conflict with men and maleness is reflected in the very language used to describe conflict. Members of terrorist organisations that exist on these islands are routinely referred to by commentators, both in security and media circles, as 'the men of violence'. (This is despite the fact that our prisons and prisons throughout Britain house quite a number of women charged with violent political offences). No doubt these 'men of violence' can claim a direct lineage to the 'men of 1916', and the 'men of 1798'. The very language we use to describe the protagonists in conflict reinforces the constructed masculinity central to our image of conflict and warfare. Hence, 'our boys' in the trenches, or the 'men behind the wire'.

Thus, the inalienable link between 'masculinity' and the use of force is evident still in the vernacular of learned and political discourses. This carefully constructed 'masculine' image of war and warfare is preserved in popular culture also and examples abound of discourses, which 'confirm' or 'conform' to this hypothesis, especially when supported by those with no experience of combat. (See 'The Depersonalised Murder of War, an intimate history of face to face killing'. Kevin Myers, Irish Times, 29th May 1999:8) Some commentators have implied that the military are keen to reinforce the constructed masculinity of military service:

While the military is far reaching in its interests, it also takes care to preserve the perception that (...) its activities are highly masculine. (It has been) historically perceived as the most masculine of institutions.
(Wheelwright, 1991: 213)

In relation to the notion of war being a male-only, or masculine event, I have attempted in this study to explore this concept and highlight the role that women have played in combat in recent years. I have made reference as a context-setting exercise to their participation as combatants in several major engagements in recent military history, to separate the precedent of actual combat experience from popular ideology. I have referred to the phenomenon of

the ever-growing numbers of women, (and children), who are participating in armies and paramilitary organisations throughout the world.

An examination of the integration of women into the PDF in terms of the status and roles assigned them begins in chapter five with a brief outline of the 'women's service corps' proposed by the military authorities in 1978. This concept of a women's service corps most likely drew for its inspiration on the separate women's corps in all three services of the US and British armies created during the Second World War. (Binkin, 1977; Jones, 1997; French, 1988; D'Ann Campbell, 1993; Zinsser, 1990) The concept of a women's service corps may also have been influenced by depictions of the role of Irish women in the war of independence and civil war in this country as being subordinate and secondary to their male peers in the IRA. This view is challenged by many writers. (Hayes, 1992; O'Farrell, 1980; MacEoin, 1980; Ward, 1995; Duggan, 1991; Valiulis, 1992; McCurtain, 1991; Barrett 1992) However, despite the existence of accounts of women involved in combat in both the past and indeed the present, a dynamic exists, which denies the proven ability of women in combat. This dynamic is described by Von Creveld (1991:183) as follows:

Where the insurgents face a powerful, well armed military or police apparatus, the discrepancy in force is such that women can be allowed to participate in the insurgency without threatening the significance of what the men are doing. Once victory causes the relationship (...) to become less lopsided however, the laws of ordinary life reassert themselves and women again – through no fault of their own – can expect to be cast out in the cold.

The occlusion of the role women have played in combat in the past, their absence from mainstream accounts of military history have been commented on by many. (French, 1988:269-71; Goldman, 1982:157) This may be one of the factors which contributes to incredulity on the part of some at the utility of women in combat appointments and to the anachronistic concept of a 'women's service corps' or policies that would result in a de facto women's service corps. This study highlights current trends in the increased integration of women in the military world-wide to challenge this view and the patriarchal dynamic (as discussed in chapter three) which sustains it.

Until 1982, the PDF was almost entirely an all-male preserve. Today, there are 477 female troops out of a total of 10,500. (Source: Enlisted Personnel Section, January 2000) This represents approximately 5% of total strength. To the uninitiated, the PDF may appear to be a male dominated organisation engaged in those activities at home and abroad that many would describe as 'masculine'. One of the motivating factors for this study was to gain a true insight

into the workplace culture of the PDF and to establish exactly the nature of the service of women in the organisation. This study was intended to examine PDF culture in this light. It was an attempt to decode that culture, and to try to discover the truth about men, women and combat and analyse it within a liberal-feminist framework.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to outline my research aims and give a detailed inventory and explanation of the research methods employed. The chapter also indicates the sources of the primary and secondary data.

The methodology employed is primarily qualitative in nature. The techniques chosen consisted of 'insider' participant observation, (employing a 'structured' observation approach), open-ended informal interviews with both male and female personnel, and a documentary and archival analysis of military documents, correspondence, newspaper reports, and artefacts such as items of uniform and equipment. There is also a simple analysis of official statistical data and the 'auditing' or counting of female personnel across line and support appointments within the PDF. All of these methods and techniques are considered in detail in this chapter.

In studying the status and roles assigned female personnel, I have enjoyed a privileged access to the setting and the subjects involved. I have weighed up the advantages and disadvantages of the nature of this access comprehensively and have alerted the reader to my biases and domain assumptions.

2.1 Qualitative versus Quantitative Approaches to the Research

As suggested by the subject matter under study and the nature of my postgraduate training, this work is essentially qualitative in nature. This is, as articulated by Maykut and Morehouse (1996), an approach that is described as essentially phenomenological:

(The) phenomenological approach is a focus on understanding the meaning events have for persons being studied.
(Maykut and Morehouse, 1996: 3)

Qualitative research is presented in the literature on research methodology as being a more 'holistic' method, taking in the full context of a social situation, as opposed to quantitative research, which is presented as being 'positivistic' and unsuited to qualitative research. (Mason 1996; Jorgensen, 1989: 7; Maykut and Morehouse, 1996: 3; Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 698, 707, 709; Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs, 1982: 13) Other writers reject this bi-polar view of the quantitative versus qualitative research debate.

It was a mistake in my view and in the view of many other people to present the two methodologies – quantitative and qualitative – as alternative procedures. (Robson and Foster, 1989: 18)

Others who see these approaches as complementary echo this view. (Alasuutari, 1995: 130 – 33; Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 698)

There is a plurality of approaches, quantitative and qualitative in this study. For example, there is a simple analysis of official statistics and an audit of all female personnel serving in the PDF across line and support appointments. On the whole, however, this study is primarily qualitative in nature. A number of points emerge from the discussion of the relative merits and demerits of the qualitative/quantitative debate, which have particular relevance for this study.

Van Maanen, in Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs (1982: 11) notes that there has been a bias in most major research towards quantitative methods. Van Maanen, who conducted a form of ‘insider’ participant observation research into an U.S. police department states:

Organisational research is, in all its guises, hardly a process marked by the accumulation of detached, neutral or purely descriptive observations. Research is inherently a social and cultural process with deeply rooted moral, political and personal overtones. By directly confronting such issues, qualitative research is perhaps assuming a kind of legitimacy denied other techniques whose practitioners seem to regard non-scientific matters as things to be swept under the proverbial rug (or at least the public rug).

(Ibid. 1982: 14)

Given the similarity between Van Maanen’s research setting and the setting for this research, this leaning in favour of qualitative research has resonances for this study. Given that the army is a ‘people’ environment characterised by a diversity of situations and practices, it is highly behaviourist in nature. I do not believe that quantitative methods alone would have allowed for the scope or observational possibilities of the richness of human interaction evident in the social setting that is army life.

Therefore, given that this study is primarily a journey into the culture of the PDF as experienced and lived by its female members, I have chosen to adopt methods that are, in the main, qualitative in nature. This decision is not solely one of ideology, however. Other considerations (secrecy and sensitivity), which will be dealt with in detail in the section on access to the setting, posed major obstacles to the conduct of various techniques of

quantitative research, such as random probability sampling and the use of questionnaires. (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 703–706)

In brief, my position on methodology can be neatly summarised as follows, with a consequent emphasis in this study on qualitative research methods:

Practical difficulties have at least as much influence on the choice of research and methods as theoretical considerations. (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 718)

2.2 The influence of similar studies on the choice of qualitative research techniques.

In the literature relating to qualitative research as it pertains to organisations such as the police or army, the participant observation approach is emphasised as being of particular value. According to Van Maanen;

The result of ethnographic enquiry is cultural description. It is however, a description of the sort that can emerge only from a lengthy period of intimate study and residence in a given social setting (...) It calls for the acquired knowledge of the always special language spoken in that setting, first hand participation in some of the activities that take place there, and most critically, a deep reliance on intensive work with a few informants drawn from the setting. (Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs, 1982: 103-4)

This point is echoed by Strauss and Corbin (1990:42) who suggest that a working knowledge of the setting enhances the value of the data drawn: “the more professional experience, the richer the knowledge base and insight available to draw upon in the research”. Therefore, given that I am a serving officer of the PDF, participant observation as a method for gathering data on the status and roles assigned my female colleagues suggested itself from a practical and ideological point of view as an ideal technique. Punch (1989) in his study of police corruption in Amsterdam, used participant observation as the primary method of data gathering. (Punch cited in Renzetti and Lee, 1993:125) It was also the approach used by Hockey (1986) who studied the culture of the private soldier in the British Army. (Cited in Jorgensen, 1989:16) Mitchell (1993:12) outlines similar research undertaken by Van den Bergh (1967) in South Africa. In Renzetti and Lee (1993:125-45) Brewer outlines the use of qualitative methods such as those used in this study to explore ‘the masculine canteen culture of the RUC’.

In all of these studies and discussions of the technique of participant observation, the question of access and trust is repeatedly discussed. In Maykut and Morehouse (1996:71), Farrell [1988], is cited outlining the difficulty posed for “a white, middle class, middle aged, academic entering a social setting made up for the most part of low income black and Hispanic adolescents”. Stoddart [1986] in the same volume emphasises the requirement for ‘invisibility’ for the researcher by ‘blending in’ to the setting, “by participating in the ongoing activities of the participants (...) rather than adopting the posture of a detached researcher seeking objectivity” (1996:72)

The literature is dominated by these and other accounts of participant observation where the research is carried out by an ‘outsider’, usually an academic, variously referred to as an anthropologist, a sociologist, or an ethnographer. (Maykut and Morehouse, 1996:8, 70–72; Renzetti and Lee, 1993:125–145; Jorgensen, 1989:36; Mitchell, 1993:12; Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs, 1982: 103–151; Haralambos and Holborn, 1991:709, 740-1) The dominant paradigm of participant observation is of the researcher coming from ‘outside’ the setting chosen for study. The researcher then immerses him or herself in the setting, engages in ‘insider’ research, and then returns to a neutral setting to report their findings.

In the case of this study, the researcher, by virtue of membership of the organisation under study, achieved a measure of invisibility. This perspective, that of the action researcher, or reflective practitioner, has some distinct advantages (Schön, 1991). Perhaps the most complete insider’s view can be provided by those who become sociological researchers and use their own experiences as a source of data. Simon Holdoway was a police officer for a number of years before becoming a sociologist and could genuinely claim to provide a view from ‘Inside the British Police’. (Cited in Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 742) The questions of ‘invisibility’ and access are answered readily enough when one lives and works in the setting under study. I think it fair to say that I can claim to provide a view from ‘inside the Irish army’.

2.3 Qualitative Research Techniques

Since the range of what you can observe is almost limitless, you have to limit it.
(Kane, 1985: 55)

As previously mentioned, the research questions explored in the Masters dissertation provided me with a starting point for an expansion of the study to PhD level. The research themes in

themselves suggested various courses of action in terms of data gathering techniques. In other words:

The 'what' to investigate, must come prior to the decision of 'how' to go about doing one's research.
(Renzetti and Lee, 1993: 27)

In addition to the question of 'what' to research were considerations peculiar to the organisational setting within which the research was carried out. In order to assess the status and roles assigned female personnel of the Defence Forces, as evidenced or experienced in their day to day working environment, I had to engage in a form of 'selective' or 'judgmental' data gathering. As Jorgensen (1989: 50) puts it:

'Theoretical' or 'judgmental' sampling is a form of non-probability sampling that depends on the researcher's ability to make decisions about what to observe based on constraints such as opportunity, personal interest, resources, (...) and the problem to be investigated.

The techniques employed consequently were selective or purposive in nature. Maykut and Morehouse (1996) describe such an approach predicated on personal or professional prior knowledge of the setting as follows:

It is not our goal to build a random sample, but rather to select persons or settings we think represent the range of experience on the phenomenon in which we are interested. Thus it is our working knowledge of the contexts of the individuals and settings that lead us to select them for initial inclusion in our study.
(Maykut and Morehouse, 1996: 57)

As a result, as a researcher residing within the setting, I initially consciously narrowed the scope of my observations to certain key areas. The original Master's dissertation suggested these key areas as areas for investigation. Therefore the 'what' to research was affected by a combination of a liberal-feminist ideological agenda, prior research cues, and personal and professional experience of the setting.

In considering the methods or techniques of data gathering within the qualitative paradigm chosen, the author, as a member of the organisation under study, considered the methodological and perspectival issues implied for such 'insider' research. These issues around impartiality and objectivity are articulated by Naples in Smith and Kornblum (1996) as follows:

Traditional guidelines for ethnographic research include: gaining entry, building relationships, preserving objectivity, and maintaining the observer's role. In my own work I find that gaining entry and building relationships automatically interfere with the third guideline.
(1996:146)

Maykut and Morehouse go on to make the point that with this type of research,

What can be discovered by qualitative research are not sweeping generalisations but contextual findings.
(Ibid.: 21)

Haralambos and Holborn (1991) refer to this as an "Interpretative approach". (1991: 707-8)
(See also Gill and Johnson, 1991: 7) Such an approach, which is the approach employed for this study, is also described by Bruner (1986) in Maykut and Morehouse, (1996) as "narrativity":

Given the qualitative researcher's immersion in culture, qualitative research must be organised around those meaning-making activities that connect a person to a culture.
(1996: 38)

Given that as an army officer I was immersed completely in the setting, and given that many of the subjects being observed and interviewed – both male and female – were acquaintances and colleagues, issues of objectivity and impartiality obviously impacted on the author. I believe the repeated assertions in the literature that a total impartiality for the researcher is impossible, coupled with the examples of 'insider' participant observer research, (i.e., Van Maanen, Holdoway, Brewer, etc) imply the viability of a study such as this.

In order to best face up to the responsibility and requirement for objectivity, the literature recommends 'methodological triangulation', or a variety of data collection methods (Kane, 1985: 52). Maykut and Morehouse (1996: 65-6) urge the use of participant observation in conjunction with document analysis. Van Maanen, in his study on the police in the U.S., urges the use of a plurality of methods including participant observation, interviewing and document collecting. All of these techniques are employed in this study.

In summation, I have employed a plurality of research methods in this study in order to cross check and verify or refute any assumptions I have drawn from the data. In this way, the plurality of method suggested in the research methodology literature functions to control the author's biases and limit their effects on the study's reliability and validity.

The primary strategies employed are transparency of method and theoretical assumptions, and methodological and theoretical triangulation. As Kane (1985: 55) recommends, I have endeavoured to become "the best observer you are capable of being and checking your

observations through the use of other research techniques". I have deliberately chosen to provide a very detailed chapter on methodology for this study. For reasons involving problems generated by secrecy and difficulty of access, the independent verification of many of the claims and assumptions included in this study would be difficult to obtain. I have tried to counter these problems by providing as detailed and frank an account of my research method and sources of data as is possible, hence a detailed methodology chapter.

To quote Maykut and Morehouse (1996):

The credibility of one's work in large part depends on a thorough discussion of one's research and methodology.
(Maykut and Morehouse, 1996:154)

The journey into the culture of the Defence Forces undertaken for this study has not been an easy one. There are issues raised in this chapter which I believe have implications for other researchers who would choose a setting where secrecy and sensitivity are issues. If the researcher should happen to be a member of the organisation under study, there are further issues that affect career prospects, and one's standing within one's peer group. These issues are compounded by being subject to military law. I will outline these issues in this chapter. I conclude this section with a quote from Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs (1982) which I feel expresses eloquently the difficult process which defines this type of research:

Fieldwork means both involvement and detachment, both loyalty and betrayal, both openness and secrecy, and, most likely, both love and hate. Somewhere in the space between these always personalised stances towards those one studies, ethnographies get written.
(Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs, 1982: 139)

2.4 Research design and techniques selected

In the remainder of this chapter, I outline the research design, issues around confidentiality and access, primary and secondary sources of data, methods and techniques employed and those issues impacting on objectivity.

Simply stated, the research design is as follows. The study seeks to ascertain whether or not a gender division of labour exists within the defence forces and whether or not this is as a result of deliberate policy decisions. The former research question can be answered through participant observation, interviews and an audit of those appointments held by female personnel. The latter can be checked through an archival and documentary analysis of PDF policy documents.

The research aims, which prompted this study, arose from those foci for study suggested by the MA dissertation in which I looked at conditions of service as they applied to female officers of the PDF. The research questions begun here formed the basis for an expansion of the study to cover all female members of the organisation, officers, NCO's and other ranks. The study proper, though having its origins in this earlier work, evolved in an "emergent" fashion (Maykut and Morehouse, 1996: 64). As the foci for study expanded to form research-theme chapters, other research propositions suggested themselves from the data gathered. Maykut and Morehouse describe this type of research design as follows:

Analysis begins when one has accumulated a subset of the data, providing an opportunity for the salient aspects of the phenomenon under study to begin to emerge. These initial leads are followed by pursuing the relevant persons, settings, or documents that will help illuminate the phenomenon of interest. In other words there is a broadening or narrowing of the focus as the data suggests it.
(Maykut and Morehouse, 1996: 46)

As the data gathering progressed during this study, the sample of those studied expanded to include female personnel of all ranks, (the total sample of female personnel in the case of the audit of female personnel's appointments). As the participant observation, documentary and archival analysis and particularly the interviewing progressed, new categories of data emerged and formed new research foci. This emergent research design kept the study flexible and allowed it to be enriched by new categories of meaning. Kane (1985: 55) suggests the categorisation of data to form research foci. Evertson and Green (1986: 201) also advocate this method for establishing research foci:

Foci are selected because they are recurrent phenomena or events or they highlighted some specific area of interest.
(1986: 201)

This treatment of the data takes place in light of the discussion of theory undertaken in the theoretical outline, and the chapter on the current trends in the deployment of women to combat. These chapters are intended to have a context-setting function and to highlight the difference between ideological constructions of women's role in combat, and the actual experience of women in combat. The research theme chapters are then followed by a chapter whose function is mainly comparative. This chapter examines the conditions of employment of female personnel in the Garda, the RUC, and in foreign armies. There are also sections on the conditions of service of female personnel throughout the public service. There is also a section on equality legislation and on the aspirations of the social partners in the area of

equality of opportunity. It is intended that these sections will place the question of the status and roles assigned to women in the PDF into a wider social context.

In relation to database management, or the recording and filing of data, the following methods were employed. In relation to participant observation, following overt or passive observation, field notes were written up as soon as possible. It was not always possible or appropriate to take notes on the spot. (i.e. on manoeuvres, or during normal work activities). On some occasions it was simply not practical and at other times the taking of notes would have generated such a degree of communications apprehension within the setting as to make the exercise pointless. (The reasons for such communications apprehension, some of which are specific to this study, are discussed later in this chapter). Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 743) refer to this aspect of participant observation impacting on the taking of field notes:

Most researchers have to opt for the best means available; committing what has taken place to memory and writing it down as soon as possible.

As a rule, I wrote down the details of events and conversations into field notes as soon as was possible. I later sifted through these notes and re-filed them into the categories of meaning that suggested themselves as, or coincided with, existing research themes. Bernard, (1988:156) emphasises the need in this regard for the researcher to have a good memory. He refers also to the subsequent sorting of field notes into research themes as “Database Management”, or “DBM” (Ibid.: 196). I believe this best describes my approach to the collection, compilation and collation of field notes for this study.

Van Maanen’s (1982) study into an U.S. police department was similar to this study. He also stresses the problems caused when gathering data in less than structured situations, often when dealing with matters involving a degree of secrecy or sensitivity. The police setting in which Van Maanen worked, like the army setting, in the main precluded the use of tape recorders or cameras. Van Maanen, like this researcher and as noted by Haralambos and Holborn and Bernard, had to rely on memory for the recording of data. As he puts it himself:

The conversational data presented here are drawn primarily from naturally occurring conversations with persons in the police domain (...) While formal and taped interviews were conducted on occasion, the bulk of the data contained in this report arose from far less structured situations. Since I rarely used a tape recorder, much of the police talk reported here is only as accurate as memory and ear can allow. (Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs, 1982: 105)

Brewer (1993: 135) in his study into the RUC, (which again, like this study was affected by issues of sensitivity and secrecy), also stresses the necessity for this form of data gathering and recording:

It is for this reason, (gaining trust and acceptance), that data mostly comprises accounts and verbatim records of spontaneous conversations in natural surroundings. (Brewer, in Renzetti and Lee, 1993: 135)

In the case of the interviews conducted for this research, for reasons affecting secrecy, sensitivity, and consequent communications apprehension, it was neither practical nor possible to tape the interviews. However, it was possible to take notes as the interviews were conducted. These notes were taken with the interviewees' permission and were read back to interviewees for verification. The purpose of the interviews was to clarify, expand or develop on issues that had come to light during participant observation and the documentary and archival work. Direct quotations were used with the interviewees' permission.

This was also a method employed by Fine Davis (1992), in her research on the status and role of women in Bausch and Lomb (Ireland) and An Post. The interviews proved a very rich source of data and generated new categories for research. There was a juxtapositioning and discussion of archival and documentary evidence along with data from other sources. This was a technique used by Brewer (Renzetti and Lee, 1993), Van Maanen, (Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs, 1982) and Carroll (1995).

In the case of this study, varied primary and secondary sources were exploited in order to gather data on the roles and status assigned female personnel of the PDF. The data and notes accruing from these sources were then coded and noted for inclusion under the main research themes of the study. It was in this way that archival and documentary sources were incorporated into the overall database management system.

2.5 Gaining access to the setting

Bernard (1988: 160) offers some advice on 'entering the field'. He states:

There are five rules to follow. (1). First of all, there is no reason to select a site that is difficult to enter when equally good sites are available that are easy to enter.

The PDF is not an easy site to enter. For an 'outsider', access to PDF settings, documents and informants is very difficult, if not impossible. Permission must be sought from the Chief of

Staff - the organisational “gate-keeper” (Bernard, 1988:161) - for any access. The distinction between ‘outsider’ and ‘insider’ within the PDF is very pronounced. As with all military organisations, all outsiders (referred to as “civvies”) are treated with caution and suspicion. Given the homogenous nature of military service, with unit cohesion being very high, and with security concerns at a premium, it is very difficult for the researcher to enter the PDF setting in a covert manner. The physical isolation of the PDF community renders it a setting that is difficult to infiltrate or casually enter in a naturalistic fashion. Scattered throughout the State and occupying thirty-four military premises (usually surrounded by high walls and barbed wire), the PDF conducts its day-to-day business out of the eye of the public. To obtain a first hand view of the PDF in the field, one has to trek far into the hills or Glen of Imaal to access lands that are out of bounds to civilians and strewn with unexploded ordnance.

To witness the PDF at work overseas, one would have to travel to areas that are officially listed by the Department of Foreign Affairs as hostile environments and unsafe for travel. These include for example South Lebanon, the Golan Heights, the Autonomous Territories and Annexes in Israel, Western Sahara, Afghanistan, former Yugoslavia and East Timor. In addition to being declared hostile and unsafe for travel, many of these areas have no civilian commuter services (Western Sahara, parts of former Yugoslavia etc). Therefore, the only way to access the PDF setting is by overt means, or through the official gatekeeper.

The literature on research methodology is filled with references to powerful ‘gatekeepers’ whose permission must be sought in order to enter the field (Jorgensen, 1989: 45-46; Renzetti and Lee, 1993: 27, 128-130; Smith and Kornblum, 1996: 22; Mitchell, 1993:10; Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs, 1982:108-109). In the case of my own researches, even as an ‘insider’ with privileged access, under military protocol, I had to seek permission from the Director of Training and the Chief of Staff to do so. This seeking of permission from higher authority has huge ethical and methodological implications for the research carried out. The gatekeeper may impose restrictions on the study and may attempt to influence its outcomes. Certainly, when given sanction by higher authority, many in the setting may associate the researcher with that authority or “management” and this may have an effect on the data obtained. Aside from these and many other considerations which I will deal with in this chapter, fundamentally, the effect of having to gain permission from the gatekeeper is that any research thereafter must be overt.

The official letter of permission to conduct my researches which I received from the Director of Training had a condition attached, “providing the work is not published”. (See Appendix 1) This pre-condition was to prove a major stumbling block in getting the research to

examination. Bernard (1988: 161) warns of just such preconditions that may be imposed by powerful gatekeepers. Renzetti and Lee also echo this warning:

Powerful gatekeepers can impose restrictions on researchers in ways that constrain their capacity to produce or report on findings that threaten the interests of the powerful.
(Renzetti and Lee, 1993:27)

The Director of Training, by this precondition, had placed me in the invidious position of having to seek prior approval from my superiors to have this work published for academic purposes. As a result of this situation, in June of 1998, I sought an interview with the Chief of Staff in relation to this matter. The Chief of Staff provided me with a second letter giving permission for the work to be published. (See Appendix 2)

In addition to restrictions imposed by the gate-keeper, and the cumbersome nature of the chain of command in clarifying such issues, the researcher had to confront the ubiquitous and routine confidentiality invoked within the Defence Forces. Almost all correspondence within the PDF is routinely classified as 'Restricted'. Thus the most mundane correspondence relating to even the most trivial of subjects such as the issue of shoelaces, (DFR Q2 – RESTRICTED), is subject to the Official Secrets Act. By international standards, the PDF is an extremely secretive organisation. While other armies welcome researchers and actively research and publish themselves, the PDF is not a producer of data in the academic or international military journal arenas. The net effect of all of these factors is that the PDF is difficult to subject to critical scrutiny from an external audience and from an internal point of view, the free flow of ideas and frank exchange of views is inhibited. In conducting research within the PDF, (whether one is an 'outsider' or an 'insider'), a certain doggedness is required to seek out the truth on the ground and not necessarily as portrayed in official documents and reports. In terms of gaining access or permission to research and publish, one has to be persistent. The situation is summed up well by Mitchell, (1993:10):

If the front door isn't open, try the back. If they don't like you as Tweedle Dum, then go as Tweedle Dee.

2.6 Secrecy in the PDF setting

The invocation of routine confidentiality within the PDF, the unwieldy nature of the chain of command and the necessity to obtain permission to research and publish were among those complications experienced by this researcher. Compounding these issues are the questions of organisational decline and the downsizing of the PDF. The PDF has been the subject of a

much-publicised reorganisation and it underwent downsizing in 1998. On the 1st of December 1998, the PDF officially shrank from a four Command entity to a three Brigade structure. The establishment of the PDF fell from 13,500 personnel to 11,500. These changes were imposed from without by no less than three successive efficiency audit groups, (EAG's 1 – 3, 1991, 1992, 1994), followed immediately by the Price Waterhouse Review of the Defence Forces (1994 and 1998). The White Paper on Defence of March 2000 has further reduced the establishment to 10,500.

The PDF has also suffered at the hands of the media coverage of what is known nationally as the "Army Deafness Scandal". The PDF has come under unprecedented attack in the media on foot of what are perceived to be spurious compensation claims. This has compounded an already secretive and homogenous atmosphere within the PDF to what could be said to resemble a "defensive and obsessive organisation" as described by Diamond (1993). This compounding factor is highlighted by Renzetti and Lee (1993) in "Researching Sensitive Topics":

The latter (external threat), makes what is already an internally homogenous organisation even more enclosed and protective.
(Renzetti and Lee, 1993: 137)

Given that interaction with outside agencies for the PDF latterly has been characterised as being negative, suspicion of 'outsiders' has increased, and homogeneity or the 'closing of ranks' has occurred, making the PDF a hostile setting for research or objective scrutiny. The research literature describes such a setting or collection of subjects thus:

Hypothesising predatory enemies from whom information and resources must be protected serves to coalesce groups into collective purpose and elevates the apparent worth of existing knowledge and possessions.
(Mitchell, 1993: 10)

The initial negative response of a gatekeeper to a request for permission to research is perhaps an example of such a "defensive posture". Jorgensen, (1988: 78-81) points out that the negative reactions of subjects or gatekeepers to the researcher can often yield valuable insights or information to and on the setting. Mitchell (1993) provides us with a working definition of such a secretive organisation, or the existence of a network of secrets:

Secrets. (Denied knowledge). The principal topic of this volume, secrets, may be understood as knowledge that is available but unequally distributed. Approaching secrets involves access to privileged networks of information exchange (...)

(I)nformation is kept secret by minimising the range and content of certain communications.
(Mitchell, 1993: 8)

The PDF as a research setting would appear to fit this definition of a privileged network of information exchange, where the content and range of certain communications is minimised. Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 740-742) also concede that there are organisations and institutions within society that prohibit the presence of researchers. It is necessary for the purposes of this study to address those issues raised by secrecy in the setting. This issue is not addressed in much of the research literature. I believe that the present study has a contribution to make to knowledge on the basis of what light it sheds on the methodological and practical implications of a secretive field setting.

One of the special circumstances that applies to this study in relation to secrecy is the legal position of the researcher. As an army officer, I am subject to military law. There are several Defence Forces Regulations, (DFRs) that refer to the communication of information to agencies outside of the PDF. Among them are as follows:

Defence Act 1954. Para 268 – Photographs of Military Installations

Official Secrets Act 1911, 1920 and 1963

Para 1 – Spying

Para 2 – Wrongful Communication of Information

Para 9 – Acts contrary to the Safety of the State

DFR A7

Para 27 – Interviews (Prohibition of)

Para 28 – Unauthorised Publications

Para 29 – Communications with the Press

Para 30 – Publication of Military Documents and Texts

Para 31 – Publication of Non-Military texts

Para 32 – Publication of Military Designations

Para 33 – Personal Publicity

DFR CS 7

Para 29 – Security – Control of Press Relations

Para 30 – Censorship

Admin Instr 1/62.

Para 134 – Communications General

GRO 43/55

Para 27 (1) Unauthorised Communications – (Prohibition of)

Manual of Military Security.

Part 11 – Laws Affecting Military Security

All of the above mentioned Acts, Regulations, Instructions, Orders and Manuals are designed to “minimise the content and range of certain communications”. Given, as stated earlier, that all communications within the PDF are routinely classified as RESTRICTED, then the bulk of the data in this thesis falls under these regulations.

The fact that the researcher is subject to military law has had an effect on the methodology and reporting of this study. It has had an effect that might have served to force the author to choose some other setting or less sensitive topic for research. The implications for the author in terms of sanction and consequent loss of status or career prospects are not dealt with in the literature. These implications are perhaps not readily understood by a civilian audience, and as such, the consideration of these implications, I believe, contributes to knowledge.

The Acts, Regulations, Instructions and Orders as listed combine to form a powerful mode of censorship. This legally binding form of censorship gave rise to an ethical consideration for the researcher. I decided, despite the existence of such censorship, to continue with the research and present the data for examination. The Irish Constitution of 1937 guarantees the right of citizens to express freely their convictions and opinions subject to public order and morality. It states:

The education of public opinion being, however, a matter of such grave import to the common good, the State shall endeavour to ensure that organs of public opinion (...) while preserving their rightful liberty of expression, including criticism of Government policy, shall not be used to undermine public order or morality of the authority of the State.
(Boyle, 1993: 109-110)

I believe therefore that despite those provisions designed to minimise the range and content of information made known about PDF culture, I have a right and indeed a duty to communicate the data contained in this thesis. Outweighing the onus placed on me by military law I believe, is that provision of the Constitution, which obliges me to communicate such information so as to ‘vindicate public order and the authority of the State’. This duty is echoed in the Official Secrets Act. Section four of the Official Secrets Act of 1963 provides:

That a person shall not communicate any official information to any other person unless he is duly authorised to do so, or does so in the course of and in accordance with his duties as the holder of a public office and when it is his duty in the interests of the State to communicate it.

I believe that it is in the interests of the State and its citizens to observe the actions of the military authorities in relation to female personnel. The PDF, as a body funded by the

taxpayer, should, I believe, be accountable to the public. Such accountability can only be made possible through transparency of action. This thesis contributes to knowledge in this regard by virtue of the researcher's unique position to shed light on an area of Irish life, which heretofore has gone without scrutiny. The function of the researcher is, as Mitchell (1993) puts it, to bring knowledge "from the concealed to the revealed".

2.7 Researching a sensitive topic

Bernard (1988: 160) advises the researcher against entering the field if access is difficult. The previous section showed the difficulty for any would-be researcher contemplating entry into the setting of the PDF. The previous section also showed that, despite the access afforded the author by virtue of membership of the group, there were still many obstacles to research. These obstacles included a rigid bureaucracy, an institutionalised obsession with secrecy, the communications apprehension created by compartmentalisation and those regulations, orders, and military laws governing communications with outside agencies.

In addition to these obstacles was the issue of sensitivity. As my researches progressed, I began to detect a certain hostility to any probing or questioning on the status of female employees. This hostility manifested itself initially through snide remarks made about my being "interested in women", to confrontational responses often in the form of questions.

"If you're going to do some research, why not do it on men, real soldiers? All you're going to do is stir up shit for us all. You know what the fucking women are like".
(September 1996, in conversation with artillery officer)

Brewer in Renzetti and Lee (1993: 125-145) noted similar displays of hostility in his work on the RUC. Renzetti and Lee define a sensitive topic as follows:

A sensitive topic is one that potentially poses for those involved a substantial threat, the emergence of which renders problematic for the researcher and/or the researched the collection, holding and/or dissemination of research data.
(Renzetti and Lee, 1993: 5)

Based therefore on Renzetti and Lee's definition of a sensitive topic, my enquiry into the status and roles assigned female personnel in the PDF was perceived by the military authorities as being 'sensitive'. I also encountered ethical problems. Mitchell (1993), espouses the use of covert methods for data gathering in difficult settings with "reluctant and privileged" subjects:

Secrecy on the part of researchers is accepted, even urged, in implied utilitarian terms as a necessary requisite to obtaining valued knowledge from reluctant and privileged sources.

(Mitchell, 1993: 30)

From the outset, I chose overt methods of data gathering. From the moment I formally applied for permission to conduct research, and in all encounters in the field with informants and those in the setting, I was absolutely open in terms of my role as researcher. The issue of sensitivity affected certain methods of data gathering. I found that, due to a combination of the institutionalised secretiveness and the sensitivity of the research topic, I could not use tape recorders, cameras, confidential questionnaires, or even in certain circumstances overt note taking, as this provoked severe communications apprehension in some subjects. This effectively would render certain settings sterile for the purposes of research. On the issue of “potential effects on the life of the researcher”, despite initial fears about possible sanction, I have to say that I never once experienced any form of punishment or sanction in terms of promotion or appointment as a result of my researches. Aside from isolated incidences of opprobrium, I in fact received encouragement from many quarters not least among whom, the Chief of Staff.

I believe that this research project was made a little more difficult than perhaps other research might have been. The rewards, however, in terms of discovering previously hidden facts have been worth it – in that I believe this study contributes to knowledge by attesting to a previously unspoken account of women’s service in the PDF. I am also happy that I conducted the research in an upright and ethically sound manner. To quote Sieber in Renzetti and Lee (1993):

Sensitive research addresses some of society’s most pressing social issues and policy questions. Although ignoring the ethical issues in sensitive research is not a responsible approach to science, shying away from controversial topics, simply because they are controversial is also an avoidance of responsibility.

(Renzetti and Lee, 1993: 11)

Before concluding these sections on access secrecy and sensitivity I wish to consider Bernard’s (1988), advice on ‘avoiding’ difficult settings. Had I taken this advice, this study might not have taken place. The problems for the researcher posed by a setting such as the PDF in terms of sensitivity and secrecy are outlined in this study. For this reason the account of method given in this chapter contributes to knowledge. This chapter I believe, reflects Brewer’s (1993) call for more insights into this aspect of research:

The issue of sensitivity needs to emerge from the shadows and be recognised as an important problem in research, so that social researchers can give more attention to its negative effects.
(Brewer in Renzetti and Lee, 1993: 143)

2.8 Primary sources

In terms of primary sources of data, for this study, I carried out a form of participant observation referred to in the literature as overt, insider participant observation. I also conducted informal interviews choosing a purposive sample that was intended to provide a maximum variation sample. A further group of women was interviewed by random selection acting as a control group to the purposive sample.

2.8.1 Participant Observation

My research aim was to examine the status and roles assigned female personnel within the PDF. The methods and techniques of qualitative research employed in this study have enabled me to subject the recruitment, deployment and promotion of women in the Defence Forces to a rigorous and critical scrutiny. I have first and foremost engaged primarily in participant observation, as described by Becker and Geer (1957):

An anthropologist has to 'get inside the culture'. Participant observation means that (...) the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher, or covertly in some disguised role.
(Roberts, 1981: 57)

In this case the participant observation was carried out openly, as a member of the organisation under study. Based on the circumstantial logic of the situation, as a resident in the setting, it made perfect sense to engage in participant observation. The technique had other merits and seemed especially appropriate for the problem I was investigating. Jorgensen's (1989:12) description of the technique suggests it as a method tailor-made for this study:

Participant observation is especially appropriate for scholarly problems when

- little is known about the phenomenon...
- there are important differences between the views of insiders as opposed to outsiders...
- the phenomenon is somehow obscured from the view of outsiders...
- the phenomenon is hidden from public view.

The utility of participant observation as a method given certain conditions as described here by Jorgensen certainly fits with the setting and circumstances of this study. As a method for data gathering, the participant observation paradigm is especially suited to both the PDF setting and the research problems posed in this thesis. As a bias control and in order to maintain objectivity it was decided that methodological triangulation take place to confirm or infirm those assumptions drawn from the data. Participant observation lends itself readily to such a pluralist approach and is described as the 'method of choice' by Denzin in Maykut and Morehouse (1996), when the researcher "simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation and introspection". (1996: 69)

A combination of such methods as suggested here was used for this study in order to achieve an accurate and valid account of the data and the setting. The combination of methods, as employed in this study, is recommended throughout the literature by various authors, e.g. Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 709,741-748), Jorgensen (1989:15), Kane (1985: 51), Bernard (1988: 148, 151-157), Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs (1982:103-104, 110). The combination of research techniques and methods employed in this study as discussed is referred to in the literature as a form of ethnography. (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 740) This form of research, residing in the natural setting and immersion in the field is also referred to in the literature as "indwelling". As Maykut and Morehouse (1996:45) describe it:

Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding people's experience in context. The natural setting is the place where the researcher is most likely to discover or uncover what is to be known about the phenomenon of interest (...) extended amounts of time with people in the places they inhabit is a critical feature of indwelling, fostering the development of both explicit and tacit knowledge.

The concept of 'indwelling' brings into focus the discussion in the literature on 'insider' vs 'outsider' research paradigms. As a member of the PDF, I consider myself to be an insider in terms of the organisation and believe I qualify under Maykut and Morehouse's definition as an indwelling researcher.

To indwell means to exist as an interactive spirit, force or principle (...) (P)erhaps this dictionary definition can be translated for naturalistic enquiry to mean being at one with the persons under investigation, walking a mile in the other person's shoes or understanding the person's point of view from an empathetic rather than a sympathetic point of view.
(Ibid.: 25)

The distinction drawn here between empathy and sympathy emphasises the contradictory situation the researcher found himself in, an 'insider' in terms of being a soldier, but an 'outsider' in terms of being a male soldier investigating the working conditions of female

colleagues. I believe that as a male officer in a predominantly male working environment, it may have been a little easier for me to distance myself from the situation of female personnel within the PDF. By extension of course this may have made it difficult for me to recognise patterns of behaviour or the characteristics of institutional settings as they discriminate against women. I have tried to counter these effects as stated by both elaborating on methodology and by employing the use of methodological triangulation. I have endeavoured to be reflective:

To reflect is to pause and think; to process what has gone before. The qualitative researcher or naturalistic enquirer is part of the investigation as a participant observer (...) but also removes him/herself from the situation to rethink the meanings of the experience.
(Maykut and Morehouse, 1996: 25)

2.8.2 Insider Research.

Van Maanen, in Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs (1982:23) in his study of the police in the United States, describes the advantages of insider research in ways that have many parallels for this study:

An outsider or stranger stance would be an impediment (...) Thus my approach has been modelled along the lines of an appreciative student, a novice or apprentice in the police world.

As stated earlier, an 'outsider' or 'civvie' would find it very difficult to gain access to the day-to-day working culture of the PDF. As an insider it is possible. At the initial stages of the study as a "naïve" Lieutenant, more senior personnel gave me a lot of 'information' and 'advice' on female personnel. At this stage, like Van Maanen, I was initiated into many of the institution's 'myths' or 'folklore', or received wisdoms about female personnel. (See Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs, 1982: 116) Just as Van Maanen was told that "black officers are more loyal to their black brothers than their blue ones", (Ibid.: 116), so also was I informed that females in the PDF were "useless". I discovered as Van Maanen did that "to question the veracity of such folk wisdom in certain locales of the agency would be to commit a small heresy". (Ibid.: 116) By choosing to research the roles and status of female personnel in the PDF and by doing so openly, I was by implication challenging some of this 'folk wisdom' and as such was at risk of being stigmatised by male colleagues. This risk is highlighted in Renzetti and Lee (1993):

For instance, wrongdoing uncovered by the research might bring with it the possibility of discovery and sanction. As a result, the relationship between the researcher and the researched may become hedged with mistrust, concealment and dissimulation (...) (Researchers) may find themselves stigmatised by colleagues and others for having studied particular topics.
(1993: 5)

There was always the danger for this research, being overt, that sources of information might dry up as a result of such stigmatisation. This never happened. I believe that this was due for two factors. The first was that those who felt that the subject was taboo, possessed neither the moral ground nor the moral courage to voice their displeasure in an official capacity. The second reason was that like Van Maanen, I was completely accepted by my colleagues both male and female who respected my good faith in conducting the research. Van Maanen, describes the painstaking process of gaining such acceptance and 'street credibility'. He describes 'dressing for the street'. (1982: 113) In my case 'dressing for the street' meant being in uniform, thus being on the surface at least, a bone fide officer and member of the group. Mitchell (1993) describes this 'blending-in' more colourfully:

James Bond or Humphrey Bogart dons his dinner jacket or trench coat and fedora....
And thus garbed blends unobtrusively into worlds of intrigue.
(1993: 47)

Mitchell, (1993:47) like Van Maanen, stresses the importance of learning the language and behaviour of those under study emphasising the importance of "vocabularies and argot, or the appropriateness and timing of dress and demeanour". Bernard (1988: 152) also stresses the importance of learning the language appropriate to the setting. One not only has to be able to 'walk the walk' so to speak; one also has to be able to 'talk the talk'. The initiation into the language and etiquette of the PDF takes place during Cadet training. (See also Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs, 1982: 112) After 22 months of rigorous training, a newly commissioned officer is expected to dress, behave and speak (even think!) according to organisational norms and expectations. Thus garbed, (in service dress number one), and fluent in the lingua franca of the PDF with its highly specialised language of military terminology, acronyms and slang, as a Lieutenant and researcher, I suppose I looked and sounded like any other Cadet School officer in the setting. Thus accepted, I believe I could engage in insider participant observation with the minimum of interference and the minimum of communications apprehension. (See also Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 740, on 'interference'.)

This acceptance is also reflected in my appointment as press officer at Defence Forces Headquarters. Given the unprecedented turbulence the PDF is experiencing in terms of its PR profile, such an appointment shows clearly the absolute faith and trust placed in me by the military authorities. Given that this appointment is to the small and exclusive Chief of Staff's Branch, in terms of 'insiderness', one could not be placed closer to the centre of the organisation and its concerns. I would therefore conclude that most of the behaviours and

settings I have observed in the course of this study were relatively uncontaminated by my role as overt participant observer. Van Maanen, also makes this point:

The police action I observed during these periods flowed I think from the logic of the situation at hand rather than from the logic of what the police may have thought I might appreciate.
(1982: 138)

Given also that I have spent ten years in the setting, I believe that I have obtained over time an accurate picture and a true reflection of what happens in the day-to-day working environment of the PDF. The value of prolonged immersion in the field as an insider is also emphasised by Brewer in his study into the RUC:

Fieldwork took place over a twelve-month period (...) and was sufficiently prolonged to avoid the criticism that brief 'smash and grab' ethnographies often deserve (...) It is difficult to sustain untruths and false masks over twelve months in the field.
(Brewer in Renzetti and Lee, 1993: 134-135)

By observing the organisation with a critical eye as espoused by Schon (1991) in the mode of "reflective practitioner", I believe I have added an extra dimension to my service in the PDF. This insider's perspective is further endorsed by Jorgensen (1989: 14-15), who concludes that such research "is an extremely valuable source of information especially if the researcher has performed membership roles and otherwise experienced life as an insider". (Ibid.: 93)

In the words of Van Maanen:

By describing some of the normative rules that connect the social and cognitive spheres of studied organisation, the fieldworker is engaging in an analytic practice quite alien to most members of the organisation. For the most part, the rule-like understandings that underlie social practices are unseen and unquestioned by the membership.
(1982: 145)

This study into the status and roles assigned female personnel in the PDF has involved such an examination of the culture of the organisation. The analysis of PDF culture contained in this thesis brings into sharp relief the application of certain rules and working norms as they apply to women in the organisation. Female personnel in the PDF form a minority of the workforce and occupy an identifiable space within the culture in terms of certain rules and practices as they apply to women.

2.8.3 Overt vs covert research:

Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 741) outline the options for researchers in choosing overt or covert approaches to qualitative data gathering. Mention is made of a tendency to lean toward covert methods when suspect or illegal practices are being examined. (Ibid.: 741-742)

Mitchell (1993) gives the examples of Goffman (1961) and Rosenham et al (1973) who posed as patients and staff in order to gain access to psychiatric hospitals. This type of research is referred to as being “the opposite of full disclosure”, or “deep cover, covert research” (Mitchell, 1993: 46). Renzetti and Lee (1993: 7) and Maykut and Morehouse (1996) both comment on the ethical problems associated with such an approach:

In anthropology, psychology and other fields, debate continues about the use of overt as compared to covert means of gaining access to research participants and settings.
(Maykut and Morehouse, 1996: 70)

For ethical reasons and reasons of practicality and compliance with military law, I chose an overt approach to the study of women in the PDF. This decision in turn has had implications for the settings and subjects involved. Overt observation, in addition to overt participation, can ‘distort’ those activities under study. To quote Shipman (1972:60):

The decision over the degree of involvement in the activity to be observed is usually made after considering the possible distorting effect on the activity through the pressure of an observer.

I believe this distortion to have been relatively minimal for those reasons of acceptance outlined in the previous section. I believe, however, that when dealing with some female personnel, the fact that I am male and an officer, may have had a distorting effect in terms of communications apprehension and may have skewed the data gathered as a result. I tried to control or limit this distortion as much as possible by being as open about my study aims as possible. I at all times endeavoured to be as straightforward and as informal as possible. I deliberately excluded contrived situations such as group discussions or role playing exercises so as best to avoid any contamination of the data through peer pressure or organisational expectations – i.e. conditioned responses. Jorgensen (1989) emphasises the need for as naturalistic a study of the data as possible, warning that subjects may:

(B)ehave differently when they know they are being studied, especially when the researcher is very obtrusively manipulating the environment.
(1989: 15)

By being as open as possible with all subjects encountered within the setting, I was hoping to engender sufficient trust so as to limit any distortion or communications apprehension within the setting. I believe that in the majority of situations and contexts, this was an effective strategy. This approach is recommended in the literature:

The quality of the data is improved when the participant observer establishes and sustains trusting and co-operative relationships with people in the field.
(Jorgensen, 1989: 69)

The contact between myself and the subjects involved in the study was based on openness, trust and mutual respect. The efficiency of such a strategy is again emphasised by Jorgensen (1989:72-3) who states “though mostly symbolic, respect is a very powerful and valuable medium to give or exchange with another person”. I believe that I was accepted by subjects as a member of the group, as a competent soldier, and that this and my frankness and candid approach combined to allow a successful rapport with those under study.

In terms then of participant observation, the method employed was primarily overt. In addition, in the course of my day-to-day work, when not actively observing for data, (under those categories identified in the research design), I did accumulate a wealth of data and insights in contexts and settings incidental to the study. This data, or circumstantial evidence, I believe to be important for the study, giving it depth and reflecting the enormous background knowledge to the subject provided by ten years’ military service. Bernard (1988: 305) refers to this process of data gathering as “passive deception”, in that the information is gathered passively whilst the others in the setting are unaware of the researcher’s role outside of that as participant. I do not believe that the use of this data is invalid or unethical. Bernard (1988: 306) sums it up by stating “In my opinion, passive deception is ethically aseptic”.

Haralambos and Holborn warn the researcher of a possible drawback peculiar to overt methods of data gathering:

Higher class and more powerful groups in society in particular may exclude participant observers: individual researchers may lack the skills, knowledge or personality to be accepted by a particular group.
(Ibid.: 745)

I believe I have by virtue of my commission, rank, appointment and general level of peer group acceptance, been “admitted” and “included” by those under study. This includes the General Staff, the most powerful group within the organisation who have seen fit to appoint me as a personal staff officer to the Chief of Staff, with full access to the intelligence brief.

2.8.4 Informants and Interviews

In examining the status and roles assigned female personnel in the PDF, I engaged in a lengthy period of participant observation. As the categories for research, or research themes expanded, I began to focus more and more on female colleagues' opinions and comments. These female colleagues became over the period of the study my key informants. By initially fostering contacts with my informants, I was in a position to interview them and others in order to test and complement the research already carried out.

In deciding what type of interviewing to proceed with, I considered the practicalities of the situation, (geographical spread, isolation of informants in terms of numbers, resources, and time available), and some of the special circumstances peculiar to this study, such as sensitivity and secrecy. Robson and Foster (1989: 47-51) provide a partial answer to these considerations. In their discussion, the best form of interview process for 'sensitive' topics is outlined. They state:

The individual interview will be regarded as the essential research technique for

1. Socially and personally sensitive subject matters such as financial issues and low status matters like redundancy, unemployment.
(1989: 47)

For a variety of reasons, the informal individual interview was the model used in this study. I was very conscious throughout the research of the impact my being a male officer would have on interviewees. Within a hierarchical and male dominated setting such as the PDF, the twin factors of the sex and status of the researcher would impact on the interview process as a method of data gathering. I tried to control or limit this impact in a number of ways. As stated before, I adopted an overt approach and as I networked new informants, I explained to each subject in an open way the purpose of the research. Kane (1985: 68-69) endorses this approach in her section on interview techniques:

(The subject should be informed) what the study is about, presented in such a way that the interviewee sees its general relevance, and if possible, its relevance to his or her own life and experiences.
(Ibid, 1985: 69)

Carroll, in her 1995 study on women in the PDF, also considered the problem that rank creates in dealing with informants and interviewees. She was careful to make clear that participation was entirely voluntary, "as in light of normal military protocol, an officer's request is constructed as an order". (Carroll, 1995: 14) I also emphasised this point and stressed that I was looking for co-operation, not compliance. Carroll, in her group discussions,

also ensured that “officers and other ranks personnel were not mixed during the groups to ensure that normal rank barriers would not hinder openness and sharing”. (Ibid.: 15)

In this study, since group discussions were not utilised as a data collection method, this mixing of officers, NCOs, and other ranks did not occur. Kreuger (1994) argues that communications apprehension may be generated in group discussions if the ‘moderator’ is too closely identified with the organisation. When interviewing, however, I did stress with other ranks that I was conducting interviews in the role of researcher, as a student, not as an officer. I did not interview any personnel directly under my command, and whenever possible, I conducted interviews in civilian clothing to try to minimise the impact of the rank ‘barrier’. I conducted the interviews as informally as possible in order to minimise the barrier of rank and to minimise the similarity of the experience with a formal military interview, or ‘parading’. The susceptibility of this method to communications apprehension brought about by the ‘barriers’ of rank and the military setting were among the reasons that I did not use tape recorders or cameras for these interviewees. I relied on written notes taken during these interviews and the use of direct quotations. As was the case with Carroll (1995: 17), permission was sought for the use of quotations. I read quotations back to interviewees for confirmation.

I interviewed a total of sixty women for this study. This total was comprised of two samples. The first sample was a selective sample achieved through the ‘networking’ or ‘snowballing’ method. The second sample consisted of a ‘control’ sample of those women serving with the 85th battalion in Lebanon. This was a completely random sample in that the women serving with the 85th Bn were selected by a neutral agency. I travelled to the Lebanon from the 5th to 13th September 1999. In all I interviewed 17 women in situ. All of the women I approached agreed to be interviewed.

I initially intended to avoid interviews that were overly structured lest it predetermine interviewees’ responses along a masculine (mine) set of categories of meaning. I had decided to adopt what Kane (1985: 64) refers to as the “unstructured interview”. This was to be in contrast to a standardised interview schedule or predetermined set of questions (Ibid.: 63-63). Amongst the advantages of this method would be the possibility for the emergence of new study foci for inclusion under, or extension of, research themes. This interview technique was initially selected in order to limit the control of the researcher over the subject’s likely responses and to raise the status of interviewees. (On this point, see also, Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 734).

There is a continuum of interview situations based on the amount of control we try to exercise over the responses of informants. At one end is informal interviewing characterised by a total lack of structure or control. The researcher just tries to remember conversations heard during the course of a day in the field (...) You just sit down with an informant and hold an interview. Period.
(Bernard, 1988: 204)

This quote from Bernard I believe best articulates how the interviews for this study were to be conducted. I found however, that the interviews began to follow a certain definite pattern. Certain recurring themes emerged. Although initially unstructured and open ended, issues around recruitment, training, deployment and promotion emerged as common concerns of the women interviewed. Unanticipated categories for research were also generated, including for example, an account of sexual harassment in the workplace.

Therefore, although initially unstructured, the interviews conducted with female personnel evolved along a recurring pattern consistent with issues around recruitment, training, deployment and promotion. A structure therefore developed in the interviews, one which was emergent and formed by the commonality of responses from the women interviewed. This structure was generated by the commonality of experience these women had in the Defence Forces. As these topics emerged as recurring themes they reflected the history of women's service in the PDF. In a sense, this was a self fulfilling structure, conforming as it did to the primary concerns of these women in the workplace. I would characterise the interviews as being relaxed and informal. I would describe the contributions as ranging from calm and reflective to angry and condemnatory. I believe them to have been a worthwhile exercise in that they produced a great deal of data, and in most cases, represented the only occasion in the careers of these army personnel when they had ever been asked for their opinion on service matters. I believe that the issue of rank as it impacted on the interviews was minimal.

The issue of my sex, however, was doubtless more significant. Carroll (1995: 13) outlines in her study the use she made of "an established female liaison or contact in each location". Carroll also highlights the access she had to an extended and pre-existent network of female informants within the PDF: "For the researcher, this meant tuning in to the informal female network in operation throughout the Defence Forces". (Ibid.: 13) Initially, I did not realise such a network existed. I slowly became aware of its existence through my contacts with female informants. In interviewing many female personnel for example, I began to notice that many of them had most of the speed-dial settings on their phones dedicated to female colleagues. When I commented on this to one interviewee, she remarked "oh that, that's the bush network". As a male researcher, I therefore did not initially have access to this "informal female network". Nor did I have access to "an established female liaison or contact

in each location". Carroll (1995: 13) makes a very important point in relation to the relationship between herself and her informants:

Having already established links with many of the group participants, the researcher was provided with what (...) (is referred to) (...) as "pre-existing relations of trust".

I did not enjoy the facility of an established network of informants with whom I had pre-existing relations of trust. As a male officer, though an 'insider' in terms of my membership of the organisation, I was to all intents and purposes an 'outsider' to the informal female network in operation throughout the Defence Forces. I believe therefore my sex certainly impacted on my ability to network, and certainly had a distorting effect on some of the interviewee responses. I believe however, by a combination of being aware of this distortion, and highlighting it, and by declaring openly my domain assumptions and motivation for research, I minimised the effect of sex on the interview process. The sex-barrier was a drawback, albeit one outside of my control, in respect of this technique.

2.8.5 Choice of sample.

The method used to gain access to as wide a range of informants and interviewees as possible is referred to in the literature as "snowball sampling":

Snowball sampling, where one research participant or setting leads to another (and allows the researcher) to locate subsequent participants or settings (...) (In this way maximum variation sampling is emergent and sequential.

Lincoln and Guba (1985), Glaser and Strauss (1967), call this sampling approach "theoretical sampling" because it allows the researcher to build and broaden theoretical insights in the ongoing process of data collection and analysis. (Maykut and Morehouse, 1996: 57)

This selection method worked in parallel with, and complemented, the overall research design being emergent, sequential and above all, flexible allowing at all times for the new categories of meaning or research foci to be incorporated into the database. The networking method also lended itself to the recruitment of informants in the particular setting of the PDF where secrecy and sensitivity were issues. According to Renzetti and Lee (1993: 30):

Other problems that are essentially acute for researchers investigating sensitive topics are those deriving from the recruitment of study participants (...) the major strategies that can be used, singly or in combination for sampling 'special' populations that are rare and/or deviant in some way include (...) the use of networking or snowballing strategies.

(See also Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 725, on “snowballing”)

Given that there are 375 female personnel within the Defence Forces spread over three Brigade areas within Ireland and abroad in places as disparate as Lebanon, the former Yugoslavia, Cyprus and Honduras, it was not possible for me to obtain the total population or universe for interview. Therefore the sample chosen was a purposive sample. (Maykut and Morehouse, 1996: 56) The intention, aim or purpose of the selection was to achieve a maximum variation sample.

Perhaps the most prominent and useful strategy is maximum variation sampling where the researcher attempts to understand some phenomenon by seeking out persons or settings that represent the greatest differences in that phenomenon. (Ibid.: 56)

To this end I selected female personnel:

1. Of different rank for variation in seniority and status within the PDF.
2. Of different length of service for variation in experience and length of membership.
3. Of different Corps and Units for variation in experience and deployment.
4. Of different overseas experience for variation in exposure to the working culture in various theatres abroad.
5. Of different Brigade areas for variation in domestic workplace culture.
6. Of different ages.
7. Of different educational backgrounds.
8. Of different occupational roles, for variation over line and support roles.
9. Of different recruit/cadet intakes for variation over segregated and integrated training experiences.
10. Of different marital status, with or without children.

In total I interviewed sixty women for the study. I interviewed forty three women at home in various locations in Ireland. I interviewed seventeen in the Lebanon. A full profile of the female personnel interviewed is contained in Appendix three. With the ‘snowballing’ method for obtaining interviews comes the inherent danger of an internal bias arising from like-minded respondents. The 17 women of the 85th Battalion, selected entirely at random provides some control for this bias. I interviewed them in situ in the Lebanon in September of 1999.

2.9 Secondary sources of data

In addition to the primary data obtained, use was made of secondary sources of data in order to crosscheck assumptions and assist in the methodological triangulation within the research. Use was made of written sources such as archival material, military documents, military textbooks, military journals, journal articles, newspaper reports, novels and various academic texts. The approach taken in this study, combining secondary sources with the raw data of participant observation and interviews, is described by Maykut and Morehouse (1996: 122) as an “interpretative-descriptive approach”. Maykut and Morehouse quote Strauss and Corbin who define this method as requiring:

Some selection and interpretation of the data (...) weaving descriptions, speakers' words, fieldnote quotations, and their interpretations into a rich and believable descriptive narrative.

(Ibid.:122)

An analysis of these secondary sources was carried out in order to get inside the culture of the PDF in an interpretative-descriptive, or narrative manner. The literature lists various sources appropriate for this type of analysis and includes in addition to those outlined above libraries, reference books, periodical literature, books in print, pamphlets and paperbacks, dissertations, abstracts, biographies, censuses, almanacs, yearbooks and government publications. (See Kane, 1985: 98-117) Jorgensen (1989: 91) adds to this list of sources:

Documents of many different varieties, as well as other human artefacts ranging from tools, machines and clothing to handicrafts and art. These products of human activity potentially provide rich sources of secondary and in some cases even primary research materials.

This study includes references to artefacts such as items of uniform, military equipment, and weapons and weapons systems. The study also refers to policy documents and codes of conduct implemented by the military authorities

Haralambos and Holborn (1991) add even more to the list of potentially valid secondary sources to include parliamentary speeches, aspects of novels, and newspaper investigations. I have made occasional use of references from novels and more often from newspapers, which reflect public perceptions of the status and roles of female combatants as reflected in the

media and in popular culture. I have also made reference to radio and television news reports as they pertain to the foci of this study. In addition to 'formal' sources, I make reference in this study to some of the 'in-house humour' and 'slang' words used in relation to female personnel. I believe such informal codes of language have some qualitative insights to offer on the role and status of female personnel in the PDF as perceived by their peers. Bernard (1988: 237-298) refers to the analysis of such secondary sources as listed as a form of "content analysis":

Content analysis is a catch all term covering a variety of techniques for making inferences from "texts". The texts can be fiction, non-fiction, recorded folktales, newspaper editorials, advertisements, films, songs, and so on.

Despite some of the inherent dangers involved in this treatment of such sources of data, Bernard finds in favour of the type of simple content analysis used in this study. "For all its problems, content analysis can produce fascinating results". (Ibid.: 298) (See also Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 752-753)

Shaw and Perrons (1995:54) stress that the starting point for any study of equality issues in the workplace should be an examination of relevant legal statutes. Thus, in addition to all of the sources quoted, I have in this study examined the law as it pertains to women in the workplace. I have also examined equality of opportunity policies throughout the public service, An Garda , the RUC and other armies. I have used these policy guidelines and laws as a form of qualitative paradigm with which to compare the PDF's policies. Since we describe often by comparison, I felt it useful to employ these data as a secondary source for the purposes of comparison and contrast with PDF policy.

The sources of the secondary data utilised and quoted from throughout the research theme chapters were varied and included both military and civilian sources. Military archives, located in Cathal Brugha Barracks in Rathmines proved a useful source of documentary and archival material. Military Archives proved a very rich source of information of the activities of Cumann na mBan and those women who were active during the Civil War. An account of some of the material discovered here is included in appendix six. A full list of the file and lot numbers I examined is included in the Bibliography.

As a commissioned officer of the Defence Forces, access to Defence Force Regulations, (DFRs), Standard Operating Procedures, (SOPs), and Administrative Instructions was not difficult. Most of these documents are classified as 'Restricted', or 'Confidential'. A full list of DFRs and SOPs referred to is included in the Bibliography along with their security

classification, (SyCl). None of these documents or the sections quoted from them in this thesis compromises the operational or intelligence security of the PDF.

The Board Reports, policy documents and implementation reports quoted from in this study were far more difficult to access. Officers Records Section and Enlisted Personnel Section were of particular assistance in providing me with documents such as the officer's gazette and 'strength-return one' (SR1) which assisted in the auditing of numbers of female troops and appointments held by them.

Competition Section, (R6E) in the Department of Defence, and the Brigade Manpower Officers were of great assistance in providing figures for cadet and recruit campaigns pertaining to the period under study with particular reference to the numbers of men and women applying in these competitions.

'B' Branch, Garda Headquarters, located in the Phoenix Park in Dublin, provided me with an abundance of data in relation to Garda Síochána recruitment, training, deployment, promotion and equality policies. The information I obtained from an Garda Síochána I found useful for the purposes of comparison. This was also the case with information made available to me from the RUC and the British Army by RUC Headquarters and the Ministry of Defence in Whitehall respectively.

In addition to the library facilities in DCU the Defence Forces Information Centre proved an invaluable source of books and articles on the history and analysis of women in combat. This facility was of particular value to this study given the specialist audience it serves.

2.9.1 Quantitative sources of data

A quantitative analysis of the deployment of women over line and support appointments in the PDF was achieved through an audit of the actual work all 365 women in the PDF were doing in March of 1997, and October of 1999. This audit or unit survey was conducted in the following manner. Using the document SR1 as a reference point, I contacted every unit in the PDF to which female personnel were appointed. In each unit, I contacted the relevant detailing authority and enquired as to precisely what duties those female personnel were assigned to. In this way I built up a precise picture of how each and every female member of the PDF was employed on a day-to-day basis. The unit survey or audit took in all female members of the PDF and therefore consisted of the entire population or universe applicable to the setting. This audit of the work assigned to personnel of the Defence Forces was similar in

nature to those audits carried out by the Gleeson Commission. (1990: 18,19, 78-97) The results of these audits are discussed in the chapter on deployment matters.

2.10 Bias control and triangulation

This chapter on method is exhaustive, explicit and detailed. This transparency is required to highlight the domain assumptions of the author, the inbuilt biases inherent in ‘insider’ participant observation and overt observation, the interviewing technique chosen, (with all of its limitations), and the inherent biases in the archival documentary and written sources of data.

Without an explicitly defined method, without clear rules which tell you what conclusions one is allowed to draw from different kinds of observations, research easily turns into an activity where you try to prove your prejudice right. A poorly defined method and an analysis built on vague intuition does not enable the data to prove the researcher’s hypotheses wrong or his or her research design impaired. (Alasuutari, 1995: 41-42)

In order to control these biases, I have used several methods to limit their effect on the data. The first control employed is an exhaustive account of the method and the research design.

By adopting rigorous methods, sociologists can try to minimise the extent to which their values affect their sociological conclusions. (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 764)

This in-depth review of method is intended to reassure the reader of a rigorous methodology. I believe I have complied with this requirement and have discussed the impact my being both male and an officer has had on the data collected. In addition to an exhaustive and detailed account of method as a basis for assessing the validity or accuracy of data collected, the literature also recommends as a bias control the use of methodological triangulation:

If you had to stake your life on which of these three areas is likely to represent the most accurate, complete, research information, you would choose the centre in which you get the information through interviews and questionnaires and reinforced by observation. (Kane, 1985: 51)

In short, “theoretical triangulation uses several theories or perspectives to examine the same material”. (Ibid.: 52) In this study use was made of a mixture of data gathering methods and techniques in order to cross check, verify and otherwise vet the accuracy of the data collected.

That is to say, for this study, primary data was obtained through participant observation and cross-checked by interview and a thorough documentary analysis.

2.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has contained an exhaustive account of method. This account has outlined my choice of methodology from the debate over qualitative versus quantitative methods, the influence of similar studies, the choice of qualitative techniques selected and the research design employed. The account contained in this chapter also details the characteristics of the setting peculiar to this study which have had a bearing on the methodology. These include those difficulties in gaining access to the setting, issues around secrecy and sensitivity as applied to the setting, and the ethical and practical considerations around 'insider' and overt research techniques. In terms of sources of data, the chapter gives an account of primary sources including participant observation, choice of interview samples and the interview technique employed. The chapter also includes an account of secondary sources utilised including Defence Forces documents, board reports, statistics and the laws and aspirations for equality which apply elsewhere in the public service. The purpose of the exhaustive account of method is two fold. It lends credibility to a study undertaken in a difficult and secretive setting. It also acts as a control over any bias which may be inherent in a study such as this.

Within the milieu of a predominantly qualitative research design, and given the practicalities and problems posed by the particular field setting, I chose the data gathering methods outlined in this chapter. The aim of this particular combination of methods was to aid the verification of data and attempt to minimise the researcher's biasing influence on data interpretation. Robson (1993) endorses this use of methodological triangulation noting that its primary purpose is in validating information and ensuring quality of data. Therefore the yield of interviews and participant observation may endorse or contradict the speculative assumptions of the author made on the basis of documentary or statistical analysis and vice versa.

Jorgensen (1989: 37) reiterates this point:

The participant observer (...) rarely depends on a single form of evidence. Concepts are formulated and checked by multiple procedures and forms of evidence such as direct experience and observation, different forms of interviews, and different informants, artefacts, and documents.

I have therefore, in this chapter, through an exhaustive account of the research methodology attempted to bring a systematic and quantifiable element to the study. It was a process of immersion followed by withdrawal from the setting to discuss and reflect. In other words:

It involves establishing rapport in a new community; learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up; and removing yourself every day from cultural immersion so that you can intellectualise what you've learned, put it into perspective and write about it.
(Bernard, 1988: 148)

Jorgensen (1989: 65) reiterates this point stressing the requirement for discussing the data and the field experiences with colleagues:

In short then, becoming the phenomenon (sic) is a participant observational strategy for penetrating to and gaining direct experience of a form of human life. It is an objective approach insofar as it results in the accurate detailed description of the insider's experience of life. In carrying out this strategy, it is important that the researcher be able to switch back and forth between the insider's perspective and an analytic framework. This may be facilitated by talking over field experiences with colleagues.

This is the story of my research. It began with an analytic framework provided by my participation in the MA course in 1993. The fundamental research questions explored in this study were triggered by the sensitivity to my surroundings generated by my postgraduate introduction to communications and cultural studies in general and feminist theory in particular. The formative framework and terms of reference of the study were negotiated throughout the research with the university through the agency of my supervisor. This enabled me to participate in the PDF as a commissioned officer, and also stand back from that experience and give an objective and critical account of it.

Van Maanen, in Van Maanen, Faulkner and Dabbs (1982: 145), who spent time as a policeman whilst studying the police sums up the position:

I believe I have learned to think like a cop and yet I am able to stand back and critique that particular frame of reference as well as describe it.

I believe I have learned to think and act like a male army officer, and yet stand back and critique that particular frame of reference as well as describe it.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Perspectives

This chapter on theoretical perspectives incorporates a literature review of the works that proved useful for the development of a conceptual framework for the study. The chapter consists of seven sections as outlined hereafter. The first three sections deal with Marxist and socialist feminism, radical feminism and liberal feminism. The author outlines his advocacy of a liberal-feminist approach and emphasises the importance of the power dynamic of patriarchy as a diagnostic tool for the study.

The next section provides a definition of patriarchy. The following section, 'the gender division of labour', provides the study with a description of a gender division of labour in the workplace and a discussion of several models of such a segregated workforce (Barron and Norris 1976, Reskin and Padavic 1994 etc.). These studies provide a useful lens through which to examine a workplace environment.

The penultimate section of the chapter concentrates on the liberal-feminist equality of opportunity agenda. The liberal-feminist and EO literature advocate a thorough equality audit of the workplace in order to assess the equality environment. The literature presupposes a certain level of commitment to EO policies in the workplace on the part of employers. In the liberal-feminist tradition, the literature proposes a legal and educational investment to vindicate the rights and potential of women workers and thus offset the negative outcomes of a segregated work environment. The EO literature, along with the guidelines of the EEA (1998), provide a comprehensive framework within which to gauge the equality environment of the workplace, and contain recommendations as to how best promote equality and 'undo' the patriarchal dynamic. The final section comprises a chapter summary which outlines the theoretical architecture of the study and articulates its diagnostic utility within the context of the methods as previously described.

Thus the main theoretical thrust of this study draws on a body of mainly feminist literature in an attempt to gain some insights into the nature of women's service in the PDF, and the status and roles assigned them in a male dominated organisation.

3.1 Marxist and socialist feminism

Marxism calls for a transformation of society's structures and institutions. It calls for a "new world order". (Storkey, 1989: 72) Marxist and socialist feminist theory:

(S)tarts from an insistence that beneath the serious social, psychological and ideological phenomena of women's oppression lies a material root.
(Vogel, 1983: 29)

Marxist and Socialist feminism focus on the ideology of the "public versus the private" worlds of work (Storkey, 1989: 82-83), and "the exploitation of women in paid employment" (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 535). Given that this study examines the status of women in paid and highly visible employment, a consideration of the relevant insights of Marxist and socialist feminist theory is worthwhile.

Young (1981: 43-71) describes the aims of this form of feminism as follows:

Marxist and Socialist feminists call for a 'revolution' or 'transformation' of society's institutions and structures in an 'anti-capitalist' struggle against oppression.

(Young in Sargent, 1981: 64)

This anti-capitalist struggle views capitalism as essentially patriarchal and sees the role of feminism to "transform capitalist institutions and relations" (Ibid.: 64). Landry and Mc Lean (1993: 2) reiterate this point:

Socialist feminists claim that unless the economic inequalities and class oppressions of capitalist society are specifically addressed, even radical feminist alternatives will end up by repeating them.

This study, however, does not seek to challenge the "economic inequalities" and "class oppressions" of capitalist society. The author, by choosing to examine the status and roles assigned female soldiers, seeks to vindicate and endorse their exercise of choice in choosing a military career. The author's domain assumptions indicate that the PDF is seen as a valid social institution with a valid contribution to make to a society whose economic prerogatives this study does not seek to challenge or critique. (See Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 9) The author shares the dominant 'hegemonic' view that the military has a valid role to play in society. (Slattery, 1992: 126)

The author shares with Marxist and socialist feminists the view that society's structures and institutions are patriarchal, and that much of women's oppression is material at root, but the thesis is not anti-capitalist. The author indeed actively endorses the participation of both men and women in one of capitalism's most 'pre-eminent' institutions, the military.

Given this ideological impasse, I chose to concentrate on radical and liberal-feminist theory for an explication of women's service in the military.

3.2 Radical feminism

Storkey (1985: 95), draws the distinction between Radical feminists, on the one hand, and Marxist and socialist feminists on the other:

It was true that there were two classes: the oppressors and the oppressed; those in power, those exploited. But the dividing line was sex, and the two classes were men and women. Men, as a sexual class, were the oppressors. Women as a sexual class were the oppressed (...) Marxist men were equally as 'sexist' as capitalist men. Sex is a form of oppression independent of social class. The root problem was therefore not with the social class dominance of the economic system, it was with the male dominance of the patriarchal system.

Radical feminism therefore identified patriarchy as the over-arching system of women's oppression in society, in the paid public domain and in the private domain, where the "personal" had become "political". (Ibid.: 97-103)

Radical feminists identified the ideology of the 'male as norm' and sociobiological theories which identified female 'difference' as 'deficit' as the underlying mechanism of patriarchy. (Ibid.: 97-103) Radical feminists argue that patriarchy, as a system, which oppresses women by holding them to be 'different' and therefore 'inferior', is ubiquitous, crossing cultures and economic systems and "may be conceived of as a structure relatively autonomous of mode of production". (Kuhn and Wolpe, 1980: 43)

Millett argues that patriarchy is evident within capitalism and that within capitalist structures, particularly those associated with power, such as the military, patriarchy is most evident.

Our society, like all other historical civilisations is a patriarchy. The fact is evident at once if one recalls that the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political office and finance – in short every avenue of power within the society; including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands.

(Millett, in Eisenstein, 1988: 6)

Therefore, by examining participation rates, and the status and roles assigned women in a given setting, an assessment of patriarchy's presence within the workplace could be carried out. This would be evident in the analysis of the status and roles assigned women in a given setting, for as Eisenstein argues:

Sex roles, and sex role stereotyping (are) then the means by which an entire society (keeps) women subject to the rules of the patriarchy.
(Ibid.: 7)

Clough (1994: 15) reiterates the view that patriarchy operates, and is in evidence through, the "socialisation" of both males and females into "the basic patriarchal politics with regard to temperament, role, and status". (See also Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 546)

Firestone (1970) argues that women's biology and reproductive capacity are the key to this oppression. (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 538; Slattery, 1992: 82) One of the aims of this study would be to assess any evidence of discrimination towards female personnel, (in the form of a lowering of status or role), on the basis of sex difference. I would tend in this regard to Sherry Ortner's view on the patriarchal perception of 'difference' as 'deficit':

Ortner agrees with Firestone that women are universally oppressed and devalued, but she claims that it is not biology as such that ascribes women to their status in society, but the way in which every culture defines and evaluates female biology.
(Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 538)

The study will examine whether or not a patriarchal dynamic is in operation, effectively defining female personnel as 'other' on the basis of their sex and therefore 'deficient'. This dynamic would be revealed in the status and roles assigned female personnel. I believe this aspect of Radical feminism has much to offer this study in terms of a conceptualisation of patriarchy – the subordination of women on the basis of sex difference through the assignation of status and role.

Radical feminists do not seek 'equality' on the basis of 'sameness'. They are not seeking equality on the basis of 'equal treatment' in the liberal understanding of the term. They do not regard difference as deficit. They would seek to have such difference recognised and cherished. This would involve a transformation of all structures. According to Barrett and Phillips (1992: 20):

Women can say that they want to be treated the same – but this means being treated as if they were men; or they can demand laws that are specific to their needs (...) This argument suggests a very radical pluralism, in which seemingly endless differences by sex, race, age, class, culture (...) all have to be taken into account.

Within the general body of feminism loosely referred to as ‘radical feminism’ in the literature would be an ideological position antithetical to the notion of military service and the integration of women into ‘capitalist’ structures. Landry and McLean (1993: 2) outline this position clearly:

Radical feminism argues that the key to women’s oppression is men’s power over women, a power so embedded in all existing social structures that it cannot be overcome without a general transformation of society (...). Radical feminists contend that the concept of legal equality, i.e. equal rights, is insufficient and that all existing social and political institutions need to be uprooted and replaced. This desire has led some radical feminists to the position of feminist separatism, with women establishing their own communities and institutions apart from men.

Slattery (1992: 83) also refers to this extreme form of radical feminism that would advocate a “women only society”. (See also Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 535) Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 535) refer to female ‘supremacists’ who see men as not just responsible for the “exploitation of women, but also for conflict and war”. This strand of radical feminism, also applicable in anarchist feminism, (Brown, 1993: 7), is not espoused by this study.

It is within the broad church of liberal feminism, which advocates equality of opportunity for everyone within all contemporary social institutions that the main theoretical thrust of this study resides. The study would not espouse the anti-militarism and pacifism of eco-feminism and cultural feminism (Barrett and Phillips, 1992: 12), nor would it espouse the ‘anti-capitalist’ agenda of Marxist and socialist feminism and the revolutionary, women-only view of some Radical feminists. The study does, however, incorporate some of Radical feminism’s views on difference and the extension of the patriarchal family’s values to the world of work. These will be alluded to and referenced in the latter sections of this chapter.

3.3 Liberal feminism

Liberal feminism originates from an equal rights tradition that pre-dates modern feminism. Its origins can be traced to works such as John Stewart Mill's "On the Subjection of Women", 1869, to more contemporary work by authors such as Betty Friedan and Janet Radcliffe Richards. (Storkey, 1985: 59-62; Brown, 1993: 62-3) Liberal-feminism and liberalism are referred to in the literature as arising from the Enlightenment writings of authors such as Rousseau and Locke. (Barrett and Phillips, 1992: 10-30, 207; Eisenstein, 1988: 144-145; Landry and McLean, 1993: 2; Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 536)

Given, as Storkey (1985: 63) puts it, that "liberalism is now the establishment ideology", liberal feminism is seen as predicated on the status quo or values of western society. The work of liberal-feminists is seen as "laden with the liberal assumptions of the society out of which they emerge". (Brown, 1993: 62) There is associated with liberal-feminism an equality agenda which according to Phillips (1992: 10) is:

(O)ften conceived of in terms of extending to women those rights and equalities that were being asserted as the birthright of men (...). This approach embraced key elements of Enlightenment thinking.

The philosophy of liberal-feminism is expressed by Billington Grieg (1911) quoted in Slattery (1992: 77) thus:

(Feminism) may be defined as a movement seeking the reorganisation of the world upon a basis of sex equality in all human relations; a movement which would reject every differentiation between individuals upon the ground of sex, would abolish all sex privileges and sex burdens and would strive to set up the recognition of the common humanity of woman and man as the foundation of law and custom.

Liberal-feminism's traditions therefore arise from a Eurocentric/Amerocentric view of the enjoyment of individual rights, protected under the law and enshrined in an equality of opportunity agenda. As Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 536) put it:

The creation of equal opportunities, particularly in education and work, is the main aim of liberal-feminists. They pursue this aim through the introduction of legislation and by attempting to change attitudes (...) They do not seek revolutionary changes in society.

Landry and McLean (1993: 2) define liberal-feminism as follows:

Liberal feminism describes the view that women's oppression will end once women have achieved legal equality and equal opportunity with men.

The liberal-feminist tradition emphasises this legal/educational framework for the attainment of equality. This therefore provides a framework within which to gauge the treatment of female personnel in an investigation into the workplace setting. It provides a conceptual framework incorporating the legal provisions of employment legislation and the aspirations of the equality of opportunity agenda with which to measure the equality environment of the workplace. This is the conceptual framework chosen by the author (with a consequent emphasis within the study on training and educational issues) with which to gauge the equality environment of the setting.

This study also attempts to link the manner in which liberal-feminism sets out to challenge and prove that “social divisions such as gender are culturally and not naturally created by men to further their own power, privilege and dominance” (Slattery, 1992: 77). Eisenstein (1988: xi) reiterates this recognition of the ‘reification’ of sex differences as a cultural phenomenon which functions to disadvantage women:

Socially constructed differences between the sexes (are) judged to be the chief source of female oppression.

Within this context, the study aims to assess the workplace to establish if such socially constructed (cultural) differences between the sexes are used to justify secondary roles and a subordinate status for female personnel. The theoretical perspective considered by the author, liberal-feminism, provides an explanatory body of concepts with which to assess and describe this phenomenon.

The explanation of this situation according to liberal-feminists lies not so much in the structures and institutions of society but in its culture and the attitudes of individuals. (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 536)

To liberal-feminists such as Janet Radcliffe Richards, cultural beliefs about women that work to disadvantage or oppress them are simply anti-feminist and rooted in patriarchy. According to Brown (1993: 81):

She rejects the anti-feminist arguments which attribute different natures to men and women in order to justify women’s subordination.

Richards does not question the structures of society in themselves. She does not question the capitalist system, or blame it for the oppression of women. She embraces the hegemony of western ‘liberal’ society and defines feminism as simply “a movement for the elimination of

sex based injustice (...) simply a matter of logic (...) nothing to do with capitalism or any other values". (Brown, 1993: 81)

Similarly Friedan espouses the abolition of sex-based injustice and for her also the removal of barriers to full integration in the workplace is seen as a key to equality. The provision of training and education in order to compete for equality and status is central to Friedan's philosophy:

For Friedan, to be a free human individual is to be competitive. For women to join men as individuals, then, they will have to compete.

(Ibid.: 68)

Furthermore:

Friedan also conceptualises education in instrumental terms, as a tool to facilitate the frantic competition in the market place she urges women to join.

(Ibid.: 71).

Just as the Enlightenment thinkers presupposed the 'individual' would have the economic and educational wherewithal to achieve equality and liberation, so too does liberal feminism assume that women ought to have the wherewithal enshrined in legislation to compete on an equal basis with their male peers. It is from this perspective that an analysis of women's status and role in the workplace setting would be carried out.

The liberal feminist position warns that the co-option of women into an organisation may not be sufficient in itself to effect a change in any patriarchal structures in existence, or in any deeply held attitudes and beliefs about women. There is the danger of what the literature refers to as 'tokenism' and the submersion of women within male cliques. There is an explicitly stated requirement within the equal opportunity agenda of liberal feminism for proactive measures to be implemented in male dominated work environments to increase the numbers of women in order to achieve "critical mass".

Liberal feminism goes beyond ideas of 'equal opportunity' and 'equal rights' to call for policies (such as affirmative action) to correct the effects of past discrimination. (Ibid.: 18).

There is also a requirement for proactive attitudes and the pursuit of an equality agenda.

Numbers alone are not a sufficient precondition for a “woman’s effect”. It is clear that just getting more women (...) will not bring about significant change (...) women need to have a feminist agenda to bring with them.

(Ibid.: 51).

To this end I would critically examine the workplace culture of the PDF within the context of a liberal-feminist agenda. With its aspirations for the removal of sex-based barriers in education, training and work place participation, and its rejection of culturally generated versions of sex difference as deficit, it forms the main frame of reference through which I will examine PDF culture specifically as it applies to women.

There are some aspects of radical feminism, which I feel are also applicable to this analysis of the integration of female personnel within the PDF. Radical feminism goes beyond liberal-feminism in that it does not simply seek equality on the basis of an ascribed “sameness” with men. (Storkey, 1989: 97-103) Rather, Radical feminism seeks to recognise difference, to cherish diversity and achieve equality through recognising and allowing for such difference. (Barrett and Phillips, 1992) The latter sections of this chapter deal with diversity and equality of opportunity, and to what is referred to in the literature as ‘mainstreaming’ equality, will reflect this aspect of Radical feminism.

Liberal, Radical, Marxist and socialist feminism all agree on one aspect, that is to say, all identify and recognise to one degree or another, that patriarchy is centrally instrumental in the oppression of women. I wish to address this issue, to attempt to define patriarchy, and to use this definition as a diagnostic tool in assessing if a patriarchal system exists within the workplace under study.

3.4 Patriarchy

In this section I will define patriarchy. It will be argued that patriarchal thought finds expression in a gender division of labour predicated on a view of women as somehow innately inferior and thus inevitably assigned subordinate roles and status.

The Collins English Dictionary (1993) defines patriarchy as “government by the head or father of a tribe”, from the Greek ‘pater’ for father, and ‘archein’ to rule. The word is masculine at root, and carries an implication of a naturally derived authority or power. It suggests an unquestioned assumption that the head or power broker is male.

According to Kuhn and Wolpe (1980: 43), patriarchy predates capitalism and functions independently as a system of oppression, as 'an end in itself', in other words:

Patriarchy may be conceived of as a structure relatively autonomous of mode of production.

This is at odds with Marxist and socialist feminism, which highlights that it is "capitalism, rather than patriarchy (that) explains women's oppression in modern societies". (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 549)

For Radical feminists, it is the ubiquity of patriarchy, its pre-eminence and independence of the economic base, which has led to the systematic and universal oppression of women. In defining Kate Millett's radical view of patriarchy, Kuhn and Wolpe (1980: 13) underline Radical feminism's rejection of the Marxist or socialist view:

Patriarchy permeates our lives (...). 'Sexual Politics' represents one of the first serious theoretical attempts to come to grips with the specific nature of women's oppression and it signals the irreducibility of that oppression to any simple or even complex class analysis conceived of through traditional Marxist economic categories.

(Kuhn and Wolpe, 1980: 13)

This point is reiterated by Vogel (1983: 127):

In short, no stable Marxist theoretical framework has been established for the consideration of the question of women by socialists.

I support the view that patriarchy "permeates our lives", and that it is a system which operates "autonomously of the mode of production", and that it is a system that benefits men at the expense of women. It is, I believe, as described by Delphy, (1992: 13), "systematically exploitative of women (...) a system of male domination".

Delphy describes all of the relationships between men and women as "power relationships". (Ibid.: 160) This radical viewpoint will be assessed in the context of the setting under study. There will in essence be an examination of any possible linkage between military culture and patriarchy. The study will explore this linkage by examining the role that the "ideology of sexual difference" has to play on the practice of a "sexual division of labour". As Hakim (1996: 202) puts it:

The most effective mechanism for subordinating women is neither exclusion from the workplace nor segregation within it, but the ideology of the sexual division of labour and the ideology of sexual differences.

Eisenstein (1988: 45) echoes the view that it is by the emphasis in sex difference ideologies on the 'otherness' or 'deficiency' of women, that patriarchy enforces the subordination of women:

Patriarchy, it seems, was built on the exaggeration and maintenance of women's 'otherness' from men.

She goes on to say:

In establishing such a rigid difference between 'male' and 'female', society appeared to have allocated to 'female' all of the qualities that 'males' thought were undesirable.

(Ibid.: 58)

Through this 'masculine' ideology of sex difference and sex role stereotyping, a patriarchal system of binary concepts has arisen which defines women as 'other' and 'inferior'. This binary system is ubiquitous and all-encompassing. Slattery (1992: 80) bears testimony to this ubiquity:

(P)atriarchy's real power is not physical force, but institutional control (...) the power of an all pervasive ideology which proclaims that male dominance and female subordination are both natural and normal; that for women to be dominant or aggressive is deviant and unfeminine (...) so all pervasive is this ideology of patriarchy, that it is rarely criticised, and most women defer to it without question.

To examine the particular setting of this study within the wider theoretical perspectives of liberal and radical feminism, the following themes are explored in the latter sections of this chapter: The gender division of labour is examined along with various models for interpreting its mechanisms. The liberal-feminist, or equality of opportunity agenda, which might remedy such a putative gender division of labour within the PDF, is then outlined.

This chapter then provides the conceptual framework by means of which to examine the status and roles assigned female personnel of the PDF. It proceeds from the recognition that patriarchy exists, is expressed through a gender division of labour, and argues that the best way to counter such a division, within existing institutions and structures, is through a liberal-feminist agenda. Such a proposal would seek a formal equality for female personnel, would acknowledge and cherish difference and advocate the rights of the 'liberal' individual.

3.5 Patriarchy and the gender division of labour

The previous sections have outlined the manner in which a patriarchal organisation of the workplace, by reinforcing an unequal power difference between men and women, lowers the status and role assigned to female personnel. This lowering of their status and role is achieved through a gender division of labour. The gender division of labour is seen as the very expression of patriarchy. It is the manner in which patriarchy maintains an unequal power relation between the sexes. Its rationale is predicated on the ideology of sex difference and an interpretation of 'female' difference as deficiency.

The sexual division of labour and society expresses the most basic hierarchical division in our society, between masculine and feminine roles. It is the basic mechanism of control for patriarchal culture. It designates the fact that roles, purposes, activity, one's labour, are determined sexually. It expresses the very notion that the biological distinction, male/female is used to distinguish social functions and individual power.

(Eisenstein, 1979: 17)

Given this view that all relationships between men and women are 'power relations', an examination of the gender division of labour within the PDF would give an indication as to which side of a power equation female soldiers lie. The military is an ideal setting within which to conduct such an examination, for in the military, hierarchy and status are fetishised through an emphasis on rank, and on appointment. Combat appointments within the military have a high status, attracting higher rates of pay and are crucial for promotion and command status.

The segregation of society and the workforce by sex is seen as the key to women's oppression. A sex based apartheid, it presupposes the pre-eminence of the male sex and reserves subordinate roles for women. According to Hartmann in Eisenstein (1979: 206):

It is my belief that not only must the hierarchical nature of the division of labour between the sexes be eliminated, but the very division of labour between the sexes must be eliminated if women are to attain equal social status with men, and if women and men are to attain the full development of their human potentials.

Hakim (1996) drawing on Hartmann's work, reaches the same conclusion. Hakim identifies the gender division of labour as a double-edged barrier to women's equality in the workplace. On the one hand, influenced by patriarchal ideology, women are denied access to certain areas of paid employment considered 'masculine' and 'inappropriate' for women, and on the

other hand relegated to less powerful and lower paid jobs within those spheres in which they are permitted to work.

The ideology of the sexual division of labour became a force in its own right (...)
(T)he two mechanisms used by men to limit women's access to earnings: total exclusion from the market economy and wage labour; and the segregation of male and female workers within the workforce restricting women to the lower paid jobs.

(Hakim, 1996: 10-11)

It will be of interest to note if the organisation under study could be held to be equal opportunity employers in terms of those numbers of women given access to paid employment at entry level. It will also be interesting to note whether or not a gender division of labour exists within the organisation under study over the high status, (combat, line appointments), and the lower status, lower paid support or 'A' and 'Q' appointments.

Delphy, like other Radical and indeed liberal-feminists, believes that the ideology of the gender division of labour derives from society's most basic unit, the patriarchal family. She believes that the sexual division of labour in the patriarchal family unit is extended to and replicated in workplace structures. (Delphy, 1992: 2)

Thus, the patriarchal 'ethos', engendered in the family unit is extended to society's institutions including the military.

Hence, religious communities, political cadres, and armies... have often established an (appropriate) alternative to family life for their members.

(Ibid.: 6)

Therefore, if the military authorities were found to have determined 'appropriate' military service for female personnel, as typically less powerful, and less well paid, the military authorities by the logic of feminists like Delphy and Dworkin, could be said to extend the patriarchal dynamic through the organisation of the military workplace.

Within the Defence Forces, those appointments which qualify for the highest rates of pay are found in the combat corps of the Infantry, Artillery, and Cavalry along with the Ranger Wing in the form of operational border allowances, ranger wing allowances, lucrative overseas allowances, and in the Naval Service and Air Corps, in flight pay, and seagoing allowances. Hand in hand with this situation is the fact that the higher the rank one occupies within the organisation, the more one is paid. Therefore an examination of the rank and appointments

held by female personnel of the PDF, or the status and roles assigned them, should give an indication as to whether or not a gender division of labour exists within the force, and by extension, whether or not the PDF is imbued with patriarchal ideology.

Other models for considering the gender division of labour within the workplace are to be found in the literature. Hakim (1996: 4) analyses three models:

The most important competing theories today are Steven Goldberg's theory of the inevitability of male dominance and patriarchy based on psycho-physiological processes; Heidi Hartmann's theory of men's collective organisation to further their own interests against those of women through trade unions, the legal system and political organisations as illustrated by a pattern of occupational segregation that is to men's advantage; and Gary Becker's rational choice theory of the allocation of time and labour to domestic work and employment based on the role specialisation of husband and wife.

Haralambos and Holborn, (1991: 559-61), also consider several models, which attempt to amplify the phenomenon of a gender division of labour. Caplow's, Barron and Norris', and Braverman's theories are listed. The theories of Murdock, Talcott Parsons, and Bowlby, with their emphasis on a biological and 'practical' determinism are also reviewed. (Ibid.: 528-529). Their theories are then reviewed and contrasted with those of Oakley, (with reference to Margaret Mead's work). (Ibid.: 530-1)

The conclusion preferred by this study is that gender roles as expressed in a gender division of labour, are culturally, not biologically determined. This would also be the conclusion of Beechey (1980) (in Kuhn and Wolpe).

Marina Adler (1994: 40), in relation to the gender division of labour, declares that:

Occupational segregation remains instrumental in limiting the status of women in the labour market.

Adler argues that a measurement of women's status or power within the organisation can be made in terms of women's access to "supervisory power", as opposed to "strategic power". (The former referring to authority vested directly in the work process, the latter access to the level of policy making within the organisation). If we were to apply Adler's criteria for measuring the status of women within the setting of the PDF, we would assess their access to "strategic power", in this case to senior non-commissioned rank, and particularly to their representation amongst senior commissioned officer rank.

Reskin and Padavic, (1994) explore the phenomenon of the gender division of labour within the workplace. They identify several key areas, which may explain the “promotion gap” for women evident in many private and public sector work environments. They identify deficiencies in the provision of training and consequent promotion as one of the reasons for the promotion gap. They cite as consequences of this training gap the following:

That women lack ‘autonomy’ in the workplace with little or no access to policy making and design aspects of the work environment.
(Reskin and Padavic, 1994: 87)

Hakim (1996: 156) decries the low representation of women in the professional and managerial grades of the military and other traditionally male dominated professions:

Women are barely visible, with less than 5% of senior posts in engineering professions, the armed forces, the police, and the prison and fire services.

Reskin and Padavic claim that the explanation for women’s low representation amongst the higher managerial, or senior managerial positions in such organisations is due to “Human Capital Inequities”, that is to say women are denied “commitment”, (positive attitude towards women workers from management), “education”, (training opportunities), and “experience”, (denied certain crucial experience on the basis of sex).

Reskin and Padavic also identify the “internal labour market” as ‘restrictive’ if sex segregation is encouraged with no chance of ‘critical mass’ for female workers taking place. Reskin and Padavic’s (1994) model for the assessment of the workplace applied to the military setting would require an analysis of the military authorities provision of promotion and training opportunities for female personnel. If a “promotion gap” is identified within the PDF, then an examination is required of whether or not female personnel have sufficient “autonomy”, “commitment”, “education”, and “experience”. This could be assessed by examining the military authority’s practices and policies on the recruitment, training, deployment and promotion of women. In relation to Reskin and Padavic (1994) and Adler, (1994) one recurring theme emerges. All of the models mentioned, including those of Braverman, Barron and Norris, emphasise that without the formal initiation of explicit personnel policies dedicated to equality, discrimination will reside in ad hoc employment practices. Reskin and Padavic describe this as “an informal promotion policy and a work culture that froze women out”. (1994: 98-9)

The opposite of such a formally legislated work culture, with an equal opportunity agenda is identified in the literature as typically featuring a pronounced gender division of labour. This 'anti-equality' environment is described under several models as possessing certain identifiable characteristics. Jacobsen (1998) identifies the following characteristics of the 'typical' gender division of labour within the workplace: a wage differential, with women generally earning less than their peers; a training deficit, usually experienced by women; and a lack of participation in, or consultation for women in labour force decisions. (Jacobsen, 1998: 227-229)

It is intended in this study to examine the PDF work environment with regard to these criteria as indicators of an integrated as opposed to anti-equality culture. To further assess the extent of a gender division of labour within the PDF, a consideration will be made also of the Barron and Norris, segmented or dual labour model. (1976). Barron and Norris list the following features or characteristics of the dual labour model:

1. There is a more or less pronounced division into higher paying and lower paying sectors.
2. Mobility across the boundary of these sectors is restricted.
3. Higher paid jobs are tied into promotional or career ladders, while lower paid jobs offer few opportunities for vertical movement.

(Barron and Norris, 1976: 49)

Barron and Norris warn of the dangers of applying ascriptive characteristics such as sex as selection criteria for jobs.

The use of broad categories as a basis for job allocation has two important consequences. When ascriptive characteristics like sex are used as selection criteria, it has the effect of confining the groups so delineated to the secondary sector over the whole of their working lives (...) thus a 'vicious circle' is created which reinforces the discriminating power of the trait which was made the basis of the selection criterion and the labelling process becomes self-fulfilling.

(Barron and Norris, 1976: 53)

The 'vicious circle' identified by Barron and Norris would be encapsulated in policies on recruitment, training, deployment and promotion for women if such policies were discriminatory and based on patriarchal beliefs about the 'appropriateness' of work for men and women.

Quite often it is the work culture that defines an occupation as male or female, rather than the work task itself.

(Hakim, 1996: 165)

(See also Pemberton in Shaw and Perrons, 1995: 109,110)

This phenomenon has been noted before. Barbara Rogers (1988: 223) describes the type of work assigned women in the then segregated British Army:

The kind of jobs offered to the women are an extension of domestic work; nursing, catering, cleaning, driving, secretarial and administrative jobs (...) despite the ambivalent 'firsts' (a sure sign of tokenism), the structure of the armed forces ensures that women cannot become important either in basic trades which will be useful for outside employment or as commanders.

The rationale behind this gender division of labour lies in the 'gender model' view of women and employment as opposed to a 'job model', which would assign roles based on task analysis rather than on a prejudicial/ discriminatory gendered ideology.

Given that the military setting is highly mechanised and technology driven, the literature identifies a compounding factor in the assignation of 'feminine' and 'masculine' tasks.

Female soldiers can be denied the opportunity to operate certain weapons systems on the basis of fallacious assumptions about women's nature:

The justifying ideology has been that women are scared of, or don't understand machines. This new sexual division of labour has been established with appeals to the 'natural' qualities of women and yet these women are only too well aware of their capabilities with operating machines.
(Game and Pringle, 1983: 39)

This is especially true of the military setting where the constructed masculinity which permeates military life is reflected in the masculine (ascribed) and machistic (ascribed) connotations of names given to weapons systems and equipments; ie. 'Cobra' attack helicopters, 'Leopard' tanks, 'Stinger' missiles, 'Scorpion' tanks, etc,

By linking machines and computers to masculine power and sexuality we are delving into the social process which creates the new technology and give it its particular social meaning.
(Ibid.: 142)

The chapter on international trends in the deployment of female troops will bring the issue of gendered role expectations into sharp relief and will demonstrate that in the international military "age old sex stereotypes" are being challenged. (Holm, 1993: 443) It will be interesting to compare these international trends against current practices and policies within the PDF.

Much of the discussion of the literature thus far has been to describe the manner in which patriarchy operates in the workplace. It has been argued that patriarchy exists as a system within itself, independent of the industrial mode of production, and that it functions to preserve an unequal power relation between the sexes. This unequal power relationship finds its expression in a gender division of labour which typically finds women occupying lower status roles in the workforce. This situation is exacerbated in the military setting, with its fetishisation of role and status as expressed in rank and appointment, and in ideological terms, in the constructed masculinity of military service.

The discussion of the gender division of labour in the literature suggests that the best way to challenge such a division is by introducing formal equality of opportunity measures within the workplace. This strategy, which reflects in essence a liberal-feminist position, seeks a formal legislated equality agenda within existing structures. Some of these suggested measures will now be discussed in order to provide a conceptual framework within which to further analyse the work culture of the PDF.

3.6 A Liberal-feminist Perspective: The Equality of Opportunity Agenda.

Jacobsen (1998) sums up the liberal-feminist position neatly:

In an ideal state, men and women would be free to choose whatever job best suited them given their tastes and abilities upon entering the labour market. There would be no justification (...) for permitting attitudes and practices that impose segregation. (Jacobsen, 1998: 219-20)

Eisenstein (1988: 145) states that to achieve such a state would require an Amazonian and Herculean effort. She argues that to achieve equality however, would require more than simply equality on the basis of "sameness" or a masculine gendered concept of the "liberal individual". She argues for a "woman centred perspective" which would recognise, cherish, and legislate for women's difference and diversity. (Ibid.: 144)

Barrett and Phillips (1992: 19) echo this view:

There has been too much confusion of 'equality' with 'identity' or 'uniformity' and that being equal never meant all people being regarded as the same.

This goes beyond the original liberal-feminist agenda and embraces an aspect of radical feminism, in the call for the recognition of, and celebration of, difference, and in catering for

such differences. It calls for changes within structures to cater for women in order for them to compete on an equal basis with men. It rejects any notion of equality on the basis of 'androgyny' or a mono-gendered individual (Barrett and Phillips, 1992: 12-13/20). As Brown (1993: 84) states:

We know for certain that women have been kept out of many kinds of work, and this means that the work is quite likely to be unsuited to them. The most obvious example of this is the incompatibility of most work with the bearing and rearing of children; I am firmly convinced that if women had been fully involved in the running of society from the start, they would have found a way of arranging work and children to fit each other. Men have had no such motivation and we can see the results.

This line of reasoning demands that we would retain our institutions and structures, but that within existing structures there would be provision for child bearing and childcare. This would imply in the military setting that provision be made for professional soldiers in peace time for crèches, maternity and paternity leave, job sharing etc. Such initiatives have had precedents even in war time such as State-sponsored crèches in WW 2 (Braybon and Summerfield, 1987: 162). In order to assess the equality of opportunity culture within the PDF, an audit of its equal opportunity policies and practices is required. Those policies which facilitate gender integration could be said to be anti patriarchal, and it is the theoretical position articulated in this chapter, that such policies represent the best way to tackle patriarchy within existing structures.

According to the Employment Equality Agency (1998: 5):

Legislation must be supported by proactive policies in order to maximise its implementation particularly in relation to dismantling the ongoing effects of past gender discrimination. These effects are still clearly in evidence, as demonstrated by the perpetuation of a gender-segregated labour market.

The EEA also urges employers "at the very least" to ensure that their procedures and practices are not breaching legislation. (Ibid.: 6) There is also the assumption in the equality of opportunity literature, that at the very least, organisations have EO policies, EO statements, and EO practices. It is also assumed that these policies would be "explicit", and would have a parallel within workers' unions or representative associations. (Jacobsen, 1998: 313; Shaw and Perrons, 1995: 119, 122; Collins, 1995: 11; EEA, 1998; Neal, 1998)

In "Making Gender Work", (1995), Shaw and Perrons examine the link between organisational values and the equal opportunities implications of organisational assumptions. To this end she recommends conducting an "equalities audit" (Ibid.: 118-122) in order to assess the EO culture of the organisation. They urge the examination of "Artefacts", meaning

equality statements and documents, and equality policies. An examination of the “Beliefs and Values” (Ibid.: 119), of the organisation is assessed in terms of the extent to which women are encouraged to join the organisation and move up within its hierarchy. The “Assumptions”, of the organisation are assessed in terms of training policies as they apply to women. The organisation’s aims or mission statement for equality are assessed under the heading “Defining Behavioural Change”, (Ibid.: 121).

Finally the audit concludes with an examination of “Resources”, which looks at the funding made available for EO policies and the staff provided for and trained as EO officers. An audit of this nature of the PDF is one part of the aims of this study, conducted to explore the workplace culture of the PDF and to gain some perspective on the status and roles assigned female personnel within the organisation.

Collins, (1995: 11), identifies “Tasks for Managers”, and lists some of the pre-requisites for an equality culture:

- Analyse the firm’s current equality ethos.
- Analyse the firm’s potential to implement and improve upon equality practices.
- Set realistic targets such as Positive Action programmes.
- Monitor the existing equal opportunities programme.
- Evaluate the existing equal opportunities programme.
- Keep abreast of European, UK, and local equality matters including legislation, campaigns, networks, and other developments.

As part of the research, these issues will be explored and evaluated. The EEA (1998:13) in Ireland lists the “measures necessary to give practical effect to the (EO) policy”. These include:

- Training for management and supervisors,
- Training for the equality committee.
- Review of the Organisation’s communications, (Staff handbooks, in-house magazines, - to ensure an EO ethos).
- Develop complaints procedures.
- Review personnel practices and procedures.

These measures would take place after an audit and annual review of the EO policy, which ought to be established in consultation with employees. (Ibid.: 11-12)

Neal (1998: 53-4), urges the researcher who is assessing the EO culture of an organisation to immediately access the organisation’s EO policy statements and texts:

Equal opportunities policies texts are (...) the 'frontline' or the public face of an institution's approach to and interpretation of equal opportunities (...). These statements are important because they not only summarise the thrust of the (organisation's) approach to and basis of their EO policy, but they are often the most visible and widely disseminated aspect of an organisation's EO policy.

Again the literature presupposes such policies exist within the organisation, along with other policies such as sexual harassment policies. (Ibid.: 55) It is the author's intention to examine the PDF's policies in this regard and to assess any defined organisational change, or aspirations for EO in its policy document for the 21st century, "Strategy and Statements 2000". Neal also emphasises that in a work culture sensitive to EO issues, that the EO committees should report annually, and that there should be sufficient PR given to EO initiatives. (Ibid.: 63, 122)

Finally, Neal concludes:

Accompanying such changes is the need to see equal opportunity policy processes as never ending (...) equal opportunity policies cannot be viewed as complete, but instead, need to be subject to continual, self critical processes of review. (Ibid.: 122)

Rees (1998:44) warns of the dangers of merely paying lipservice to EO. It is not sufficient for organisations to simply adopt a policy statement, and publish policy. There must also be an accompanying profound change in the work culture and in organisational attitudes to make it a gender-proofed environment. Rees goes beyond policy documents and declarations and urges a 'gender audit' of all organisational communications and practices.

Organisations may believe, or wish it to be believed, that they are committed to EO, and introduce some measures to this end, but fall far short of the paradigm shift in thinking which would be required to make a more than superficial difference to the organisation's culture and praxis – and hence to women's education, training and occupational life chances (...) Gender impact studies, gender proofing of documents, and gender monitoring are all to my mind useful tools in a mainstreaming approach (...) it can train people to think about policies in a different way especially if it carries the weight of law.

In order therefore to challenge patriarchy and address any of its manifestations, in sex role stereotyping, in a lower status for female workers, or in a gender division of labour, the author is of the opinion that a radical approach within the liberal perspective is what is required.

The radical model of EO then emphasises the 'delivery of goods' or outcome. In practice, this is measured by the representativeness of previously excluded groups. While both the liberal and the radical models may both follow similar positive action policy procedures, it is its long term aim of altering recruitment patterns, resource

allocation which principally distinguishes the radical from the liberal interpretation of EO.
(Neal, 1998: 52)

This radical approach is referred to in the literature as “mainstreaming” by Rees, (1998). This approach takes as its basic organising principle the rejection of the ‘difference as deficit’ sex difference ideology of patriarchy. It calls for recognition of and catering for difference.

An assimilationist model that takes the male role as the norm and aims to encourage and enable women to be just like men...has been criticised by many feminists who argue that in order to achieve genuine equality it is necessary to break away from the idea of men’s lives as the norm and women’s lives as ‘other’ and to recognise that women are different.
(Shaw and Perrons, 1995: 55)

This approach advocates the use of positive action, or positive measures introduced into the work environment to render it more woman friendly, to enable them to compete as equals, not merely ‘treated the same’. The dividend of such action is not confined to women and would represent a better work culture for all, one in which both men and women could realise their full potential.

At some times in a woman’s life, it may be important to recognise that her needs are different from those of a man – pregnancy and childbirth being an obvious enough example. At other times the best way to fight disadvantage may be to campaign for an improvement in workers’ rights in general, such as enabling all workers time off for family reasons.
(Ibid.: 56)

Such positive action may take the form of job sharing, childcare facilities, career breaks, maternity and paternity leave etc.
(Brown, 1993: 84)

Positive action according to the literature, is designed to:

Respect and respond to differences rather than seeking to assist women to fit into male institutions and cultures by becoming more like men.
(Rees, 1998: 40)

Rees speaks of such positive action or positive discrimination measures as seeking to “bring about changes in the status quo through mechanisms designed to increase the participation of the under represented group; it is in effect the application of unequal treatment”. (Ibid.: 37)
Rees maintains such measures are necessary to counter the effects of patriarchal policies (Ibid.: 193). The EEA (1998: 25-9) also endorses Positive Action as a method for promoting equality in the workplace. It identifies a number of key areas where PA is vital:

Recruitment.
Training and Work Experience.
Promotion.
Adaptation of the Workplace.
Combining work and family responsibilities.

The EEA identifies PA as necessary in these areas to “redress imbalances in the workforce and in encouraging particular categories to enter the workforce, remain in it and progress through it” (Ibid.: 25).

Jacobsen (1998: 230) also endorses PA as an ‘antidote’ to a patriarchal work environment, referring to affirmative action and monitoring in compliance programmes.

The effects of not implementing such policies and measures are listed in the literature. (Jacobsen, 1998: 227-229; Shaw and Perrons, 1995: 114-115) The EEA (1998: 5-6) details the negative effects of such negligence as follows:

- No incentive for employees to do more than the minimum required,
- Loss of experience and knowledge to the organisation,
- High staff turnover,
- Low morale,
- Reduced labour market pool,
- Reduced productivity, and
- It is unlawful – legal penalties may be imposed.

It is intended in this study to establish, and if applicable, to measure any of these negative effects if they exist in PDF culture. Their existence may be interpreted as indices of discriminatory policies, perhaps predicated on patriarchal norms as they apply to women. Indeed, failure to undertake such an analysis or a gender monitoring within the organisation has been identified by the EEA, as a form of passive discrimination. (EEA, 1998: 37-8)

The EEA defines direct and indirect discrimination as follows:

Direct Discrimination

It is necessary to show that less favourable treatment occurred such as offering a job to a less qualified and less experienced man ahead of a more qualified and experienced woman. Pregnancy discrimination, if proven, constitutes direct sex discrimination and no comparison with a male is required

(Examples of), Indirect Discrimination

are excluding job applicants who have childcare responsibilities, applying unnecessary height requirements or seeking qualifications which are not relevant and are more likely to have been acquired by a particular group.

It is important to note that an employer can indirectly discriminate without having any intention to do so. It is important to scrutinise personnel practices closely from

the point of view of their potential effect on various groups of employees or groups of employees.
(EEA, 1998: 8)

The EEA provides us with a working definition of what constitutes discrimination within the workplace and interestingly echoes much of the literature in this area in emphasising the requirement for a gender monitoring of personnel practices and an ongoing audit or review of equality policies. It is intended in this study in assessing the equality of opportunity agenda of the military authorities to see if such monitoring is carried out, and if not, to attempt to do so, and to critically examine the equality of opportunity policies of the PDF, if indeed such a policy or policies exist.

In addition to equality of opportunity policies, the EEA also identifies as necessary policies on harassment at work. As part of a comprehensive assessment of the workplace under study, this aspect of the work environment ought to be examined. The definitions of such harassment, bullying and sexual harassment are contained in the Health and Safety Authority's Handbook on Bullying in The Workplace, (1998), and the EEA policy document quoted extensively here (1998). (See also, 'Irish Code of Practice On Measures To Protect The Dignity of Women And Men At Work', EEA, 1998)

In promoting the idea of a comprehensive policy statement on harassment at work, the EEA, in introducing the concept of 'A Model Policy on Harassment At Work', states:

Experience has shown that an organisational culture, which is hostile to unacceptable standards of behaviour generally, will be more likely to prevent harassment occurring. The EEA therefore urges all organisations to draw up general harassment policies which reflect best practice standards rather than the minimum of avoiding unlawful behaviour.
(EEA, 1998: 31)

In this light it will be important to assess whether or not the PDF is hostile to "unacceptable standards of behaviour" as they apply to women in any anti harassment policies which may exist. The existence or otherwise of such policies may also indicate the harassment propensity of the organisation. This is a very important consideration as the EEA warns:

Organisations should be aware that in 1985, the Labour Court established that freedom from sexual harassment is a 'condition of work' which an employee of either gender is entitled to expect. The court further said that it would treat any denial of that freedom as discrimination within the terms of the Employment Equality Act of 1977.
(EEA, 1998: 33)

3.7 Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter has outlined the theoretical framework within which the author has assessed the data gathered. A liberal-feminist perspective with an equality of opportunity agenda forms the set of criteria by which the PDF work environment is evaluated.

The chapter begins with a consideration of Marxist and Socialist feminism. The author does not espouse Marxist and Socialist feminism's call for a rejection of capitalist structures. For this reason, the theoretical perspective adopted for this study does not reside within the Marxist or Socialist realms of feminism. In the second section of the chapter, there is a brief discussion of Radical feminism. The author does not espouse the radical feminist position which would advocate a 'woman only society' (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991:535) or the radical feminist position which would view women and war or the use of force antithetically. (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991:535; Brown, 1993:7)

Some of the concepts explored in the section on Radical feminism did however have resonances for the study. For example, Radical feminists argue that patriarchy lies at the root of women's oppression within societal structures, at home and in the workplace (Kuhn and Wolpe, 1980:43). They also argue that sex role stereotyping is the means by which women are subjected to the rules of patriarchy (Millet in Eisenstein, 1988:6-7). For Radical feminism, it is the interpretation of difference as deficit, which is the dynamic that drives patriarchy and its expression in a gender division of labour. These aspects of Radical feminism share some common ground with the liberal position outlined by the author in the latter sections of the chapter. Radical feminists do not seek equality on the basis of 'sameness' with men or on the basis of 'equal treatment' in the liberal sense of the term, but rather through a radical transformation of all societal structures (Barrett and Phillips, 1992:20; Landry and Mc Lean, 1993:2). The theoretical position outlined in this chapter does not call for such a transformation of structures, but rather advocates the liberal feminist position as expressed through the equality of opportunity agenda.

In the section on Liberal feminism, the author emphasises the position adopted by Liberal feminists which seeks equality in the workplace through educational and legislative initiatives without seeking "revolutionary changes in society" (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991:536; Landry and Mc Lean, 1993:2). The author argues therefore, that the liberal feminist position provides a conceptual framework within which to gauge the equality environment of the workplace. The equality environment of the workplace is gauged by assessing its conformity to legislative and educational aspirations for equality of opportunity.

The author, by drawing on Brown, (1993:18) describes proactive equality policies such as 'affirmative action' in the pursuit of an equality agenda. These 'affirmative action' and 'positive action' programmes for equality lie within the liberal feminist agenda for change within existing structures. This proactive approach is clearly articulated by the equality of opportunity agenda described in the latter part of the chapter. This aspect of liberal feminism, namely, the equality of opportunity agenda, demands the right of women to compete within existing structures on an equality of opportunity basis. In assessing the conformity or otherwise of a workplace setting to this liberal feminist position, there would therefore be a focus on proactive equality of opportunity policies such as equality statements and equality policies. There would also be a focus on the numbers of women gaining access to the workplace setting (critical mass) and the performance of those women within the setting (status and role). Therefore, the liberal feminist position, and the equality of opportunity agenda which derives from it, with its call for the removal of inequality through legislation, education, training and work place participation form the main frame of reference through which the workplace is examined.

The section on patriarchy contained within the chapter provides a definition of patriarchy which functions as a diagnostic tool in assessing whether or not a patriarchal system exists within the workplace under study. The definition offered is that patriarchy is "a system of male domination" (Delphy, 1992:13) which finds expression through a "sexual division of labour and the ideology of sexual differences". (Hakim, 1996:202) The following section on patriarchy and the gender division of labour elaborates on this definition by providing a number of models with which to identify or measure such a gender division of labour and its effects. Hakim, (1996:10-11) identifies the denial of access to paid employment to women and the segregation of women within the workplace as evidence of the patriarchal dynamic. Thus, an examination of the numbers of women gaining access to the setting under study, and the status and role assigned women within the setting should indicate whether or not the setting is equality-friendly or patriarchal as defined within the section on patriarchy in this chapter.

Adler (1994:40) also identifies "occupational segregation" as "instrumental in limiting the status of women in the labour market". Adler's criteria for measuring the status of women in the workplace include access to "strategic power". This is posited as a key indicator within a workplace setting for assessing its equality ethos. The section also highlights Reskin and Padavic's (1994) criteria, which characterise a work environment where the patriarchal dynamic is in operation. Reskin and Padavic (1994) identify a number of key negative

effects, which they argue are evidence of a work environment ill-disposed to the equality of opportunity agenda. These include a “promotion gap” for women due to “Human Capital Inequities”, which deny women “commitment”, “education” and “experience”. Adler, along with Reskin and Padavic urges the examination of policy and practice in the recruitment, employment pattern, and promotion of women within the setting in order to assess its equality ethos or lack thereof.

Jacobsen, (1998:227-229) also lists a number of key features which it is argued are characteristic of an ‘anti equality’ work environment. He identifies a wage differential with women typically earning less than their male colleagues, a training deficit experienced by women, and a lack of participation in or consultation for women in labour force decisions. Barron and Norris, (1976) in the segmented or dual labour model also identify these key features as being characteristic of an ‘anti equality’ work environment where a gender division of labour exists. All of the models mentioned concur that in the absence of explicit equality policies within the workplace, ad hoc policies and practices evolve which discriminate against women. An examination of certain key aspects of the work environment is suggested by these models. These include the numbers of women gaining access to the setting, the status and roles assigned women within the setting (promotion and deployment), training and pay differentials between men and women, and the existence or otherwise of explicit equality statements and policies. These coincide with those aspects of the workplace environment with which the equality of opportunity agenda is concerned.

The last section of the chapter outlines the equality of opportunity agenda with reference to the criteria and indicators for equality or patriarchy thus far identified. These criteria derive from the liberal feminist position in that they are located within existing structures with an aspiration for equality in competing as ‘liberal’ individuals within existing systems. These criteria are those with which the equality of opportunity agenda is concerned. In the last section in the chapter, this link between the liberal feminist position and the equality of opportunity agenda is evident in the aims and aspirations contained in equality of opportunity literature.

The last section outlines the aims of the Employment Equality Agency, which, (in accord with the liberal feminist position) calls for “legislation (...) supported by proactive policies” in order to counter the effects of the patriarchal dynamic, that is “the ongoing effects of past gender discrimination” (EEA, 1998: 5). There is contained in the equality of opportunity literature the assumption that equality statements, policies, training programmes, equality officers and managers are automatically present within the workplace. It is also assumed that

such policies and personnel would be properly funded and have parallels within workers' unions or representative associations. The literature abounds with references to this equality 'apparatus' and recommends that the 'equality audit' should begin with a thorough review of this 'apparatus' in order to assess the "EO culture of the organisation" (Jacobsen, 1998: 313; Shaw and Perrons, 1995: 119, 122; Collins, 1995: 11; EEA, 1998; Neal, 1998).

Outlined in the EO literature as features of such an 'equality apparatus' are recurring lists of 'pre requisites' within the workplace including equality statements, equality practices, positive action programmes, monitoring and review of equality policies and programmes, keeping abreast of European and local equality matters including legislation, campaigns, networks and other developments, management sponsorship of the initiatives listed, and adequate funding for the initiatives listed (Collins, 1995:11; EEA, 1998:13; Neal, 1998:122). An examination of this 'equality apparatus' and of these 'prerequisites' is therefore suggested within the setting under study.

The EO literature also warns of the dangers of merely paying lipservice to the equality of opportunity agenda. Authors such as Rees (1998:144) describe organisations and workplace settings where policy statements and policies are simply published but not implemented. The literature lists the negative outcomes which are characteristic of such a workplace setting. These would include low morale, high staff turnover, reduced productivity and the organisation being in breach of the law (Jacobsen, 1998: 227-229; Shaw and Perrons, 1995: 114-115).

Finally, the EO literature draws a distinction between a liberal and radical interpretation of EO. (Neal, 1998:52) The radical approach is referred to in the literature as 'mainstreaming' by Rees, (1998). The mainstreaming approach draws on the radical feminist tradition in taking as its organising principle the rejection of the 'difference as deficit' sex difference ideology of patriarchy. Like radical feminism, it calls for a recognition of and a catering for differences between the sexes. This recognition of and catering for difference would be delivered through positive action. Positive action is endorsed by the EEA and it identifies a number of key areas where PA is considered vital, including the areas of recruitment, training and work experience, promotion, adaptation of the workplace, and combining work and family responsibilities (EEA, 1998:25-9). An examination of the work place under study with reference to these key areas would reveal whether or not the employer had embraced this more radical interpretation of EO with a consequent though limited transformation of structures.

This summary of the chapter theory provides the reader with a condensed outline of the theoretical position adopted for the study. The criteria espoused by the equality of opportunity agenda for conducting an equality audit of the workplace derive from the liberal feminist position adopted by the author. The chapter on method outlines in detail the manner in which these criteria are measured and examined. This includes a documentary and archival analysis of the Defence Forces, cross-referenced by participant observation, and interviews. It is in this manner and in light of the liberal feminist agenda outlined that this study was conducted.

CHAPTER FOUR

International trends in the integration of female soldiers

In this chapter I will briefly outline, by means of example and for the purpose of comparison, the integration of women in the international military. This outline is not intended to be an exhaustive history. It focuses primarily on the British and American experience since the end of the second world war. I have chosen the British and American armies as they are those armies with which the PDF has had most contact in terms of training and cultural exchange. In the first section of this chapter, I briefly examine the roles of women in a number of major and regional conventional conflicts, in uniform, as regular members of standing military formations. In the second section, I briefly examine the role of women in terrorism and low intensity conflict, or non conventional operations. The purpose of this outline is to provide well-documented examples of the actual combat experience of women. This provides a corrective to that construct of combat as an exclusively male or 'masculine' activity as discussed in the introduction and theoretical outline. It also provides a basis of comparison for the following chapters on the integration of female personnel to the PDF. The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: It is intended to establish beyond doubt for the reader the precedent of female combatants – in uniform – as a widespread phenomenon. It is also intended that this chapter serve as a context setter for the following chapters on the PDF giving them a wider perspective.

4.1 Modern conventional warfare from World War Two to operation Desert Storm

The trend for women's participation in regional conflicts, post world-war, has grown dramatically. This is true across all cultural boundaries including what are often described as the most machistic or patriarchal and fundamentalist of societies. From Asia to Latin America and in Africa and the Middle East, women are becoming involved in combat in ever increasing numbers.

Emerging from strict Islamic seclusion, Algerian women were very active in the war of independence from France (...) (T)he men began to include women because they needed them enough to overcome the weight of tradition for both sexes. (They were) captured, imprisoned and raped repeatedly by the "civilised" French, they were also hideously tortured. Two women, Djamila Boubired and Djamila Boupacha became heroines because they held firm under torture. (French, 1988: 231)

The participation of women outside of a strictly prescribed way of life has been noted in other fundamentalist societies in times of upheaval and conflict. As a consequence of the revolution in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen:

(T)here has been a major effort to erode purdah restrictions and to encourage women to enter all areas of public life, including the militia, politics, the legal profession, and other areas of activity formerly closed to women.
(Molyneaux, 1979:8)

In the Iran/Iraq conflict, Iranian fundamentalists trained female combatants for war. (Hiro, 1989: 150) Elsewhere, women's involvement in conflict and warfare has grown. In Vietnam, the North Vietnamese Army used female troops in all support and combat formations. In the heavily infiltrated south of the country, thousands of women were members of the Viet Cong. Many of these women died in action against the Army of the Republic of Vietnam, (ARVN) and in continuous clashes with U.S. troops. In this conflict, over 40% of North Vietnamese Army commanders were female (Jones, 1997: 34-35). The Vietnamese had many female role models in battle. Among them were Nguyen Thi Ba who poisoned 400 French troops in 1931, and the Commander Madam Dinh, who at Ben Tre in 1937 repelled a force of 13,000 French troops. Notions of girlishness or feminine passivity quickly evaporate when confronted with Din Le Tunn's sniper school for girls which operated out of Min Top during the U.S. occupation. These women, in the interests of concealment and economy, specialised in a technique of killing U.S. troops with one shot, often beating survivors to death with their own weapons (Jones, 1997: 35). Initial surprise and a 'culture shock' for U.S. troops in encountering a female adversary were quickly tempered by the knowledge that man, woman or child, the enemy of either sex was equally deadly.

At present, women total roughly 11% of British and U.S. army strengths. Fifteen per cent of all NATO active military forces are women. Nine per cent of Canadian forces are female. (Stanley and Segal, 1988) The dramatic increase in the numbers of women enlisted to the armies of the West in the eighties and nineties is attributed in the literature to two main factors. Political pressure from an equality of opportunity agenda, allied with equality legislation in the 1970's, led to the initial increase in numbers of women participating in the military structures of the west.

As time wore on, and women began to occupy a greater variety of military appointments, both combat and line, the military authorities began to realise that these highly educated, highly motivated troops were indispensable to the military machine. At a time of falling numbers wishing to enlist, women proved of benefit to military planners. Still, emotive arguments based on patriarchal assumptions about the role of women were used in opposition

to this trend. At a congressional debate about the enlistment of women into the U.S. military, Senator Ervin made his famous statement of opposition:

To prevent sending the daughters of America into combat to be slaughtered or maimed by the bayonets, the bombs, the bullets, the grenades, the mines, the napalm, the poison gas and the shells of the enemy.
(Binkin, 1977: 42)

Despite this and similar protestations, the integration of female personnel into the U.S. military has continued apace. Over 100 women served in Korea as nurses, clerks, aides and interpreters. Seven thousand five hundred women served in Vietnam, mostly as nurses. Eight of these women were killed in the course of their duties and their names are engraved on the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington. One woman, Dr. Doris Allen, (Intelligence Officer, 519th Military Intelligence Battalion, 1967-1970) remarked on her Vietnam experience: "Vietnam was a war with no battle lines; everybody was subject to be blown up no matter where you were, so that kept the adrenaline pumping" (Haynes, 1994: 2). In 1983, about 200 army women participated in the invasion of Grenada (Maginnis, 1992: 26). During the Libyan air strikes in 1987, women performed essential operational tasks servicing and refuelling the strike aircraft. The in-flight refuelling was managed by a female airborne refuelling pilot. The deployment of these female personnel was vital to the viability of this operation. Eight hundred female troops were involved in the invasion of Panama in 1990. Some were involved in ground combat with the infantry and notably as helicopter pilots ferrying troops into and out of the combat zone (Schneider, 1992; Moskos, 1990).

During the invasion of Grenada, an operation which the Americans called 'Operation Urgent Fury', a female military police captain became involved in a firefight with hostile armed elements. The involvement of Captain Linda Bray in this action drew the attention of the media who proclaimed the event as the first time a female officer had led U.S. troops in combat. This media-hyped incident sparked a further debate in Congress as to the appropriateness of having female personnel in combat situations. Consequently, Congress formulated a policy on 'Combat exclusion' based on the vague 'function, co-location and level of danger' rules. (Goldman and Weighland, 1982: 238) Based on this definition, combat was defined as follows:

To close with the enemy by manoeuvre, or shock effect, to destroy or capture, or whilst repelling assault by fire, close combat or counterattack. (U.S. National Defence Authorisation Act).
(Maginnis, 1992: 27)

The legal definition was found to be irrelevant on the modern battlefield which, being highly mobile and fluid, does not lend itself to tidy definition. Rear echelon elements may at any time be subject to attack, counterattack, bombardment or nuclear, biological or chemical (NBC) contamination. As such, the battlefield in a modern 'total war' is said to comprise the entire 'Theatre of Operations'. In short, "now all residents of a state at war are potential targets" (Goldman and Weighland, 1982: 238).

U.S. Congress Statutes (Title 10, USC 6015, and 8549) - the Navy and Air Force Statutes, along with the Department of Defence 'Risk Rule' (Function, Co-location and level of danger) combined to form the Direct Combat Probability Coding (DCPC) in 1983.

Under the DCPC, every position in the Army is evaluated based upon the duties of each MOS (Military Occupation Specialities) (...) (T)he Unit's mission, tactical doctrine and the battlefield location. Positions are then coded based on the probability of engaging in direct combat. The DCPC closes many positions to female soldiers.
(Maginnis, 1992: 27)

As was evidenced by Captain Bray's encounter with armed elements, the DCPC would appear to be an inadequate barometer for predicting likely contact with the enemy. The DCPC does not 'protect' women from contact with the enemy. With the huge increases in the numbers of female military personnel, many occupying key combat appointments, it was inevitable that their involvement in direct combat would occur. Forty one thousand female troops were involved in operations 'Desert Shield' and 'Desert Storm'. Eleven women were killed in combat in the Gulf War. (Schneider 1992) The thorny question of whether women would be in theory engaged in direct contact with the enemy was answered on the battleground, "It's not going to be a controversy, it's going to be a necessity". (Schneider, 1992: 160)

The diktat of the Gulf War battlefield certainly did not answer the combat question. To begin with, Logistics Units, which would have had a traditionally low DCPC, did not operate from the rear. Logistics Units manoeuvred hundreds of miles ahead of the armoured assault and deep into hostile Iraq. There, they covertly assembled petrol oil and lubricant, (POL) dump sites in order to permit a rapid advance. This rapid advance prevented the Iraqi Republican Guard from mounting a re-organisation and counterattack. Many of these Logistics personnel were women, operating within enemy territory. "The men and women of the 2nd Forward Marine Support Group dug into the desert close to Iraqi Occupied Kuwait (...) were as prepared (for combat) as any professional marines could be". (Holm, 1993: 493)

The DCPC was further undermined by the deaths of twenty eight personnel (including three women) in the "rear". The twenty eight, all members of a combat support unit, the 14th QM Detachment, were based in Dhahran in Saudi Arabia. Their post was hit by an Iraqi scud missile. In modern conventional operations there would appear therefore to be no "rear" or safe haven from long range dedicated armaments.

Iraqi long range artillery and (...) surface to air missiles were unisex weapons that did not distinguish between combat and support troops.
(Holm, 1993: 446)

In the Air war, arguably the most technologically advanced area of operations, and traditionally a last bastion of male dominance, women more than held their own.

Airman (sic) First Class, Kimberley Childress, a 27 year old (...) assigned to an Air Force A-10 "Warthog" tank killer squadron said she wanted to come, "It's my job".
(Holm, 1993: 443)

Female pilots participated fully in the action and some such as Major Marie T. Rossi, Commander of 'B' Company, 18th Army Aviation Brigade, lost their lives. It is ironic that the DCPC designed to 'protect' women from a perceived threat actually increased their risk of becoming casualties.

Female pilots of the 101st Airborne Division 'Screaming Eagles' flew BlackHawk and Chinook helicopters loaded with supplies and troops 50 miles into Iraq as part of the largest helicopter assault in military history. To the Iraqis, the 'non-combat' helicopters flying over the battlefield were as much targets as any Apache and probably a lot easier to hit.
(Holm, 1993: 447)

Many women became involved in direct combat in the Gulf. Examples abound of female personnel who executed their duties to lethal effect. Captain Sheila Chewing, Weapons Controller, participated in the destruction of two MiG 29 Interceptor fighter jets. Lieutenant Phoebe Jeter, Commander of an otherwise all male Patriot Missile Unit (Delta Battery) successfully engaged and destroyed Iraqi scud missiles. Many women were decorated for their service.

Captain Cynthia Mosley (30), commanded Alpha Coy of 24th Battalion, Forward, 24th Infantry Division (Mechanised) (...) (was) awarded the Bronze Star medal for meritorious combat service.
(Holm, 1993: 452)

Women were also taken prisoner. This fact drew considerable media interest. Specialist Melissa Rathbun-Nealy and Major Rhonda Cornum (Army Flight Surgeon, 2nd Battalion,

229th Aviation Regiment) were both captured in action. Major Cornum was on board a helicopter shot down by Iraqi fire. She survived this ordeal with a broken arm and leg to assume the dubious honour of becoming a feted "female" POW.

The performance of women in the British Army mirrored that of their American counterparts.

The 1,000 female officers and other ranks serving with the 1 (UK) Armoured Division in the Gulf powerfully changed the image of servicewomen.
(Mack, 1993: 33)

The Gulf War was, amongst other things, a media event. The CNN Report described the opening shots of the war from Baghdad as being like "July the fourth". One interesting outcome of the coverage of the war, and the presence in theatre of 41,000 women was the use of language. For the first time since World War Two, women were included in and associated with a national struggle or crisis. Women were "re-discovered" by the media. Saddam Hussein's "Mother of Battles" was to quote journalist Kate Muir, (Mack, 1993: 34) "a Battle of Mothers". (There were also grandmothers involved in the operation.) Many newspapers headlined with "Mom goes to war", etc.

The language of state also changed to include women. Announcing the commencement of the ground offensive on Thursday 17th January 1991, President Bush declared, "No president can easily commit our sons and daughters to war". In June 1991, Peter Williams, U.S. Chief Defence Spokesman declared:

One of the lessons we've learned from Operation Desert Storm is the extent to which the nation accepted the significant role of women (...) Until then there had always been a concern that having women involved in combat would be traumatic for the country.
(Mack, 1993: 34)

The overall Commander of Forces in the Gulf was asked about the performance of women in the conflict by a Congressional Delegation led by Congressman Ford. "How did they do? The CINC (Schwarzkopf) said. "Great!" (Schwarzkopf, 1993: 569)

The overall British Commander had this to say about his female troops.

I think this will make a number of people sharpen themselves up because they are going to find they are nothing like as good as the girls who are competing with them.
(Mack, 1993: 37)

The bottom line would appear to be that with 195,000 women serving in U.S. Armed Forces Line Appointments (including ten Army Generals, five Naval Admirals, six Air Force Generals and a female secretary of the Air Force), women have become crucial to the success of any military operation (Defence Issues, Volume II, No. 31, March 1996). Indeed, the Gulf War could not have been fought without women. The Defence Secretary for the Bush Administration at the time of the Gulf War acknowledged this fact. "Women have made a major contribution to this (war) effort. We could not have won without them" (Holm, 1998: 67-68).

The experience of the Gulf War led to Secretary for Defence, Les Aspin, rescinding the DCPC and the so-called Risk Rule from October 1st 1993. (Los Angeles Times, Jan 14, 1993: 18) It has been argued that the Risk Rule analysis and DCPC merely reflected the puerile fears on the part of a male dominated military that the admission of women into certain MOS would in some way dilute their perceived masculinity (D'Ann Campbell, 1993: 321). As demonstrated in the theory chapter, the link between the military and the patriarchal dynamic has been observed elsewhere (Wheelwright, 1991:213; Segal, 1987: 169; Delphy, 1992: 2; Hansen 1992: 296; Herbert, 1994:25). Weatherill reiterates the point:

Our society has clearly defined "acceptable" and "unacceptable" behaviour for both males and females, but these definitions are not even handed (...) especially (in) the Army (...) undoubtedly one of the strongest bastions of male dominated attitudes beliefs and practices.
(Weatherill, 1996: 43)

A chaplain to a U.S. Army Reserve Unit, (29 Infantry Division, Virginia National Guard) reveals such 'male dominated attitudes' and 'beliefs' in an article expressing opposition to women in the military.

The traditional paradigm of the regular soldier is exclusively masculine... this invocation of monastic fraternity also calls to mind the traditional *male* (sic) character of Christian clergy.
(Webster, 1991: 27)

It is a classic patriarchal posture that posits women a fundamentally weaker sex, by reason of sex alone. From pre-history through to the Gulf War, women's de facto performance in combat flies in the face of the "ideology of a sexual division of labour" supported by "the ideology of sex difference" (Hakim, 1996:202) and difference as deficit ideology identified in the theory chapter. Howes and Stevenson show the power of this dynamic in the military setting:

When we talk about woman and the use of force, then we are digging at the roots of what simultaneously makes women feminine and men masculine. Not a biological determinism that make males aggressive and females passive, but how we as human beings have constructed and continue to interpret the world.
(Howes and Stevenson, 1993: 20)

Several recurring arguments are used to prop up this patriarchal construction of womanhood and the question of combat. They constitute myths surrounding a hypothesised conflict involving women. Reality and the de facto experiences of women would appear to render them irrelevant and untrue. Holm (1993) identifies these myths as follows:

1. "Military women are protected from exposure to combat".

The DCPC and Risk Rule analysis have been proven to be irrelevant. The modern fluid battlefield and long range technologies expose all personnel to enemy fire and combat.

2. "During mobilisation for war, women could not be counted on to deploy for war".

Forty one thousand women deployed to the Gulf. Countless thousands have overcome religious and cultural taboos, prejudice and fear of torture and death to fight for their beliefs.

3. "Women would not be able to perform in the pressure of the combat environment".

Women have performed as well as their male counterparts on the battlefield. Actual tests show gender integrated units out-perform single sex units. In the proving ground of actual combat, women have shown themselves equal to the challenge of the combat environment. For example, Lily Litvak (the "White Rose of Stalingrad") shot down twelve male German pilots in the pressure of the combat environment. (Anderson, 1990:313)

4. "Women are too accustomed to their 'creature comforts'; they would not be prepared to cope with the tough primitive living conditions and the physical demands of the combat zone".

Women's performances in the Gulf showed no degradation in efficiency due to menstruation, personal hygiene or personal administration in the field. A brief look at the history of partisan warfare in Greece and Yugoslavia amongst others, show women to have been prized for their stamina and ability to survive in extremes of conditions. (Studies have shown women lose about half as much service time as men due to the latter's absenteeism, desertion, alcohol and drug abuse).

5. "The presence of women in the Combat Area would destroy male bonding".

As was proved in the Gulf and as was the case during World War Two, the presence of women did not affect "male" bonding and in fact helped achieve a more efficient unit cohesion.

6. "Men and women could not work together in a Combat theatre without sex getting in the way".

Sex was not an issue for women in the Soviet Army fighting the Germans, nor for partisans engaging an occupying force (French, 1988; D'Ann Campbell, 1993). It did not pose a problem in the Gulf. On the contrary, when troops are segregated by sex and trained separately for different jobs, the incidence of sexual harassment, assault, and rape increases.

- 7 "Enemy soldiers, Arabs in particular, would rather die than surrender to a woman".

According to Sergeant April Hanley, 503rd Military Police Battalion, U.S. Army: "They (Iraqis) couldn't surrender fast enough" (Holm, 1993: 463).

8. "The public would never tolerate women being taken prisoner or coming home in body bags".

This emotive argument was shown to be incorrect during the Gulf war. It becomes irrelevant when one considers the vast numbers of women killed in action over the last number of wars, or killed during saturation bombing raids, or systematically tortured, raped and murdered in ethnic cleansing. Field Commanders continue to find that the performance of female personnel far outstrips jaded stereotyped predictions based on bias. In the words of Mc Knight, (1982:20-1) a U.S. Army battalion commander with experience of commanding a 'gender integrated' infantry unit:

To begin and as a general comment, female soldiers occupying "traditional" roles, (i.e. typist and medic) were outstanding. Those female soldiers who were in "non-traditional" jobs such as military police, heavy equipment operators (...) proved to be equally outstanding (...) (T)hese comments apply not only to the narrow concept of "duty performance" but also to the more important "total soldier" concept (...) (M)y overall conclusion is that female soldiers are as dedicated, motivated, and professional as their male counterparts.
(McKnight, 1982: 20-1)

The reality of war has required military planners to lay aside any stereotyped views of women and to realise their full potential. The constructed masculinity of military service alluded to in

the introduction and theory chapter seems to be overlooked in the heat of battle. In time of war, necessity overcomes culture and social constructs of reality:

The reality of conflict bears no relation to peacetime conditions, values, laws, standards of living and conditions of work".
(Searle, 1997: 39)

In essence, women through a strategically determined necessity have become a de-facto part of the military.

4.2 Non conventional warfare

As well as participating in conventional warfare as armed and uniformed members of standing armies, women have also come to the fore in terrorist organisations. Women across Europe have become involved in armed struggle against the state. In Spain, ETA has many female members, in Germany and Italy women were heavily involved with the Red Brigades, with some of them, like Ulrike Meinhof, achieving international notoriety.

Women appear very frequently in leftist groups on a basis of apparent equality, even to the point of carrying weapons, planting bombs and killing (...) the implication here is that the leftist revolutionary terrorist is breaking with a prevailing cultural pattern through political principle.
(Segaller, 1986: 81)

Further afield, women have overcome cultural and religious barriers to actively participate in armed struggle. In the autonomous territories in Israel, young Arab girls and women took an active role in the intifada. "They were experts in the tactics of street warfare and were treated as equals by the boys" (MacDonald, 1992: 72). In September 1970, another Arab woman, Leila Khaled, hijacked an El Al flight from Tel Aviv to London.

She became a sex symbol for her violence; she shattered a million and one taboos overnight, and she revolutionised the thinking of hundreds of other angry young women around the world.
(Ibid.: 97)

If there was hostility to women who assumed non-traditional roles during World War Two, their latter day activities as terrorists have provoked outrage. This outrage seems directed not only at the act of violence itself, but the 'unnaturalness' of encountering women behaving counter to their gender role. After a female member of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) assassinated a part-time member of the UDR (Ulster Defence Regiment) in

1990, the condemnation contained a double message: condemnation of the act, and revulsion that a woman would act outside her 'gender norm':

It is hard to believe that a woman who, under God, can give birth to a new life, can be so twisted and warped by hate that she can bring forth death to an innocent victim.

(MacDonald, 1992: 133-4)

Despite the expression of revulsion that a woman would behave in a manner considered inappropriate to her sex, the British authorities have never been shy of using lethal force to counter a 'feminine' threat. Máiréad Farrell was shot dead by the SAS in Gibraltar in 1988. The authorities have, on one hand, always taken very seriously the threat of violence from women while on the other denying their lethal potential and blocking positions to them in the military. When women do operate outside the rigid confines of the 'natural' role prescribed for them by patriarchal thinking it poses a threat (Delphy, 1984: 23).

This threat is a perceived threat to the established power relation between the sexes. Patriarchal society's angry reaction to female killers is not an expression of dismay at a loss of innocence, a violation of biologically pre-determined behaviour, but a knee jerk reaction to behaviour which challenges deeply held beliefs about the role of women, and by extension men. Female killers are held up as aberrations of their sex. They must be demonised in order to maintain the status quo. They offend:

(T)he presumption that 'men' and 'women' exist as biologically based categories prior to and independently to the power relationship which currently exists between them.

(Delphy, 1984: 8)

Society found it very difficult to accept the idea that women would go on active service with the PIRA. They were held up to be less than human, and demonised in the press.

When the Price Sisters were arrested for their part in the 1973 bombing campaign in London in which 180 people were injured, there were called "the sisters of death".

(MacDonald, 1992: 135)

It is interesting to note the cultural schizophrenia that on the one hand defines women as helpless and passive and then on the other hand demonises them as soon as they deviate from the culturally assigned roles. Not only did the Price sisters challenge authority but they challenged it as women - double jeopardy it would seem. They are reviled for their sex as they threaten the patriarchal order.

Despite the harsh treatment meted out to female republican prisoners, despite society's demand that girls remain somehow innately peace loving, earth-mothers who are 'reluctant to fight for the group', (Tiger, 1969), there would appear to be no shortage of women capable of carrying out acts of violence 'inappropriate' to their sex.

Dr. Rose Dugdale was charged with hijacking a helicopter with the intention of dropping milk churns full of explosives on to RUC posts. Marion Coyle was imprisoned for her part in the kidnapping of Tiede Herrema in 1975. (The Dutch industrialist later remarked he was unable to establish a rapport with his female captor, a chilling departure from classic counter-insurgency doctrine and the 'Stockholm Syndrome'). Anna Moore received life imprisonment for the infamous Ballykelly 'Droppin Well' bombing which claimed the lives of seventeen people. In 1986 Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson were given life sentences for their part in a plot to bomb London and a number of seaside resorts (MacDonald, 1992:136-166).

The list goes on and on. Evelyn Glenholmes was the subject of an extradition attempt on foot of charges relating to the Chelsea Barracks nail bomb, and the murder of a British Army Bomb Disposal Officer in London. Rita O'Hare, charged with the attempted murder of two British soldiers, was shot in the head during her arrest.

It is interesting to note the 'progressive' use of female volunteers within the PIRA and the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA). These organisations operate a policy of complete gender integration and all appointments and positions within these organisations are open to women. The intelligence gathering network of An Garda Síochána and the PDF (Permanent defence forces) acknowledge this and I have been present at briefings which outlined the threat assessment posed by both male and female members of PIRA/INLA.

Soldiers on the ground certainly have no illusions as to the potential of female terrorists. This would appear to be backed up by accounts given by protagonists in the 'troubles' in Northern Ireland. Mac Donald (1992: 144-5) quotes from an interview with a former female republican prisoner:

The Brits treat women volunteers just the same as they do men. There was a woman who appeared in court with bruises and a black eye. I saw her being dragged up the steps and battered. When I was in Castlereagh on the evidence of a supergrass, I was deprived of sleep, kicked off a chair and beaten up. The Brits know that the women are just as dangerous as the men.

The SAS on covert surveillance operations tracked and ambushed both male and female targets. "Suspected male provisionals were reported as 'cocks' and female suspects as 'turkeys'" (Murray, 1991: 73).

It is common policy for Special Forces and anti-terrorist units to regard female terrorists as a priority target. It is argued that having to overcome one's passive sex-role stereotype, and then to take up arms, requires leadership traits and a force of personality and conviction. Many books contain accounts and typologies of terrorist organisations which prove women's 'hyperactive' role in terrorism and violence (White, 1991: 10-13; Cutterbuck, 1990). For this reason, it is considered an imperative to neutralise female antagonists as quickly as possible. They will tend to have a command function. This is probably the *raison d'être* behind GSG9 (the German Anti-Terrorist Unit) S.O.P. (Standard Operating Procedure) to "shoot the women first" (MacDonald, 1992: 111; Dobson, 1986: 134). The German authorities found women to be persistent and recidivist in their violent tendencies.

Of the male German terrorists who had been sentenced to long prison terms, not a few disassociated themselves from terrorism (...) There are few known cases of women terrorists willing to admit that their acts of violence were wrong. (Laqueur, 1987: 80)

Many of these women committed suicide in prison rather than be 'rehabilitated'. (The activities of these women remain topical and whilst I was researching this subject, the Irish Times featured an account of the controversial suicide of Gudrun Ensslin in Stammheim Prison, in 1977. (Irish Times, 22 April 1998: 11))

Thus, women would appear to have a well documented and hyperactive role in non - conventional or paramilitary organisations world-wide. Their increased participation in non - conventional or low intensity conflict appears to mirror their increased participation rates in the standing armies, navies and airforces that engage them.

4.3 Chapter Summary

In the first section of this chapter it was intended to chart the increase in the numbers of women in the U.S. military and their increased participation as combatants in major conflicts world-wide. The section outlines the integration of women in the U.S military from the segregated formations, or 'women's service corps' of World War Two, to their integration

into mixed units by the 1970's. The literature highlights two main reasons for this increase in the numbers of women participating in U.S. military structures; the equality of opportunity agenda, which was to the fore at that time and the sweeping legislative changes affecting the military during this period. This increase in numbers in the U.S military had a parallel in European armies in the NATO alliance. The percentage of women serving in the military has now reached 15% in most NATO armies. The effect of the political agenda and equality of opportunity legislation, particularly employment legislation enacted during the period, appear to have produced tangible results in terms of an increase in the numbers of women participating in the military. This increase in numbers would appear to confirm the outcome hypothesised by liberal feminists who advocate such legislative changes in order to increase women's participation in the workforce.

This increased participation rate has a parallel in the numbers of women being deployed to combat - from 200 in the invasion of Grenada in 1983, to 800 in the invasion of Panama in 1990 and 41,000 in the Gulf War. With a total of 195,000 women serving in the U.S. military, the literature suggests that the original motive for mobilising women, that of equality of opportunity, has been superseded by an awareness that women are now considered vital to the success of military campaigns by military planners. This is emphasised by the rescinding of the Direct Combat Probability Coding or DCPC in 1993, which makes all combat appointments accessible to U.S. female military personnel.

Section two endeavours to give a documented account of women's involvement in non-conventional or low intensity conflict during the same period. The section charts the increased participation of women in paramilitary organisations world-wide and also the hyperactive role assumed by female members in these organisations. The sections combined are not intended as an exhaustive historical account of military campaigns since the Second World War, but are intended to situate the workplace setting under study in a wider context. The chapter is included for the purposes of comparison, in order to gauge how 'in-step' with the international military the PDF are, in terms of the status and roles assigned female soldiers.

In the course of researching this topic, I encountered a number of secondary sources dealing with the role of women in the War of Independence and Civil War in Ireland. These sources prompted me into an examination of my grandmother's Cumann na mBan record contained in Military Archives, Cathal Brugha Barracks, Rathmines. Arising from this examination of Maire Ni Bheaglaoch's Cumann na mBan file, I discovered an amount of data relating to the activities of Cumann na mBan during the war of independence and the civil war. I have

decided to include this data in an appendix rather than in the body of the text. Given that the focus of this thesis is on the PDF today, I felt the comparison with other contemporary armies to be more salient than a historical comparison. Nonetheless, I felt it important to include it as relevant background information.

CHAPTER FIVE

The integration and recruitment of women to the PDF

5.1 Background

Having examined the trend for a greater integration of women in the international military, it is intended in this chapter to examine the integration and recruitment of women in the PDF. This represents the beginning of the main focus of the study. The documentary, statistical and interview data presented in the next four chapters form the bulk of the analysis of the status and roles assigned female personnel in the PDF. The analysis of status and role of women within the organisation is organised in the subsequent chapters as follows:

1. Role of female personnel

It is intended to establish whether or not a gender division of labour exists within the ranks of the defence forces. As stated in the chapter on methodology, I intend to focus on the deployment of female personnel over the core, (combat, combat support) and peripheral (administrative) tasks of the organisation to establish if a segregation of the workforce on the basis of sex exists. The pattern of employment of female Officers, Non Commissioned Officers, (NCOs) and other ranks, (Privates) will be considered against the background of current international trends in the deployment of female military personnel provided in chapter 4.

2. Status of Female personnel

I intend to examine the status of female personnel in terms of rank, and appointment within the force. It is also intended to examine the collective status, or 'critical mass' of female personnel within the organisation in terms of recruitment, numbers, and visibility. I hope to analyse their impact in terms of rates or advancement, profile, and power within the organisation to influence policy (Adler 1994, Reskin and Padavic, 1994). I intend to examine PDF policy on female personnel and any proactive or progressive policy that may or may not exist. It is my intention to examine the manner in which policy (in relation to recruitment, training, dress, deployment, overseas service and promotion) impacts on the working lives of female soldiers. This will in effect amount to an 'equality audit' of the PDF as defined by the EEA (1995); Neal (1998); Rees (1998); and Shaw (1995).

In focussing on female personnel, I do so from the position of the theoretical perspectives outlined in chapter three, in light of the following established facts:

- (1) The reality of women as combatants in modern conventional warfare
- (2) The reality of women as combatants in modern non-conventional and low intensity operations
- (3) The reality of women as combatants in counter insurgency, anti-terrorist, and 'Black' operations

These points refer to the precedent or *de facto* 'experience' of women in combat. The next part of the thesis constitutes a journey into the gender-mediated aspects of the culture (beliefs, assumptions, behaviour) of the defence forces, where the status and roles assigned female personnel are examined in some detail in light of the theoretical perspective articulated in chapter three.

This chapter and the three following chapters examine the integration and recruitment of women to the PDF, training, deployment, and promotion, in order to give a detailed picture of women in today's Irish defence forces. This chapter will address the background to the integration of female personnel to the PDF in light of the concept of a 'Women's Service Corps' as envisaged by the military authorities in the late seventies and early eighties. The integration of the first female troops is then examined in terms of the uniform chosen for these women by the military authorities in a section on the visual code generated by the female pattern uniform. There then follows a section on issues generated by the female pattern uniform and associated equipment provided by the PDF today. This section is included here as it extends the discussion on the symbolic and practical impact of the female pattern uniform begun in the previous section. It consists principally of data gained at interview with female personnel.

The chapter concludes with a comprehensive examination of the recruitment of women to the PDF from 1982 to date. This examination considers the recruitment of women at all entry levels to the organisation, officers, N.C.O.s and other ranks. This part of the chapter draws extensively on statistics and recruitment figures supplied by the military authorities and the Department of Defence. There is also an extensive use made of data obtained at interview. The chapter provides an overview of the PDF workplace as it applies to the recruitment of women. It gives an indication of a "women's effect" (Howes and Stephenson, 1993:51) and "commitment" (Reskin and Padavic, 1994:87) in terms of numbers of women in the organisation and "critical mass" as discussed in the theory chapter.

5.2 The concept of a Women's Service Corps

A detailed account of the advent of the integration of female personnel into the PDF is dealt with in Clonan (1995:21-41). The following is a very brief account of their integration and of the development of the female pattern uniform. This brief account is necessary in order to give meaning to and accommodate the new data gathered at interview.

I am convinced that it is only in the fullest practicable sense of participation in defence activities that the aspiration and activities of women who elect for a military career will find adequate expression. Accordingly, apart from the fact that they will be non-combatant, it is my intention that women will be employed in a very comprehensive range of duties.

(Extract from a Dáil speech by Mr. Robert Molloy T.D., Minister for Defence, October 1979)

In July 1977 the then government decided to form a Women's Service Corps for the PDF. This corps or W.S.C. was originally conceived of as being a separate and non integrated entity whose functions would be limited to non-combatant duties in the following areas:

- a. Clerical duties
- b. Driving of light vehicles
- c. Observer Corps duties
- d. Welfare duties
- e. Miscellaneous

(Memo from Secretary, Department of Defence to Chief of Staff, Jan 1978, Para 2 – Courtesy, Military Archives, Unclassified)

The Women's Service Corps was initially intended "to release male soldiers from certain duties in order to fill more active military functions". (Ibid., Para 3)

The General Staff, in 1978, faced with the prospect of recruiting and training women, formed a "committee on the establishment of a Women's Service Corps". The committee submitted its confidential report on 10 February 1978. In today's climate of political correctness its contents would be considered provocative to say the least. On the subject of pay:

After full consideration of the matter, the majority of our members recommend that the basic rates of pay of members of the WSC should be less than those payable to men.

(Page 11, Para. Iv., 'Pay'. Confidential)

On pregnancy,

We are aware that pregnancy is not a ground for termination of service in the (...) Ban Garda and the Public Service generally. Nevertheless in view of (...) the fact that all Military employment is of its nature physically demanding and requires a minimum standard of fitness at all times (...) we recommend that pregnancy should be included in DFR's as a reason for automatic termination of the service of members (...) for both officers and other ranks.

(Page 9, Para iii, 'Pregnancy', Courtesy Military Archives, Confidential)

The enactment of equality legislation in the 70's and 80's however forced the hand of military planners and the W.S.C. was not established. The Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act of 1975, the Employment Equality Act of 1977 and the 1981 Maternity Protection of Employees Act put paid to the Committee's aspirations for a WSC. Significantly, this pressure, (as in the case of the first suggestion of the enlistment of women), was from without.

5.3 The female pattern uniform as visual code

As a direct consequence of the advent of female troops in the PDF in the early 1980's, it was necessary to develop a uniform for these "new" personnel. The choice of uniform proved interesting from a semiotic viewpoint.

Clothes, badges and forms of decoration (...) have a powerful effect on the perceptions and reactions of others.
(Argyle, 1978: 323)

Uniform, and its signage is crucial to the perceptions of superiors, peers and subordinates within the military. This holds true in all walks of life and the link between status and clothes is emphasised by Argyle. "Status is one of the most important sources of variation (...) where two groups wear different clothes, this often indicates the existence of different roles".
(Argyle, 1978: 331-332)

The choice and manner in choosing of uniform for female personnel by the General Staff give a unique insight into their mindset and their construction of these 'new' personnel. I contacted the original designer, Ib Jorgensen, in 1995, to find out a little on its design criteria. His answer was of relevance and interest to the concerns of this thesis, and I include the following summary of our discussion here:

The uniform was supplied and designed by Mr. Ib Jorgensen of Jorgensen Fine Art in Molesworth Street, Dublin. I spoke to Mr. Jorgensen about the design criteria he used for the uniform. I wanted to know what kind of image he had sought to portray and if he had been given any specifications by the military authorities. Quite simply he informed me that a senior officer at that time had admired the uniform of the air hostesses in Aer Lingus. He thought it would be ideal for female military personnel. He knew that Jorgensen had designed the Aer Lingus uniform and approached him directly on the matter. He wanted a uniform that would be "attractive" and "glamorous" based on the air hostess' uniform. These were the only criteria given to Mr. Jorgensen. Therefore the "subservient and submissive, smiling image of the air hostess", (Hurwitz, 1993) with all the attendant notions of femininity and service was to be the model for the token female soldier whose function was to be "glamorous and attractive".

(Clonan, 1995: 30-1)

The eventual acceptance and issue of the female pattern uniform came under the aegis of DFR Q '2'. The 'Q' table of issues included handbag, skirts, tights and court shoes. The selection of this uniform for female soldiers, complete with a highly gendered set of accoutrements appeared to suggest a highly gendered vision of their role in the organisation.

Certainly, from the point of view of marching, the choice of skirt and slip-on shoes was an impractical one. From the 1980's until as recently as 1991, female personnel were barred from all ceremonial duties. Ceremonial, with its ritual and stylised symbolism is central to military culture. Due to difficulties in marching, and the lack of a uniform appearance caused by the choice of the female pattern uniform, female troops were, in effect, denied the "strong feeling of dependence and togetherness (...) collective enthusiasm for the goals of the movement" (Argyle, 1978: 193) provided for in ceremonial. With the advent of Mary Robinson's election as President, and Commander in Chief of the Defence Forces in 1991, this policy was overturned, and women were permitted to participate in ceremonial duties. I believe it is significant to note such a change in policy came about as a result of pressure of events outside the organisation.

The women of Cumann na mBan marched side by side, in uniform, with their male colleagues 76 years previously at the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa. This event had been carefully choreographed by James Connolly and presented to the public the image of a struggle that was being undertaken by men and women together. (This was despite the fact that female volunteers at that time were assigned subordinate status and roles within the organisational structure that existed between the Irish Volunteers and Cumann na mBan). It is interesting to note that it took another 76 years and the election of a woman as President of Ireland for Irish men and women to parade together in public as 'comrades in arms'.

5.4 The female pattern uniform: Dressed to Kill?

The semiotic analysis of the visual code contained in the choice of uniform for female personnel which forms part of the introduction of this chapter links in to a discussion of uniform, including the 1999 issue of disruptive pattern material (DPM) combats for female personnel which arose at interview. For this reason, I have included this data at this point. The discussion reveals something of the patriarchal dynamic described in chapter three in terms of the 'male as norm' construct of PDF employees as evidenced by the design of combat uniform. (Barrett and Phillips, 1992: 120-37)

1999 saw the introduction of a new 'system' of clothing issues for the Defence Forces. First worn by the PDF on its departure for service with KFOR in Kosovo (29th August 1999), the new "DPM" (Disruptive Pattern Material) combat uniform went on general issue to all personnel in October 1999. The new camouflaged uniform is to be worn by all ranks at all times and will replace the woollen "bulls wool" trousers and skirts of the present "working dress" code. This should ease some of the issues raised in relation to the question of the uniform drawing attention to the sex of the wearer. From February to September of 1999, during the conduct of interviews with female personnel, the issue of the female pattern uniform arose. In addition to the advent of the DPM uniform, the military authorities are at present considering a new design for the 'No. 1' uniform for females to be worn on parade.

As part of the emergent interview schedule, the question of uniform, both combat and No.1, arose in discussion. From the sixty female personnel interviewed, the following observations were made. Of the sixty women questioned, only one was consulted on the new uniform for women. She remarked that she had been shown the new skirt which had a pleat to the rear, "which would make marching difficult". (Interview No. 19, 22/7/99) The remaining 59 were not consulted in any way.

In relation to the hat, designed by Ib Jorgensen, of the sixty interviewed, fourteen of the women expressed satisfaction with the hat. The reasons given were varied. Interviewee number 32 (31/8/99), a captain, expressed the opinion that the hat was "quite smart". Interviewee number 15, (20/4/99), observed that the hat was "easy to keep clean for inspections – it doesn't collect fluff the way the beret does". The vast majority of the women, however, expressed dissatisfaction with the hat. Forty-six of the women interviewed indicated that they would have preferred to see the female pattern hat withdrawn. Their

reasons varied, but most cited aesthetic reasons for its abolition. The hat was referred to variously as “the piss pot”, (Interview No. 12, 19/4/99), “the bed-pan”, (Interview No. 23, 10/8/99), “poxy”, (Interview No. 2, 13/8/99) and “the ashtray”, (Interview No. 42, 11/9/99).

More interestingly, many of the interviewees cited reasons of uniformity and status-related issues in indicating a preference for berets and peaked caps as a replacement for the female pattern hat. Of the sixty women interviewed, 46 women said they would prefer to wear a beret with working dress. One interviewee (Interview No. 20, 28/7/99), indicated that if she were the G.O.C., she would ban all headgear bar berets in the interests of uniformity. Of the 19 officers interviewed, 14 indicated that they would prefer to wear peaked caps like their male peers. All of the officers interviewed cited issues around status as the reason for this preference. One interviewee (Interview No. 24, 11/8/99), a captain, stated the following:

Officers is officers is officers. We should look the same (...) the uniform, the hat. I mean why add to the problems of perception that some people have? Look at the Gardai, they all wear the same gear.

Interviewee No. 18 (23/7/99), also a captain, echoed these sentiments:

The female officer should have a different head-dress to the other ranks. In other words, we should wear a peaked cap as an indication of rank, just like the guys do. It's so much easier to see who's in charge, to spot the officer, so to speak.

These responses are typical of the vast majority of female officers in expressing a preference for a peaked cap.

In relation to the issue of skirts and trousers, the vast majority of those women interviewed expressed a preference for the choice to wear trousers. Of the sixty women interviewed, fifty three women indicated their dissatisfaction with skirts as part of their “No. 1” pattern (ceremonial) uniform. Of those who expressed satisfaction with the skirt, two felt they should be compulsory for female personnel.

We have a skirt, a different tunic and a distinctive hat. I've no problem with it. We're different anyway, we should look different.
(Interview No. 10, 16/4/99)

Interviewee No. 11 echoed this sentiment:

The female pattern uniform is fine. You should be able to see the difference. You should be able to pick out the women.
(Interviewee No. 11, 19/4/99)

The remaining 53 women, however, expressed many reservations about the wearing of a skirt as part of the No. 1 uniform. Many cited aesthetic reasons as the source of their dissatisfaction. One interviewee remarked that the female uniform “makes us look like air hostesses, not soldiers” (Interview No. 23, 10/8/99). Interviewee No. 29 (26/8/99) felt that due to problems with the design of the uniform, “it makes us look like a sack of spuds”. Interviewee No. 28 (25/8/99) felt the uniform “should be totally redesigned”. Interviewee No. 34 (06/9/99) felt the uniform was old fashioned and “grannyish”, and interviewee No. 40 (11/9/99) declared: “the uniform stinks”.

Other sources of dissatisfaction with the uniform cited were practical. Several complained about the pleated skirt which made it difficult to march.

(T)he skirt has an inverted pleat which makes it difficult to march, so now we wear trousers.

(Interview No. 4, 14/4/99).

Interviewee No. 25, (12/8/99) reflected the view of many that the No. 1 uniform was impractical for work and uncomfortable on parade: “Our No. 1 uniform for parade is not suitable”. Interviewee No.38 (8/9/99) simply remarked that the skirt was too cold for ceremonial duties in inclement weather:

I’d prefer if we had trousers on parade. Especially for Guards of Honour, you know, in the winter, with all that standing around, waiting, the skirts just aren’t warm enough.

Interviewee No. 44 however summed up the overall view of the women in relation to the ‘female pattern’ uniform:

My opinion is, trousers, boots, berets, for everyone. Period. The skirts and hats just make you stick out.
(11/9/99)

On being allowed exercise the choice of wearing trousers or skirts, (this policy varies by Brigade, and by individual Commanders), 58 of the 60 women endorsed such a choice. Only two, as mentioned previously, felt skirts should be compulsory. In relation to the wearing of the standard issue 'female' shoe, (a slip-on, 'court' type shoe), 54 of the sixty women expressed dissatisfaction. Almost all of those interviewed cited difficulty with marching as the main reason for this dissatisfaction. Most called for a more practical design of shoe, with laces.

Interviewee No. 35 described the situation in relation to the footwear as 'scandalous'.

(7/9/99) Interviewee No. 28 went so far as to suggest:

The shoes would break your neck. They're like what a hooker would wear down on Leeson Street.
(25/8/99)

Another significant factor in relation to footwear was the general dissatisfaction amongst female personnel regarding combat boots. Of the sixty women interviewed, only three expressed complete satisfaction. A total of 57 complained about not being able to get their size in the new combat boot. Many of the women I spoke to were actually wearing boots one or two sizes too big for them. One woman I interviewed in Lebanon was wearing two pairs of socks in order to keep her boots on. Interviewee No. 32 complained bitterly about this phenomenon:

I can never get combat boots to fit. I have to wear two pairs of socks. On route marches and terrain walks, I get blisters. My feet are in rag order.
(31/8/99)

One interviewee, No. 7, expressed her frustration at this ongoing problem with boots:

If you go into the "Great Outdoors", you'll find plenty of boots and equipment designed for women. The army should follow suit.
(15/4/99)

In relation to the combat uniform, fifty-four of the women expressed dissatisfaction with the tailoring or 'cut' of the uniform. Interviewee No. 38 summed up the problem:

When I buy a pair of jeans, I don't go to the man's section. The combats we have are designed for men. We should have an allotment for women.
(8/9/99)

Some of the other design features of the 'female pattern' combat uniform were also questioned. Interviewee No. 9, for example, was puzzled by the fact that the female combat shirt had no breast pockets:

The kit issue is not up to standard. We're not allowed have breast pockets in shirts. Could someone explain that to me? We're still seen as non-combatant, and the kit issue reflects that – We're not being consulted on the new uniform. In my thirteen years in the army, I've never been consulted on anything relating to women in the army, dress included.
(16/4/99)

Given the levels of dissatisfaction expressed by the women interviewed at those aspects of the uniform discussed, it is significant to note, that of the sixty women I spoke to, only one was ever consulted on the choice of uniform for women. While the advent of the new DPM uniform is to be welcomed, the interviewees' responses indicate that any new scale of clothing issues for female personnel would be best undertaken in consultation with female personnel.

5.5 The recruitment of female personnel to the defence forces

In this section of the chapter I intend to examine the manner in which female personnel are recruited to the defence forces. The enlistment of female soldiers to the ranks will be considered along with the recruitment of female officer cadets.

The section begins with a brief description of the manner in which personnel are recruited into the Defence Forces – the various entry levels and the mechanism for entry. The enlistment of the category of non-officer personnel, referred to in the PDF as 'other ranks' is then considered. The recruitment of other ranks is considered against the background of recruitment to other areas of the public service. The recruit campaigns of 1982, 1990 and 1994-1999 are considered in some detail with figures obtained from Enlisted Personnel Section at DFHQ. These numbers, in conjunction with the numbers of women recruited by cadetship are then considered in tandem with the interview responses of the sixty women interviewed. The issue of the numbers of women being admitted to the PDF along with the manner in which they are recruited is discussed in terms of women's visibility, numbers and consequent impact on PDF work place culture. With regard to the recruitment of personnel into the army, entry into the PDF is by one of three ways: enlistment, cadetship and by direct entry.

1. Enlistment

This is the manner in which 'other ranks' or privates enlist in the army. On enlistment one trains as a recruit until passing out as a 'three-star' private soldier. Enlisted personnel are referred to as 'other ranks' until promoted to the rank of Non Commissioned Officer or NCO. NCO's are divided by rank into two categories. Those at the rank of sergeant and below are referred to as 'Junior NCOs'. Those above the rank of sergeant are referred to as 'Senior NCOs'.

The following table, table (i) shows this rank structure. The table represents the ascending order of enlisted ranks in the right hand column. The left-hand column indicates the separator in rank (private) between other ranks and junior NCOs and (sergeant) between junior NCOs and senior NCOs. The table indicates the progression of enlisted personnel through the ranks as follows. From the rank of Private, one can advance to NCO or Non Commissioned Officer level. The NCO ranks advance as follows. From Private, one is promoted Corporal. The next rung on the promotion ladder is the rank of Sergeant. Once the rank of sergeant has been obtained, one competes for promotion to senior NCO rank. The senior NCO ranks consist of Company Quartermaster Sergeant, or CQMS, followed in ascending order by Company Sergeant or CS. The next rank above CS is that of Battalion Quartermaster Sergeant or BQMS. The highest rank obtainable at NCO rank is Battalion Sergeant Major or BSM.

Table (i): Senior NCOs, Junior NCOs and Other Ranks rank structure:

Senior NCOs	Battalion Sergeant Major (BSM)
	Battalion Quartermaster Sergeant (BQMS)
	Company Sergeant (CS)
	Company Quartermaster Sergeant (CQMS)
Junior NCOs	Sergeant (Sgt)
	Corporal (Cpl)
Other Ranks	Private (Pte)

Source: Table (i) supplied by Enlisted Personnel Section, DFHQ, July 1999.

2. Cadetship

This is the avenue by which the Army recruits its officers. Cadetships are advertised annually. Table (ii) shows the progression through the ranks for officers. The ascending order of officer ranks are shown on the right-hand side of the table. The left hand-side of the table indicates the categories of officer rank with junior officers from 2nd Lieutenant to Captain and

senior officers from Commandant to Lieutenant General. It shows that from the rank of 2nd Lt, one advances to Lieutenant, Captain, Commandant, Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, Brigadier General, Major General and Lieutenant General.

Table (ii): Officers Rank Structure:

Senior Officers	Lieutenant General (Lt-Gen)
	Major General (Maj Gen)
	Brigadier General (Brig-Gen)
	Colonel (Col)
	Lieutenant Colonel (Lt Col)
	Commandant (Comdt)
Junior Officers	Captain (Capt)
	First Lieutenant (Lt)
	Second Lieutenant (2 nd Lt)

Source: Table (ii) supplied by Officers Records, DFHQ, July 1999.

3. Direct Entry.

This is the method by which the PDF fills many of its technical and professional vacancies. Direct Entries, or 'D.E.'s' comprise Dental, Medical and Engineering officers. Those candidates wishing to become Medical Officers, (doctors, dentists and pharmacists) or Engineering Officers within the Defence Forces apply for interview on completion of their specialist training. Such competitions are held from time to time as vacancies arise within the Defence Forces.

5.6 The enlistment of other ranks (Female)

Unlike cadetships, recruitment campaigns do not occur annually. From 1988 to 1994, there was almost no recruitment to the PDF. To date, there have been seven recruitment campaigns that have involved female personnel.

1. 1982

This was the first intake of female personnel (other ranks) into the PDF. The competition was open to females only, and the all-female platoon was trained as a single sex unit with a modified syllabus of training. These women did not undergo Section Tactical Training (offence and defence), did not undergo Counter Insurgency Training (COIN) or Aid to the Civil Power Training (ATCP OPs). They did however undergo an extended period of clerical training in Administration and Logistics ('A' and 'Q') accounting. A revised syllabus of training was drawn up for this purpose.

2. 1990

This recruitment campaign was similar to the 1982 intake. The all-female intake trained as a single-sex platoon and underwent a modified syllabus of training.

3. 1994

This recruitment campaign was open to both sexes under the guidelines of the Civil Service Commission, Local Appointments Commission. The enlistment was to be on the basis of equality of opportunity, and training was to be fully integrated with no modified syllabus for female personnel.

4. 1996

The 1996 campaign was run under the same guidelines as at (3) but with a change in the entry requirements, raising the height requirement for women to 5 feet 5 inches.

5-7. 1997, 1998, 1999

The 1997, 1998 and 1999 campaigns were run under the same guidelines as at (3) with the changing of the height requirement for women from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 4 inches.

With the advent of the White Paper for Defence in February of 2000, recruitment to the Defence Forces has changed fundamentally. No longer is the recruitment of troops conducted in separate 'campaigns' but is conducted on an ongoing or 'rolling recruitment' basis. Since February of 2000, the Chief of Staff has been given the authority to recruit on an ongoing basis to the Defence Forces as needs arise. This ongoing recruitment does not require sanction from the Department of Defence who prior to the White Paper sanctioned and initiated recruitment campaigns.

A number of points arise from the recruit campaigns of the nineties. It is important to note that the government placed an embargo on recruiting to the Defence Forces between 1982 and

1994. The only exceptions to this embargo were an intake of 500 male troops in 1988 and an intake of 35 female troops in 1990. From 1994 onwards, with the lifting of the embargo, the Department of Defence sanctioned a number of recruitment campaigns. This gave rise to a large number of new recruits being recruited to the PDF. This lifting of the embargo on recruitment, combined with a 1992 policy decision at DFHQ to integrate recruit training for both male and female personnel paved the way for larger numbers of both men and women to enter the PDF. In total, since 1994, 2,267 personnel have been recruited to the Defence Forces. Of this total, 282 or 12.2% are female. This has effectively trebled the numbers of women in the Defence Forces and brought their representation within the force to around 3% of total strength. This large (by Irish standards) recruitment campaign, accounts for the increase in female personnel in the PDF outlined in this and later chapters in the study.

Prior to 1996, the height requirement for females entering the service was 5 feet 2 inches. The height requirement for males was 5 feet 7 inches. The average height of the Irish adult male is 5 feet 7 inches. The average height of the Irish adult female is 5 feet 3 inches. (Thomond College of Physical Education, University of Limerick) (Central Statistics Office)

For the 1996 recruitment campaign, the height requirement for both sexes was changed to 5 feet 5 inches (see Appendix 5). I contacted Enlisted Personnel Section in Army Headquarters in order to find out what was behind this change in conditions of entry. I was informed that the change had taken place as complaints had been made by male applicants who were below the average height of 5 feet 7 inches of discrimination on the grounds of height.

I pointed out that by raising the height requirement from 5 feet 2 inches, to 5 feet 5 inches, it meant that female applicants would have to be taller than the national average to be admitted to the competition. It seemed illogical to reduce the height requirement for men in order to facilitate shorter men on the grounds of 'discrimination', and to raise it for women.

The army's move to increase the height requirement was especially puzzling in light of events at that time.

The height requirement for fire fighters in Dublin Fire Brigade was removed this month because it was discriminatory against women, according to Dublin Corporation's Equality Officer, Mr. Vincent Moore. The stipulation that applicants be 5 feet 6 inches was removed following a labour court ruling against C.I.E., he said.

(The Irish Times, 21 January 1997: 8)

On the same page in the newspaper was an article, "mother rejected by Fire Brigade wins case". A Ms. Gillian Maxwell from Belfast settled her discrimination case against the Northern Ireland Fire Authority for being rejected as an applicant for a job on the grounds of being 3 inches shorter than the 5 feet 6 inches requirement. The Equal Opportunities Commission which brought the case welcomed the settlement and its legal officer, Ms. Petra Shiels, stressed its importance as a step forward for the rights of shorter people.

I rang Enlisted Personnel Section again and asked them in light of the above mentioned events to clarify the Army's position. The explanation I was given was as follows: The average weight carried in the 1990 pattern backpack, Marching Order, was 70 pounds. The Chief of Staff has decided that in order to safely carry a load of 70 pounds, one would have to be at least 5 feet 5 inches tall.

This explanation would appear questionable when one considers the range of everyday and routine tasks world-wide that require people under 5 feet 5 inches to carry weights of four stone or more. Many societies give 'heavy' work to women, as outlined by Mead (1950) in Oakley (1981: 55).

The new height requirement may also have handicapped applicants from disadvantaged backgrounds:

Height is also determined by social and environmental factors which can outweigh the sex difference, and the daughter of a professional worker is likely to be as tall as the son of an unskilled worker. The sex differential in height also varies between different populations.

(Oakley, 1981: 28)

According to the American Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces 1992, the average height of their 195,000 female personnel is 5 feet 3 inches. If the Irish entry requirements of the 1996 and subsequent competitions were applied in the U.S., these soldiers would never have been permitted enter the Armed forces, and the 31,000 women who served in the Gulf War would not have deployed.

This height requirement for women was subsequently reduced to 5 foot, 4 inches for the 1997, 1998 and 1999 recruitment campaigns. Another barrier to the enlistment of female recruits in earlier campaigns was the imposition of 'ceilings' or 'quotas' on numbers of female personnel to be accepted during recruitment campaigns. I had first hand experience of the existence of these 'quotas' in 1994. I was detailed through the Curragh Command Adjutant's office to act

as a substitute on the Curragh Command Interview Board. Whilst carrying out these duties I was present during the final allocation of vacancies. The mechanical allotment of marks gave rise to an order of merit among candidates. Our strict instructions, however, were to "pick the top twelve females" and fill the remaining vacancies with male applicants. The Command Manpower Officer at the time explained to me that the Command did not "have the resources at its disposal to refit accommodation and training areas to bring them up to the standard required for women". I was also reminded at that time that the matter was to be treated in the strictest confidence and that for future reference, the deliberations of the Board would remain confidential. The justification of the exclusion of women from the workplace for 'infrastructural' reasons, i.e. toilets etc. is identified in the literature as a classic ploy used by employers to justify discrimination. (Game and Pringle, 1983: 11)

The citing of infrastructural deficits as a reason for denying access to paid employment or promotion for women is listed as a form of discrimination by the Employment Equality Agency (EEA, 1998: Equality at Work – A Model Equal Opportunities Policy). The onus on employers to redress infrastructural deficits in such cases is stressed in a number of EEA and public service guidelines (EEA, Guidelines on Positive (Affirmative) Action in Employment, 1999; EEA, Guidelines on Equal Opportunity in Vocational Training, 1999; Equality of Opportunity in the Civil Service, 1997; Eighth Annual Report on the Implementation of the Equal Opportunity Policy and Guidelines for the Civil Service, March 1997). The EEA and the relevant public service guidelines are explicit in this regard. Employers who cite infrastructural reasons for denying access to paid employment, vocational training, work experience or promotion for women are guilty of direct discrimination. This has been further emphasised in the recently enacted Equal Status and Employment Equality Acts.

This decision to implement such a quota system came at a time when most other armies were doing the opposite and opening up more posts and appointments to women. The UK Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, was presented with an Army Board Report on July 8 1996 recommending same (The Guardian, July 8, 1996: 3). In line with this trend on 3 April 1998, the British Ministry of Defence announced a new campaign to recruit "Females and Ethnic Minorities" to all three services (Sky News, B.B.C. News, 03 April 1998). In the autumn of 1996, the U.S. Army was also hoping to dispense with ceilings and quotas altogether.

Therefore there is probably less justification for any military service to maintain ceilings on women recruits, (...) the need for recruiting ceilings is less compelling than in the days of combat exclusions.

(Armor, 1996: 24)

As in the case of the imposition of a height requirement, by imposing a quota, the military authorities appeared to be at variance with international military trends in terms of recruiting policy. As part of my researches, when I spoke to Enlisted Personnel Section, they denied all knowledge of a quota system. They were extremely helpful and provided me with a full set of statistics for the 1994 to 1999 competitions. The table supplied by Enlisted Personnel Section in July of 1999 gives a breakdown of the numbers of male and female applicants for the 1994 to 1999 recruitment campaigns. The table consists of seven columns. The columns from left to right detail the year of each competition, the total number of applicants for each competition, the male and female breakdown of applicants, the total numbers recruited and a corresponding male and female breakdown of successful candidates. Each competition from 1994 is assigned a row in the table with the topmost row accommodating the data applying to the 1994 competition. Subsequent competitions are assigned rows in descending order. The bottom row shows the total figures for all competitions. The figures are interesting:

Table (iii): 1994 - 1999 recruit campaigns – Statistical breakdown (male/female) of applicants

Year	Total Applicants	Male %	Female %	Total Recruited	Male %	Female %
1994	9,381	7,956 (84.8%)	1,425 (15.2%)	555	490 (88.2%)	65 (11.8%)
1995	0	0	0	60	60(100%)	0
1996	1,806	1,496 (82.8%)	310 (17.2%)	184	161 (87.5%)	23 (12.5%)
1997	1,291	1,112 (86.1%)	179 (13.9%)	707	614 (86.8%)	93 (13.2%)
1998	1,579	1,329 (84.2%)	250 (15.8%)	716	620 (86.6%)	96 (13.4%)
1999*	903	771 (85.4%)	132 (14.6%)	45	40 (88.9%)	5 (11.1%)
Overall Totals	14,960	12,664 (84.7%)	2,296 (15.3%)	2,267	1,985 (87.6%)	282 (12.4%)

*Figures up to July 1999.

Source: Table (iii) supplied by Enlisted Personnel Section, DFHQ, July 1999.

It is clear from these figures that women are consistently underrepresented (proportionally speaking) amongst those candidates who are successful. Comprising 15.3% of the total of those who applied, only 12.4% of those successful were female.

What is more significant is the proportion of women applying compared to their proportion within the general population. Despite the fact that women comprise 51% of the population, only 15.3% of those applying for military service are female. This is probably due to a variety of social and cultural factors, some of which (involving the constructed masculinity of military service) were discussed earlier. What is also significant is the fact that in 1995, an all-male intake of recruits occurred.

These 60 recruits were drawn from the reserves of those applicants who had been unsuccessful in 1994. It is of course possible, (but highly unlikely), that no female candidates were still available by 1995. When I enquired of the Staff Officer at Enlisted Personnel Section, Defence Forces Headquarters (EPS, DFHQ) about this intake, he replied;

Oh, 1995 was an all-male intake, because the numbers were so small, there just wasn't the possibility, facilities-wise of taking in any women.
(S.O., EPS, DFHQ, July 1999)

One of the most notable features of recruitment campaigns over the last number of years is the drop in the number of applicants. The 1996 total of applicants comprised only 19.25% of the total of young people applying in 1994. The 1998 campaign saw a total which was only 16.8% of the 1994 total. This drop was attributed to four factors:

- (a) The conditions of service: Recruits being offered a five year contract only.
- (b) The lowering of the age requirement from 27 years to 22 years.
- (c) The changing of the height requirement.
- (d) The success (in terms of the abundance of alternative employment) of the 'Celtic Tiger' economy.

The change in the height requirement did not result in an increase in the numbers of male applicants. The change did not determine a change in the percentage of women who were successful in the competition. The change of height requirement achieved nothing. It merely reduced the numbers of women eligible to opt for a career in the military. The figures in relation to the Cadet competitions for the same period tell a similar story.

5.7 The recruitment of female cadets to the PDF

As outlined previously, the Defence Forces recruits its officers by means of an annual cadet competition. Table (iv) supplied by Officers Records gives a breakdown by male and female of applicants for the 1994 to 1998 cadet competitions. (Figures for the 1999 competition were not available at time of writing). The table consists of seven columns and six rows. The columns from left to right detail the year of each competition, the total number of applicants for each competition, the male and female breakdown of applicants, the total numbers accepted and a corresponding male and female breakdown of successful candidates. Each competition from 1994 is assigned a row in the table with the topmost row accommodating the data applying to the 1994 competition. Subsequent competitions are assigned rows in descending order.

Table (iv): 1994 –98 cadet competitions – statistical breakdown (male/female) of applicants

Year	Total Applicants	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total Accepted	Male (5)	Female (%)
1994	2016	1516 (75.2%)	500 (24.8%)	39	36 (92.3%)	3 (7.7%)
1995	1232	972 (78.8%)	261 (21.2%)	33	29 (87.9%)	4 (12.1%)
1996	1120	873 (77.9%)	247 (22.1%)	33	26 (78.8%)	7 (21.2%)
1997	1426	*	*	46	39 (84.8%)	7 (15.2%)
1998	854	*	*	58	51 (87.9%)	7 (12.1%)

*Breakdown by Male/Female not available.

Source: Table (iv) supplied by Officers Records, DFHQ, July 1999

The Cadet Competition figures show again that successful female candidates are seriously underrepresented in the total figures. On average, 77.3% of the applicants are male (taken from 1994-1996 breakdown), with on average 86.3% of the successful candidates being male. If the figures in relation to the recruit and cadet competitions tell an interesting story, then the opinions of the women interviewed for this study make for interesting reading also.

As the emergent design of the interview schedule developed, the question of the number of women serving in the PDF and the question of fairness in their recruitment at all levels arose.

All of the female officers interviewed who had been involved in the conduct of interviews for Cadetships confirmed the existence of such a quota system. The figures in table (iv) provided by DFHQ would appear to be consistent with the claims of the majority of women interviewed, that a quota system for the allotment of female cadetships is in operation. To quote just one such officer:

Yes there is a quota system in operation. Even to the extent of this year's competition. I think we're still stuck in the old school, we're still in a minority – they just don't want us in there.
(Interview No. 9, 16/4/99)

On the question of numbers of women in the PDF, of the sixty women interviewed, 53 women indicated that they would like to see more women recruited. Their attitude to the recruitment of women could be summed up by interviewee number 44 who stated, "It's building up. The percentage of women is increasing. The more coming in, the better".
(11/9/99)

Of those women interviewed, four stated that for them, the breakdown by sex of the PDF was simply not an issue. Interviewees Number 3, 17, 22 and 23 (all officers) indicated that this subject was not an issue for them:

I think that candidates for the PDF should be assessed on their capabilities. The best soldier, regardless of sex.

(Interview Number 3, 13/4/99)

Interviewee No. 17 stated:

There's too much emphasis on gender breakdown. I feel, just take the best candidates. The sex of proposed candidates is not an issue.
(29/7/99)

Interviewees 22 and 23 respectively indicated that for them, the numbers of women in the job did not exercise them. "It never really bothered me. I haven't really thought about it",
(Interview 22, 9/8/99). "I'm not saying we've reached our quota, but it's certainly not an issue". (Interview No. 23, 10/8/99)

Three of the interviewees indicated quite strongly that they felt there were enough, if not too many, women in the PDF.

Women probably perform better at interviews. But you couldn't have an all female recruit intake. There should be more men than women in the army. Men are physically stronger. There are jobs that require that – and we need the men for that. The majority should be men, definitely.
(Interview No. 19, 27/7/99)

Interviewee No. 39 had this to say: “There are enough women. If there were any more, there'd be too many problems”. (Interview No. 39, 10/9/99)

One of the women went so far as to say that military service was unsuited to women and motherhood. “I wouldn't be in favour of more women. You'd have no army if you brought in all women. If they have families, they won't go overseas”. (Interview No. 11, 19/4/99)

The vast majority of the women interviewed however, 53 out of 60, indicated that they would like to see more women in the PDF. Many expressed the opinion that they were working as a minority group, and that this was unhealthy. “Seriously outnumbered”. (Interview No. 15, 20/4/99)

“There aren't enough (women) for a healthy working environment”. (Interview Number 27, 24/8/99). “Until there is an equilibrium, then we'll still be exhibits”. (Interview No 38, 8/9/99). The majority of female personnel I spoke to felt they were very much a minority group within the organisation, and that this fact was disempowering. “We're too small to make any difference. We have no voice. You'd need between 17% to 30% to have an impact”. (Interview No. 33, 31/8/99)

One interviewee, (number 8) referred explicitly to critical mass:

No. There aren't enough of us. I think the research shows you need at least 10% for critical mass to have an impact on the organisation.
(15/4/99)

In the control sample, of the 17 women interviewed in Lebanon, 16 felt there were not enough women in the PDF. I feel this was consistent with the sample obtained through networking.

In terms then of fairness, in terms of whether or not women in the PDF felt that the PDF was indeed an equal opportunity employer, the following points arose:

Of the 60 interviewed, 48 felt the system was unfair towards women. Of these 48, 30 expressed explicitly their belief that a quota system was in operation for female recruitment at all levels.

Twelve out of the 60, or 20% of the overall sample, felt that the systems in place for the recruitment of women were fair, and that the PDF was an equal opportunity employer. Of the 17 interviewed in the control sample, 4 of the women indicated that they felt that the recruiting system was fair.

As stated, 50% of the women interviewed felt that a quota system was in operation for the recruitment of women. Many women, particularly NCO's and officers who had been involved in interview boards claimed to have had first hand experience of this quota system.

The system had all the appearance of being fair, but there are agendas at Brigade level to impose quotas on women coming in. On the Cadet Interview Boards I've been involved in, I've had a quota explicitly stated. One board didn't mention a quota, but funnily enough, the exact same number of females came in that year. The Cadets this year could tell you how many females are coming in this year.
(Interview No. 24, 11/8/99)

This view is echoed repeatedly throughout the sample for both officers and other ranks.

(B)efore the interview takes place, the army decides beforehand how many females they're going to take and they stick by that. Even though they might have 20 females who are suitable and more than qualified, you'll never get a platoon of recruits with twenty women. I've been in the army for two years and in that time there's always a maximum of seven women.
(Interview No. 14, 20/4/99)

(There are normally seven soldiers per section in an infantry platoon)

Thirty of the women referred specifically to an alleged quota system which they felt was in operation and which was unfair towards women. The other 18 women from the sample cited other reasons as to why the recruiting system was biased towards men. Interviewee No. 5 put forward a novel theory:

In the overall selection there is a preference for men. The male is more compliant and is happy to do the brain-dead work. I mean, who would stand in the road ten hours a day up in Al Yatun. And volunteer again and again?
(Interview No. 5, 14/4/99)

('Stand in the road' refers to check point duty in Lebanon)

Other women felt that at the interview and selection process, they were compared to men, and that they were disadvantaged in the comparison.

When I was interviewed I was asked; A fella can do x, y or z, can you? I felt I was being compared to men. I was told I'd be coming in to a man's environment.
(Interview No. 36, 8/9/99)

20% of the sample however felt the entry system for the army was fair. The emphasis in many of their answers is interesting; "Yes the system is fair. The women have to go through everything the men do. There's no favouritism". (Interview No. 42, 11/9/99). "Yes the system is fair. You have the same tests and interviews for men and women". (Interview No. 34, 6/9/99)

The overall attitude of the women I spoke to could be summed up in the following quotes;

They see the army as being for men.
(Interview No. 9, 16/4/99)

They say there's equal opportunities, but there isn't.
(Interview No. 13, 19/4/99)

They don't really want women in the army. If they had a choice between men and women, they'd take men first.
(Interview No. 21, 28/7/99)

The system is obviously not fair if only such a small percentage of women are in.
(Interview No. 6, 14/4/99)

80% of the service female personnel I interviewed believed that the induction system to the PDF is biased against women.

The results of both recruit and cadet competitions show there is a consistent core group of women who are interested in, and capable of military service. The women of the 1994 intake have performed as well as their peers to date. In some aspects they have outperformed their male peers. According to the figures given to me by Enlisted Personnel Section, the only recruits who were failed in their training, or who were found "not likely to become efficient" were male, (Source, E.P.S., Army Headquarters). The 5'3" females of the 1994 intake performed satisfactorily. The only personnel in 1999 who elected not to continue in service were female. (Source: Extension of Service Board, December 1998, Confidential)

5.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter provides an introduction to the workplace setting of the PDF, which is the focus of chapters five to eight of the thesis. Section one highlights the emphasis throughout subsequent chapters on the collective status of female personnel within the organisation in terms of numbers recruited ('critical mass'), empowerment through training ('education'), deployment ('experience') and promotion or access to 'strategic power'. Chapters five to eight profile the status and roles assigned female personnel throughout the organisation. The data presented in chapter five is examined in order to establish any evidence of a "women's effect" as described by Howes and Stephenson (1993:51) or "commitment" as described by Reskin and Padavic (1994:87) in terms of the numbers of women recruited to the organisation.

The second section of the chapter provides a brief account of the advent of the recruitment of women to the organisation. The section outlines the proposed establishment of a 'Women's Service Corps'. This section highlights the recommendations of the 'Committee on the establishment of a Women's Service Corps' which advocated lower pay for female personnel and the automatic termination of service for female personnel on becoming pregnant. The section concludes with the decision of the military authorities to abandon the concept of a 'Women's Service Corps' in favour of integrated service for women. This decision was reached in light of the provisions of the equality legislation enacted at that time.

Section three of the chapter contains a semiotic analysis of the uniform chosen for female personnel entering into service with the Defence Forces. The semiotic analysis links the highly gendered accoutrements of the female issue uniform and the original vision of separate service for women where they would be confined to clerical, driving, observer and welfare duties. The female pattern uniform, it is argued, was designed with a specific pattern of employment for female personnel in mind. Practical considerations meant that the female pattern uniform was more suited to secondary or support roles within the organisation. The symbolic importance of dress, especially in status related matters is emphasised by Argyle, (1978:331-332). In being denied participation in ceremonial duties on the basis of the uniform chosen for them by the military authorities, women found themselves denied the "strong feelings of dependence and togetherness" (Argyle 1978:193) provided for in such rituals or their full and public integration into the organisation. In essence, the uniform chosen for female personnel reflected the roles and status envisaged for them both practically and symbolically.

Section four of the chapter elaborated on this consideration of the practical and symbolic impact of the female pattern uniform with the inclusion here of data obtained at interview. A number of key points arise from the interview data. The vast majority of those women interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the female pattern uniform. Specifically, 46 of the 60 women interviewed expressed the view that the female pattern hat ought to be withdrawn. Many of those interviewed expressed a preference for a beret as worn by their male colleagues. Of the 19 officers interviewed, 14 expressed a preference for a peaked cap like those worn by their male peers citing status-related reasons for this change. Fifty-three of the women expressed dissatisfaction with the skirt as issued, with 58 advocating the right of female personnel to exercise a choice between wearing a skirt or trousers. Fifty-four of the 60 women interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the slip-on shoes as issued by the military, pointing out the difficulties caused when attempting to march in this style of footwear. Fifty-seven of the 60 reported not being able to obtain combat boots in their size. The data gathered here suggests that female personnel face many problems generated by a uniform, which was chosen for them by others. Many practical difficulties remain for female personnel in attempting to match the clothing chosen for them with the setting in which they work. It is significant to note that of the 60 women interviewed, only one has ever been asked for an opinion on any aspect of the female pattern uniform or the scale of issues of clothing and equipment to female personnel.

Section five of the chapter provides an outline of the methods in which personnel are recruited to the Defence Forces. Tables (i) and (ii) provided by the military authorities show the rank structure as it applies to other ranks, junior and senior non commissioned officers and junior and senior officers. Section six of the chapter deals specifically with the recruitment of other ranks (female) to the PDF from 1982 to date. A combination of sources and methods are utilised here in order to assemble the data presented. These include those figures for recruitment provided by the military authorities in table (iii) and information obtained during participant observation. The trebling in the numbers of women in the Defence Forces in recent years is explained as being the result of a sudden growth in numbers recruited to the Defence Forces since 1994 against a backdrop of a twelve-year embargo on recruitment. Despite this unprecedented growth in the numbers of women in the Defence Forces, the data still gives cause for concern in relation to the numbers of women being recruited to the PDF. The section contains evidence of quotas for the recruitment of female personnel, restrictive entry criteria in the form of arbitrary changes in the height requirement for female applicants and the citing of infrastructural reasons to justify quotas. The figures provided by the military authorities in table (iii) indicate the existence of an all-male intake of recruits in 1995. The table in its total figures suggests that women comprise 15.3% of the

total numbers applying for recruitment with women comprising 12.4% of those being recruited to the organisation.

Section seven deals with the recruitment of female cadets to the PDF. As was the case with the recruitment of other ranks (female) a combination of sources and methods was used to assemble the data presented on female cadet competitions. Table (iv) supplied by the military authorities contained figures relating to the 1994-1998 cadet competitions. The figures for the 1994-1996 competitions show that on average, women comprise 22.7% of all applicants. The figures for the same period show that women comprise 13.7% of candidates accepted and awarded cadetships. The figures provided show that women comprised 13.7% of all candidates accepted over the period 1994-1998.

Incorporated into section seven is the data obtained at interview on the subject of the induction of women to the Defence Forces. Fifty-three of the sixty women interviewed indicated that there ought to be more women in the Defence Forces. Forty-eight of the sixty women interviewed stated that they felt the system of entry was biased against women. Of these 48, 30 women expressed explicitly their belief that a quota system was in operation for female recruitment at all levels.

The recruitment of women to the Defence Forces, despite the fact that the numbers of women in the PDF have trebled in recent years, gives cause for concern for a number of reasons. Despite the numbers of women having trebled within the organisation, the numbers of women are very low (approximately 3% at time of writing) by comparison with other military (an average of 15% for all active NATO forces) and the remainder of the public service (48%). Fifty per cent of those women interviewed stated explicitly that they believed a quota system was in operation in the recruitment of women to the Defence Forces. Eighty percent of those interviewed felt that the induction system to the PDF is biased against women. The inferences drawn from the data here are dealt with in some detail in chapter ten and ought to be of concern to the military authorities. It is significant to note that none of the women interviewed was ever consulted by the military authorities or asked for feedback on the manner in which they were recruited to the PDF.

CHAPTER SIX

The training environment of the PDF: integrated training and bullying in the workplace

In this chapter I will refer to recruit and cadet training within the defence forces in light of international trends in integrated training. Following the consideration of 'commitment' in terms of numbers of women recruited to the organisation in chapter five, this chapter assesses the "education" component of the setting (Reskin and Padavic, 1994). Through an examination of archival data (syllabi of training, training policy etc) and the data obtained at interview, an assessment of the PDF's equality of opportunity agenda as it applies to the training opportunities afforded women in the PDF is possible. The chapter considers international trends in military training, the history of the training of women in the PDF (for both other ranks and cadets), and considers the data accrued from interviews conducted. The data gathered as a result of a discussion on training where PDF culture "makes its mark" on entrants led to an unexpected and unanticipated discussion of bullying and sexual harassment within the PDF. This discussion is included in this chapter as it flowed logically from a discussion of the training environment. It is in accord with the emergent design and database management (DBM) system of the research protocol.

6.1 International trends in integrated training

In 1972 in the U.S., women first entered the Reserve Officer Training Programmes on civilian college campuses. The U.S. Army in 1976 opened all of its service academies (the U.S. Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, and the Army Academy, Westpoint) to women. By 1980 all three academies were co-educational (Holm, 1991; Moskos, 1990). In 1978, Congress abolished the WACs and women were integrated across all the services. After the Gulf War, 86% of all service 'Military Operational Specialities' or MOSs are open to women in the U.S.

Following the Gulf War, it is taken as military doctrine in both the United States and Britain that women will participate in combat and combat support units on land, at sea and in the air. The location of female personnel in combat units, combat support, or logistical and echelon units has given rise to an integrated training requirement. Quite simply put, units and personnel that fight together ought to train together.

The results of integrated training during World War Two, as witnessed by Marshall (D'Ann Campbell, 1993: 302) were more successful than single-sex training. This finding was reinforced in the nineteen seventies:

The army has conducted a series of studies and field tests on women's impact on Unit Performance. (MAXWAC and REFWAC) It was found that women generally performed their tasks as well as men and that any unit degradation was negligible or statistically insignificant. That was not what the Army had expected to find. (Holm, 1993: 401)

Based on these findings, Congress urged the army to conduct a "Women in the Army" study (WITA) to explore the further integration of women. Holm comments on a familiar sounding problem: "meanwhile qualified women were being denied entry into the army because of arbitrary ceilings imposed on female enlisted accessions". (Holm, 1993: 401)

The WITA studies prompted the adoption of the Military Enlistment Physical Strength Capacity Test (MEPSCAT) designed to match the soldier with the job or MOS. (Maginnis, 1992: 29) In this 1982 'Department of the Army report on Women in the Army Policy Review' an effort was made to assign people on the basis of their observed abilities, as opposed to blanket bans based on sex. Integration of women and the integration of training continued apace up to the Gulf War. The Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces (1992: 16) concluded that, "training programmes for strenuous MOSs should be gender-neutral; i.e. identical for men and women". The United States Military Academy Report on the Integration and Performance of Women at Westpoint (for the Defence Advisory Committee on Women in the Services) - (DACOWITS) in February 1992 found:

The integration of women within the Physical Program has advanced a long way since the initial entry of women in 1976 (...) there is no basis for suggesting that the Academy has lowered standards to accommodate women. Women's physical standards are quite demanding (...) (and) women are performing exceptionally. (1992: 45)

Since this report was published, women have achieved the highest accolades in the Service Academies, with women becoming Cadet Captains in Westpoint and Colorado Springs. This proves that women can 'hack it' in a fully integrated training regime and the studies quoted above show that standards overall are raised.

This has again been confirmed in recent studies. The US Army Research Institute of Environmental Medicine conducted a training experiment involving female participants in May of 1995. The experiment showed that after 24 weeks of training the women passed the

MEPSCATs for all MOSs. Furthermore, these women were found to be capable of lifting 75-100 pound weights. (As U.S. Servicewomen they were, on average, only 5 feet 3 inches in height). A similar experiment by the Ministry of Defence in England in December 1995 reached the same conclusion. (Brower, 1996: 13)

The gathering momentum of the integration of women in the military has yielded some dividends for female personnel. The U.S. National Defence Authorisation Act of 1993 repealed the 1948 statutory limitations of the assignment of women to many combat roles. The momentum has also yielded some recognition for female personnel. To counter discrimination within the military, the Army Secretary, Togo D. West, stated on December 29th, 1996 that the policy on recruitment and training was this:

If you want the best army, you choose the best people to do it, regardless of sex, regardless of race and regardless of background.
(New York Times, 29th December, 1996: 14)

In effect this has opened up over 80,000 new jobs to women. (Gutmann, 1997: 20) It puts into perspective PDF policies in relation to recruitment which appear to limit the numbers of women gaining access to paid work in the military. It is clear, from the experiences of women in integrated formations, with their presence in Combat and Support Units, their co-location with men implies imperatively the necessity to train men and women together for a likely combat encounter. This is accepted best practice in both the US and British armies.

6.2 Recruit training within the PDF

The initial intake of women into the PDF prompted the military authorities to amend the training syllabus for recruits. A new and revised syllabus was drawn up in 1982, TS INF 8/90 (Females) and TS 10/90 (Females), tailored to what the General Staff felt were the needs of these female personnel. The new syllabi drawn up for women did not include section tactical training (offence and defence), counter insurgency training (COIN), or aid to the civil power training (ATCP OPs). The syllabi did contain an extended clerical, or Administration ('A') and logistics, ('Q') accountancy component. The women trained in an all-female platoon, were cloistered away from their male comrades. According to the military authorities:

There is very little difference in the training carried out by male and female two star soldiers in order to qualify them as three star soldiers. Females did not carry out any practical section/platoon in attack training and did not carry out patrols. Females did not carry out practical training in Cordon and Search and Riot Control. Females did however carry out a very comprehensive programme of training in Administration (39 hours) which their male colleagues did not complete. (Study Group, Female Soldiers, Director of Training, 11th November 1992: 2, para 4 - Confidential)

This syllabus almost guaranteed a pre-ordained gender division of labour within the PDF along gender discriminatory lines. The women who were trained in this way and assigned exclusively to the lower paid 'A' and 'Q' jobs within the PDF had no say in this policy. Oakley (1981:204) likens this assigned role, a role assigned without choice to the ascription of status based on caste:

Gender, like caste, is a matter of social ascription, which bears no necessary relation to the individual's own attributes and inherent abilities.
(Oakley, 1981: 204)

The female recruit platoon of 1990 was trained in a similar fashion. Their training syllabus was modified and they were trained as a single-sex unit. At this time however, female cadets were being trained in a fully integrated environment, and it was decided to integrate the training of female recruits. This policy change took place in 1992.

I had direct personal experience of this change in policy in 1992. As Platoon Commander of the 37th Apprentice Platoon, based in the Army Apprentice School (AAS) in Naas, I was responsible for the military training, administration and discipline of this group of thirty or so apprentices. The Platoon included two female apprentices, the first females to be admitted to the AAS. These female soldiers underwent a rigorous regime of military training for a period of one year under my supervision.

I brought the entire group for endurance training, combat runs, circuit training, route marches, forced marches, and extended periods of intense tactical training. The group successfully completed exercise "Scratch" in the Glen of Imaal, an exercise designed as a 'battle inoculation' to test the physical and mental endurance of each soldier. The platoon went on several long range patrols carrying 70+ pound packs in addition to weapons and ammunition in the Wicklow mountains. We trained extensively in offensive and defensive tactics, on simulated fighting patrols in an 'advance to contact' scenario, and a series of 72 hour defensive exercises.

During all phases of training, the performance of the two women was of a very high standard. At no point on extended periods in the field did the hoary old chestnuts of 'battlefield hygiene', 'menstruation', 'privacy' or women's 'relative lack of upper body strength' become an issue. The women displayed the same strengths and weaknesses as their male counterparts. The women became an integral part of the platoon, bonded well with their peers and unit cohesion and morale were high.

This was also my experience when involved in training the recruit intake of 1994. I was platoon commander for one of the three recruit platoons enlisted in the Curragh Command. All three recruit platoons deployed to the Glen of Imaal in May 1994 for an extended period of tactical training. The female recruits performed to a very high standard. They experienced the same privations and tests of endurance in the field as their male comrades. There was no noticeable difference in performance between the sexes.

The performance of these women in training contradicted many of the oft-repeated myths surrounding women in combat conditions. As stated previously, the hoary old chestnuts of battlefield hygiene and infrastructural deficits did not impact on the performance of female personnel in the field. This is in contradiction to the patriarchal dynamic identified in chapter three which interprets women's difference as deficit, particularly in settings imbued with constructed masculinity, where the masculine is seen as the norm. An example of this type of thinking which interprets women's difference as deficit would be evidenced in the U.S. army's investment in the 'Freshette Complete System'. (Guttmann, 1997: 19) This device was designed to allow women to urinate whilst standing up in areas where "foliage doesn't supply ample cover". (Ibid.: 19) In all of the time I have spent in tactical training with women in static positions or on the move, I have never known this to be an issue. I do however remember whilst overseas during heavy shelling in Lebanon, (operation Grapes of Wrath), an individual (male) who got to his knees in order to urinate under the cover of a low wall. Had he been wearing the "Freshette Complete System", he might have been decapitated whilst standing. The consideration of such a device obviously had no basis in reality or in objective task analysis, a recurring theme within this study, the basis, or rationale for such a device was based on ideology, as opposed to experience and the reality of the battlefield.

6.3 Cadet training within the PDF

This section concentrates mainly on issues around cadet training raised at interview and from a documentary analysis of PDF syllabi and policy in this area. It will be followed by a section

on bullying and harassment as impacting on the training environment of the PDF and concerning both the recruit and cadet training environments.

Officer training in the PDF takes place in the Cadet School, Military College in the Curragh Camp. Cadet training is both physically and mentally demanding. The syllabus is designed to push candidates to their limit in order to assess their command and control in a stressful environment. A cadetship lasts for a period of twenty-two months with an intensive curriculum involving tactical, weapons and leadership training. The aim of the course is to convert a school leaver or graduate into a competent army officer. This 'conversion' is not simply the attainment of a professional qualification; it is the induction or immersion of the individual into the collective culture and ethos of the officer corps of the PDF. In the vernacular of the Cadet School itself, one becomes a 'believer'. This almost religious conversion echoes the bonding process evident in priestly elites and monastic communities.

The first intake of female cadets in the PDF was trained at Sandhurst in England in 1980. The second intake of female cadets was trained in the Cadet School. Their presence forced the military authorities to consider the issue of integrated training. The 'problem' of female cadets could not be exported to Sandhurst indefinitely, and the Cadet School were forced (significantly by an outside agency) to come to grips with the situation.

It was decided that the female cadets would not undergo the heavy weapons block of instruction on the syllabus, but would complete a dress and deportment course instead. The reason given for this decision was that the heavy weapons course was "inappropriate and too demanding" for women. (Interviewees 8, 24, 15/4/99, 11/8/99). This was despite the fact that these women had completed their small arms and 'section in attack' training. Qualified in section tactics (where one must 'close with and destroy the enemy'), these women had shown the necessary levels of fitness, skill at arms and aggressive command and control required at assessment.

A task analysis of this type of manoeuvre shows it to be the most physically demanding task required of the infantry soldier. A similar analysis of the support weapons commander's role show it to be a rather less demanding tasking. The objections of the college staff to women undergoing this training were based on cultural taboos rather than on physical reality. The problem of poor task analysis and curriculum design has been observed elsewhere in the military:

Military curriculum - design efforts are continually handicapped by shortage of experts (...) poor analysis of how to match training to jobs, inadequate performance measurements, inadequate prescriptions for deciding how to train.
(Ellis, 1986: 1)

The College staff at that time were perhaps guided by prejudices and bias in relation to female personnel, rather than by an objective assessment of their potential. Rather than realising the full potential of these cadets, rather than training them in how best to exploit organic infantry firepower, the military authorities detailed them to attend dress and deportment lessons. This discriminatory treatment had the effect of seriously retarding the potential of these women as officers of the PDF. The practice was in breach of the guidelines for equality of opportunity in the workplace as outlined for the Public Service:

Departments should ensure that on and off the job training is equally available to all staff and encourage a balanced participation by both men and women in training opportunities available to them.
(Par 18, Training: 7)
(Equal Opportunity Policy and Guidelines for the Civil (Public) Service)

To deny women full access to training within the military setting denies them their full potential as soldiers. The reluctance on the part of the military to accept women as fully - fledged soldiers has been noted elsewhere. U.S. Congresswoman, Pat Schroeder pointed out:

(T)hat the admission of women to the service academies was inevitable and that she wondered why the Department of Defence was fighting it. She observed that bureaucracies are often not responsive to changing circumstances. Women should go to the service academies for the same reason men go - she said - to pursue a military career, to be pilots, to get a good education.
(Holm, 1993: 308)

The problems highlighted in the segregation of female cadet training have to some extent been addressed and since 1990 all cadets, both male and female, undergo the same syllabus of training. Despite the initial resistance displayed by the military authorities to the notion of fully integrated training for men and women, this did not deter female personnel from pursuing a military career. Many women welcome the opportunity to challenge received beliefs about their proper place in society. One American officer stated that she "welcomed the challenge to confront chauvinists on a daily basis" (Moskos, 1990: 10).

This robust response towards chauvinistic attitudes was reflected in the views of those female personnel I interviewed. In discussing training, an issue which all of the women addressed in the interview schedule, a pattern of observations emerged. In discussing the status and roles

assigned women in the PDF the women I interviewed all referred to the issue of training, and the bearing it had on their deployment.

As mentioned earlier and discussed in chapter three, Adler (1994) would argue that women are segregated in the workforce as a means of limiting their status, and that this can be reinforced by 'Human Capital Inequities', in the form of being deprived of training opportunities. (Reskin and Padavic, 1994) The E.E.A. (1998) also warns of the dangers of lowering the training and work experience threshold for women. The women I spoke to had some interesting observations to make on the issue of training.

Of the sixty women interviewed, all of the women mentioned the issue of their training, and commented on its quality. They had many suggestions about how the quality of the training might be maintained and ways in which it might be improved. Of the sixty, eight stated explicitly that their training had not been up to standard, and that their training was not on a par with their male peers'. (Interviewees 2, 5, 8, 10, 19, 22, 24 and 32) Interestingly, all of these women were members of the first all-female recruit platoon, or members of the first two cadet classes. On the part of the former, as mentioned previously, these women were trained as a single sex unit and with a different syllabus of training to the men. In the case of the latter, these women underwent a different syllabus of training and did not undergo certain tactical phases including heavy or support weapons, and counter-insurgency training. Their comments on these issues make for interesting reading:

Nobody was ready for us. What we should and shouldn't do was so vague. We never went to the Glen of Imaal for tactical training (...) (A)t our passing out parade, our platoon wasn't allowed to carry weapons. And we had done weapons training.
(Interview No. 2, 13/4/99)

Interviewee No. 5, also a member of the first female recruit platoon, resented this aspect of their training:

We didn't do a proper three star course of training. We lost out on some of the tactics. I was twenty-two. My dad was in the army. I knew it wasn't the same training. It belittled us. Like they tried to daddy us. I suppose it came from some misguided urge to protect us. It was a total, total disadvantage for us.
(14/4/99)

One of the officers from the first cadet class to train in the cadet school had this to say:

We were the first batch to be trained in the cadet school. They wanted to see if we'd die if we fired a rifle etc. We didn't do the 84, the 60, or the GPMG SF. We were

“non combatant” at the time. Yes, and we got no Sam Browne when we were commissioned. That didn’t come until 1984 when the girls complained. We also did a grooming course. They got an air-hostess. We enjoyed it. It was very beneficial. As an officer, one’s expected to look the part and have a minimum of social skills. It’s a pity the guys didn’t do it as well. I know some who needed it (...) Of course, then you get subordinates and superiors calling you ‘luv’. And there are some senior officers who’ll embarrass the life out of you. Like when you’d be at a function and you’d have some eejit of a colonel falling over you making remarks. You’d never see them talking like that to one of the lads.
(Interview No. 8, 15/4/99)

Interviewee No. 24 also mentions the grooming course:

We did a dress and deportment course. Right down to the basics, - like putting on eye-shadow. It did wonders for Lancome. The day before we were commissioned – they sent us loads of samples. I’ve stayed with them since. But we were very upset too. Doing walking classes when we felt we were soldiers. It was like they were pretending all along we were integrated but they treated us differently. We were definitely more integrated though than the first cadet class.
(Interview No. 24, 11/8/99)

These eight women were unanimous in stating that their training was not as effective as that for their male colleagues. All eight were also adamant that the integrated training of the nineties was a huge improvement in the training environment. All agreed that they were handicapped in terms of being able to function as officers, and in competing for promotion by their being treated differently. They detailed to me many examples of this disadvantage. For example:

Because I missed out on the tactical training, I wasn’t allowed to train recruits. I looked to see the Brigade Commander. The Brigade Commander said no. “I wouldn’t like my daughter to do that job. I think you need a man to show troops what’s what. Anyway you’re not qualified”.
(Interview No. 24, 11/8/99)

Of the remaining fifty-two interviewed, fifty were trained in an integrated environment. (Two of those interviewed were direct-entries, a doctor and a pharmacist, and neither of the two women underwent basic military training). The fifty who underwent integrated training felt they were every bit as effectively trained as their male peers. Many went so far as to say that they were better trained in that they had had to invest more effort than their male peers:

Even more so. Our basic level of fitness was lower. We had to train harder to make it.
(Interview No. 15, 20/4/99)

We did the same training and more. We had to prove ourselves. We didn't even have the same facilities as the lads. We were under the spotlight. It was harder for us.

(Interview No. 27, 24/8/99)

Yes, and in other ways more. You're more determined for a start. You put up with more. You're pushed to your limit a lot more than the guys. On exercise Aughavannagh one of the guys hit the pain barrier and he said to me, "Now I know what it's like for the females – it's like this all the time for you". The sad part is, when our junior class came in, I heard one of the guys tell them, "In time, you'll learn to hate your females".

(Interview No. 29, 26/8/99)

Forty-three of the women interviewed expressed complete satisfaction with the integrated system of training. Many of those interviewed endorsed its value as a mechanism for unit cohesion, or the 'bonding' of troops.

During the training, one of NCO's just had a major problem with females. Not one of us. All of us. When we'd be out for a run, he'd say, 'all right girls, which one of you is going to drop out today?'. He was a pain in the arse. A sexist pig. When we were on tactics the first time in camo (camouflage) cream – he called us out and called us the oompah loompahs and made us walk past the lads. He would always make us sing 'Barney' songs in the truck. One girl in particular he used to call "fat arse". At the start of the training the lads were very distant. By the end, we got on great. We were all in it together. And when we passed out, the guys gave that bastard no end of shit. No one talks to him.

(Interview No. 14, 20/4/99)

Some of the NCO's would play the men versus the women thing, and end up saying, you're not as good as him and all that. But we all worked together. We were having none of it.

(Interview No. 20, 28/7/99)

Seventeen of the women interviewed, although in favour of integrated training, were critical of the manner in which physical training, and fitness in general is approached in the PDF in its training establishments. Many complained that the PT was "punitive", (Interview No. 1, 12/4/99) and the training was not "scientific or programmed". (Interview Numbers 3, 7, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 40, 45).

The PT was used primarily as a punishment. As an instrument for bullying. Having come from an athletic background, I would say the system was very poor. It didn't allow for individual variations.

(Interview No. 18, 23/7/99)

The attitude in PT always was: This is a boys' club. A big boys' club. They used to put the biggest guys up front and run the rest of us into the ground. It had nothing to do with training objectives. It had everything to do with humiliating the women.

(Interview No. 13, 19/4/99)

In the army you know, physical stature gets confused with competence all the time.
(Interview No. 16, 21/4/99)

Twenty five of the women I interviewed in outlining this aspect of their training linked it to an abusive or bullying training regime, common to both the recruit and cadet intake. It is an aspect of training that makes for disturbing reading and certainly would give food for thought for the military authorities. The women's accounts of such incidents range in severity but were experienced by recruits, apprentices and cadets alike. The following are some examples.

In training we got a bit of stick for falling behind on runs. The NCOs would say, look lads, are you going to let these bitches away with it? Leave them behind, they're fucking useless.
(Interview No. 20, 28/7/99)

Monkey see, monkey do. There was a fetish about fitness. And it has nothing, I mean nothing, to do with the job. But they used it as a stick to beat us with. In the cadet school, they used it to focus resentment on us. You come out with your confidence, your self-esteem – everything lowered.
(Interview No. 26, 13/8/99)

The cadet captain had a real problem with women. Women shouldn't be in the army and all that. After one of the runs he told me that if I was a guy he'd have thumped me for slowing everyone down.
(Interview No. 29, 26/8/99)

At the start of the training the NCOs thought they were on to a good thing with the three of us (females) in the platoon. When that didn't happen, when it came to P.T., it was abuse, abuse, abuse.
(Interview No. 35, 7/9/99)

The P.T. was just a screw session. One NCO was an out and out bastard. He hated women. He used to call us fat cunts, fat cows, useless heaps of shit. The lads would see this and start abusing us too. It was their ticket. P.T. was his happy hour. I don't think he was mentally fit for recruit training.
(Interview No. 45, 12/9/99)

Interviewee No. 44 summed up the attitude of many of the victims of this type of bullying;

Yes. There was the usual remarks from some of the NCOs. You know. There shouldn't be women. But they're just arseholes.
(Interview No. 44, 11/9/99)

Of the seventeen women interviewed in the Lebanon, as the control group of interviewees, all seventeen felt that their training was as effective as that for their male colleagues. This is consistent with the attitudes of the sample of respondents interviewed at home. Of the

seventeen interviewed in Lebanon, nine specifically mentioned P.T. as an area that could be improved, and seven complained of the alleged abusive or bullying behaviour of training staffs at the training institutions, (all of this sample were trained as recruits in Brigade Training Depots). These responses are consistent with those elicited from the sample interviewed at home.

This aspect of the data was unexpected and unanticipated. I was not aware of the extent and range of such experiences for female personnel, nor was I aware of the depth of feeling that accompanied these experiences. Despite being a 'knowledgeable insider', I was never the victim of workplace bullying and was not sensitive to this aspect of PDF culture. The fact that much of the bullying and harassment reported at interview was sexual in nature may also explain my prior insensitivity to its existence. The fact that I am a male officer in a male-dominated environment may have contributed to this lack of awareness of the impact on female victims of the categories of incidents listed in this chapter. The non-reporting of bullying in the workplace or the 'invisibility' of bullying in the workplace is much commented on in literature on adult bullying and bullying in the workplace. (Randall, 1997; Costigan, 1998) There is a general recognition in this literature of the insidious nature of workplace bullying along with the phenomena of victim-blaming and the non-disclosure of bullying. This is perhaps illustrated by the reaction of my colleagues in the following incident. I raised the issue of bullying in the workplace in December 1998. At the Eastern Brigade RACO Conference, I proposed a motion that:

RACO adopt as policy the Health and Safety Authorities' Guidelines (1998) on bullying in the workplace.
(RACO, E. Brigade Conference, Motion No. 22; Prop: Capt. T. Clonan. Sec: Capt. K. O'Sullivan, December 1998)

When I read out the motion, it was greeted with laughter. As I write, in October 1999, the motion has yet to be forwarded to the ADC.

The spontaneous laughter which greeted my proposal on the adoption of the Health and Safety Authority's guidelines on bullying in the workplace is perhaps symptomatic of a lack of sensitivity on the part of officers to this problem. Immersed in the 'masculine canteen culture' of the PDF, male officers, enjoying the privileges of rank and sharing the unquestioned cultural assumptions of a male dominated work environment, are perhaps not sensitive to the issue of the bullying of a small minority of female employees. I was certainly not conscious of this problem prior to interviewing female personnel for this study. I would have often seen pornography displayed in PDF workspaces and living areas, but would have

never given it a second thought, assuming that this was a convention peculiar to the 'masculine' setting of the military and an inevitable circumstance in a male dominated workplace. There are many portrayals of this masculine culture applying to the military in popular and commercial iconography. The 'pin up girl' is synonymous with soldiers, sailors and aircrew world-wide.

My sensitivity to this problem came about as a result of having engaged in reflective practice and professionalisation by research. The liberal feminist agenda advocates regulatory and educational initiatives to advance equality and parity of esteem in the workplace. The insight to the problem of workplace bullying and harassment gained through reflective practice and research, allied to the liberal feminist perspective adopted in the theoretical outline, leads me to conclude that there is a requirement for explicit policies to increase worker's sensitivity to this problem. The data which follows arose from a straightforward discussion on training and led to the categories which comprises the next section in this chapter on bullying, harassment and sexual harassment in the workplace. As the subject arose in the discussion of the training environment, it is included in this chapter on the training environment of the PDF.

6.4 Bullying and Harassment within the PDF

Within the scope of the unstructured and informal interview format, certain common themes in relation to bullying and harassment arose from a general discussion of the training regime within the PDF. The headings, or themes discussed in this section are not intended as an exhaustive or authoritative account of bullying within the PDF. The categories of incidents included here are simply those which the interviewees raised themselves. The Health and Safety Authority, the EEA, and the law all provide for a more comprehensive list of what constitutes bullying, harassment in the workplace, and sexual harassment. What is examined in this section is, as I previously stated, what the women I spoke to brought up themselves. In this way, I have attempted to allow the data to speak for itself. It should be noted that this portion of the study was entirely unanticipated and that what follows constitutes an 'emergent' theme, or a 'broadening' of the research focus, "as the data suggests it". (Maykut, 1996: 64)

The issue of harassment in general and sexual harassment in particular arose out of a general discussion on the training environment of the PDF. Remarks such as the following provided an entree to the subject:

I know that we are all equal. But. I don't like the way women are treated, not as soldiers, but as women. As in sexual harassment. The younger women are experiencing a lot of sexual harassment (...) The lid is going to blow off this (...) There's a terrible fear of complaining though. You know. They'll say, "if they can't hack the hassle from the lads, then they're not fit to be a soldier".
(Interview No. 2, 13/4/99)

The above mentioned interviewee, the second woman I interviewed, a sergeant with 18 years' service, provided the first indication of such a problem within the PDF. As a man, and as an officer, I had not experienced such harassment, and as such, presumed it did not exist. Its existence however was confirmed in interviews with other women, of all ranks. One female officer stated:

There is a huge problem in the Cadet School with sexual harassment, bullying and intimidation. It's a colossal problem. When the lid blows off this. How long will it take though? When women come out of the Cadet School, their self-esteem about their appearance, their confidence, their intelligence, everything is gone. They're made to feel useless. I wouldn't recommend the army as a career to women. No fucking way.
(Interview No. 12, 19/4/99)

In discussing the matter further with the interviewees, the following categories, or common areas of experience arose. As stated in the methodology chapter, as a male interviewer, and as an officer, many of the women I spoke to may have been reluctant to disclose any or all of the information on this matter. Therefore I would repeat that what follows is not claimed as a comprehensive account of the issues raised, but more a qualitative insight into one aspect as experienced by women of the 'masculine' work culture of the PDF.

- Inappropriate comments on dress.

Of the forty-three women interviewed in Ireland, twenty-six mentioned the experience of having inappropriate remarks made to them about dress, (uniform and civilian clothes alike). Of the seventeen women interviewed in Lebanon, two mentioned such incidents. The type of remark reported in the interviews could be summed up in the following examples:

When I was a second lieutenant, I had one C.O. who would ask me if I was wearing a bra. He told me he preferred it when women didn't wear a bra. Also, after coffee one day, he got the adjutant to ask me not to cross my legs at coffee as it distracted the Commandants.
(Interview No. 33, 31/8/99)

Another officer mentioned the following:

Yes, you would hear things. The adjutant in my first unit told me to go to the Quartermaster and get a tighter jumper. He said it would show off my figure better. (Interview No. 18, 23/7/99)

The women who mentioned these incidents stressed to me that these incidents were commonplace, and that "they go with the territory". (Interview No. 8, 15/4/99)

One interviewee, a private with four years' service summed the situation as follows:

Yes. You get so many comments on dress, you just ignore them after a while. They go in one ear and out the other. (Interview No. 21, 28/7/99)

These sentiments are echoed by an officer with three years service:

You know, they come out with things like, look at the arse of her in those combats, and such like. You get that. But you get so conditioned, so used to it, you don't even notice any more. (Interview No. 29, 26/8/99)

Currently, there are no guidelines within the PDF which refer to inappropriate remarks about dress, or appearance.

- Inappropriate remarks about appearance.

Of the forty-three women interviewed in Ireland, sixteen reported incidents of inappropriate and offensive remarks made about their physical appearance with regard to looks, or body shape. Of the seventeen women interviewed in Lebanon, three mentioned such incidents. These incidents varied in seriousness. Many, such as interviewees 21, 32, 44 and 45 complained about constant references to their weight made by peers and superiors:

On P.T. once, when I was about 11 stone, the P.T.I. (P.T. Instructor), in front of the whole platoon, said I was a big girl. Or words to that effect. I wouldn't like to repeat what he said. But they were very offensive remarks. (Interview 21, 28/7/99)

Interviewee No. 32 had this to say:

They say things about your body. Like, your arse, or your hips are too big, especially when you're eating. (Interview No. 32, 1/9/99).

One interviewee related the following incident to me:

They say things in jest, which they really mean in earnest. It's a constant thing, but it's really bad overseas. One of the girls in my section had a problem with facial hair. The lads sellotaped a razor to her door. I reported the matter. It was treated like a practical joke, a prank. But she was devastated.
(Interview No. 19, 27/7/99)

- Remarks of a sexually explicit nature.

Of the forty-three women I interviewed in Ireland, eighteen of those gave accounts of incidents in which remarks of a sexually explicit and offensive nature were made to them. Of the seventeen women interviewed in the Lebanon, ten mentioned such incidents. This total of twenty-eight out of sixty of the population sampled represents almost half of those surveyed.

One interviewee, an officer with seventeen years' service, spoke about the severity of the matter as perceived by the women:

One guy, I walked into his office and he was reading a porno magazine. He showed it to me and said, I bet you'd be good at this. Some of the remarks people make are downright nasty. It's debilitating overseas. It's downright dangerous. Some of the women I know, especially the vulnerable ones, would be suicide risks.
(Interview No. 33, 31/8/99)

Of the twenty-eight responses I received on this subject, only one was reluctant to go into the detail of such remarks. (Interview No. 23) The following example however would be typical of the type of remarks outlined in the interviews.

When I was in stores getting kit issue, the Quartermaster said to me. If I was 30 years younger, you wouldn't bend down like that in front of me, I wouldn't be long giving you one up the arse.
(Interview No. 32, 1/9/99)

Of the twenty-eight incidents mentioned in the interviews, twenty-six of them involved a person senior in rank to the interviewee. Nowhere in the PDF, DFRs, SOPs or guidelines is there any reference to the use of explicit language, inappropriate language or innuendo.

One officer outlined the inhibition and frustration such an environment can produce:

As cadets we had one NCO in particular who used to make really disgusting remarks about our swimsuits. Now as an officer, nearly everything I say is given a double entendre. From talking to civvie friends, I'm assured it doesn't happen so much outside. It's at the stage that I've given up saying things in front of certain officers. I just say nothing at coffee now. I read the paper.
(Interview No. 16, 21/4/99)

- Unwelcome Advances in the Workplace.

Of the forty-three women interviewed in Ireland, twenty reported incidents involving unwelcome advances in the workplace. Seven of the seventeen women interviewed in the Lebanon detailed such incidents. Of the twenty-seven alleged incidents, twenty-five involved NCOs and officers senior to the interviewees. Under the terms of DFR A 7, relationships between superiors and subordinates are strongly discouraged. Such relationships, between members of different rank in the same unit are considered “prejudicial to good order and discipline”, and are therefore an offence under military law. DFR A 7, Administration Instruction, A 7, “Interpersonal Relationships in the Defence Forces” legislates for the disposal of charges in relation to unwelcome advances in the workplace. (This document is considered in more detail in the chapter on legal aspects of PDF policy in relation to female personnel). The attitude of female personnel to the army system in relation to dealing with allegations of harassment and assault is dealt with at the end of this section.

The following quotes from interviewees give an indication of the tenor of female personnel’s attitudes in relation to such incidents and the system in place for dealing with them:

In five years I’ve had numerous advances. In the first three or four months, going into the canteen at night was a minefield. Every night they’d be trying it on. As recruits, we had to live in, there was nowhere else to go to socialise and relax. Except you couldn’t relax. One guy came into my room at 3 a.m., and tried to sleep with me. I had him charged. We had gone to the CS about him before. We’d warned him about this guy before. Nothing was done. They wouldn’t give us a lock. Nobody tried to stop it. He ended up being charged with being out of bounds or some other minor thing. He got away with it. It took two years and two attacks on females before he was allowed to go on voluntary discharge.
(Interview No. 30, 29/8/99)

One private with two years’ service described an incident in training:

One NCO in particular couldn’t take no for an answer. That NCO. We got a night pass. We bumped into the NCOs. That guy came on very strong. I told him no way. He made the slit your throat sign and said, wait ‘til Monday. He gave me a hard time after that. He obviously couldn’t handle rejection very well. I had a serious incident with him in the gas chamber. He was inside. He came over and told me to take the mask off. I said no. He ripped the mask off my face. I was coughing and retching. He grabbed me by the neck and kicked me out the door. This incident was reported by a male colleague. I was paraded by the Platoon Commander and asked if I wanted to make a complaint. But after what happened, I was so scared I said no.
(Interview No. 14, 20/4/99)

This fear of making an official complaint, especially when the interviewee is of junior rank or service, was quite marked and evident in the responses of the women interviewed. Of the twenty-seven who detailed such incidents, only two said they felt confident enough to complain. (These two were officers, Interviewee No. 24 and Interviewee No. 33)

The following examples give an idea of such reservations:

I've had a lot of harassment overseas. I've had two serious incidents. One involved an officer here. He stopped me in the Comcen (Communications Centre) one night when he was orderly dog, (orderly officer) and tried to kiss me. I told him to stop. He told me if that's the way I wanted to play it, I'd be going home on chalk one (thereby forfeiting two weeks overseas allowances). When I blew him out like that I found from then on it was, 'You can't do this, you can't do that'. I feel like saying it at my annual confidential. But I've everything to lose. I'd never get overseas again. (Interview No. 39, 10/9/99)

Interviewee No. 42, also serving in Lebanon, told a similar story:

I don't want to say. Just, someone senior to me. You don't want to be on your own with him. I found that out pretty quick. I had to deal with it myself. He's known for it. If I had complained I would have been told to cop on. (Interview No. 42, 11/9/99)

These experiences appear common to women of all ranks. Several officers, (nine of the nineteen interviewed) reported such incidents during the interview. The following are some examples:

I was the new second lieutenant in barracks. I was so young, around 20. There was the usual slieven there. A Captain. He's a commandant now. He made a completely unwelcome move on me. It happened on my first night as orderly officer. I was so proud of myself mounting and dismounting the guard. Then this happened. He took complete advantage of his rank and my innocence. When I think of it now, what he did to me. He completely undermined me. (Interview No. 18, 23/7/99)

The vast majority of the women interviewed in relation to this topic, twenty-five out of twenty-seven felt that they were not in a position to complain and expressed serious reservations about the army's system with such complaints. This aspect of the data is dealt with in more detail at the end of this section.

- **Offensive Graffiti, Notices, In Workplace.**

Offensive graffiti arose repeatedly as a subject for discussion during the interviews. Of the forty-three women interviewed at home, twenty brought up the subject of offensive graffiti. Of the seventeen women interviewed in Lebanon fourteen referred to the issue of offensive graffiti. Offensive graffiti is commonplace in certain PDF work areas. From my own observations and the observations of the women at interview, these locations are most

commonly guard rooms, toilets, transit billets in training areas and on posts in Portlaoise Prison and overseas.

Whilst the military authorities cannot be held to account for random acts of vandalism and the appearance of graffiti in the workplace, their reaction to, and manner of dealing with such a phenomenon, can be seen as an indicator of their attitude to their employees' welfare. The existence, prevalence and nature of such graffiti is also an indicator of the workplace culture and attitudes to women in the workplace.

Of the thirty four women who raised the issue of graffiti in the workplace, all of them highlighted as offensive, obscene references to women in the PDF. Of these thirty-four, twenty detailed examples of graffiti which made a personal reference to them, and which named them. In the vast majority of these cases, (seventeen out of twenty) the obscene text would appear on a sentry beat, or sentry post just prior to the woman being rostered for such duty. In some cases, an obscene note would be left in a prominent position. Many of the women interviewed complained about the army's attitude to such incidents:

You get a lot of graffiti in the magazine (Ammunition depot). Like 'x' did the entire third battalion. If you want a ride, call 'x' in the orderly room. You just have to put up with it. No one will own up to it, and the CS will say he's more 'important' things to be doing.

(Interview No. 28, 25/8/99)

When it happened to me, it was like this. I was on duty in Portlaoise. The corporal called me in and said, "look at this". He was laughing. So were the lads. It was something about me, and my name was written there. There wasn't much point in complaining to the corporal.

(Interview No. 31, 31/8/99)

When I was on the Magazine guard, I came across some graffiti about a colleague. It was on the beat. I complained to the corporal. He laughed at me.

(Interview No. 32, 1/9/99)

Another private had a similar attitude to the problem:

There's lots of graffiti about us on the posts. It's not just offensive, it's hurtful. I just try to wipe it off. It's too much hassle to complain. Sure who'd listen anyway?

(Interview No. 44, 11/9/99)

One private referred to what could be described as an institutionalised form of graffiti, with offensive 'cartoons' photocopied in the orderly room and posted on notice boards:

When we were doing our recruit training there was a poster put out. It had the five of us on it. Naked from the waist up. It had an NCO shouting at us, "we do all the nagging here". It was left up all day. That night during details, (cleaning offices, training areas etc.) we tore them down. The next day, the Platoon sergeant warned us that it was an offence to interfere with, or otherwise deface a unit notice board.
(Interview No. 21, 28/7/99)

Interviewee No. 2 (13/4/99) also referred to obscene notes/cartoons on official notice boards. It would appear that all ranks, including officers, are exposed to offensive and personalised graffiti:

I had a bad time in USAC, (University Service Army Complement, Renmore, Barracks, Galway). It started with obscene things written on my pigeon hole (mail box). I complained. Then someone started drawing obscene things on my door. I repainted the door myself. More than once. But it only got worse. I got a name then for rocking the boat. Some of my classmates still won't talk to me.
(Interview No. 33, 31/8/99)

Not all of those whom I interviewed were dissatisfied with the army's response to this issue. Two of the thirty-four who brought up the subject expressed satisfaction at how the matter was dealt with. Interviewee No. 40 had this to say:

I had this happen once. Something really bad was written about me on the Guard Room. I complained straight away to the CS. He backed me up 100%. It hasn't happened since. They made the Guard Commander clean it off. No one will write stuff now.
(Interview No. 40, 11/9/99)

The other interviewee who expressed satisfaction in relation to this issue took matters into her own hands:

We had graffiti in the Guard Room. Some of us were named in it. Cheeky bastard. So we had a chat and we went to the C.S. We said we wouldn't do duties until it was painted over, or got rid of. That was the end of that.
(Interview No. 35, 7/9/99)

- Exposure to Pornography (films) in the Workplace.

Of the forty-three women interviewed at home, twenty-nine stated that they had been in a workplace situation, i.e.: a guardroom, canteen, mess, or recreation room where a pornographic film was being played. Of the seventeen women interviewed in the Lebanon, twelve reported such an experience. Over two-thirds of the women interviewed confirmed their exposure to this phenomenon, mostly in the form of pornographic video tapes, and in two instances, in the form of a pay per view, soft porn channel. Most of the incidents took place in guard-rooms (twenty-nine) and overseas (eight). Four of the incidents took place in the cadet's mess.

From listening to the women's accounts of what they experienced a pattern begins to emerge. The following examples illustrate this pattern:

In my experience, blue movies are a common feature of guard-rooms.
(Interview No. 5, 14/9/99)

The B.O.S., (Barrack Orderly Sergeant) said to me on my first guard duty, "I hope you don't fucking think that because you're a woman that I won't be watching a blue movie tonight. I always watch one, and I'm not stopping for you".
(Interview No. 10, 16/4/99)

I was on stand to. I was told to go out on the beat, there's a film we want to watch. So I went. But I would be very uncomfortable about it. You know, on duty with twelve guys watching a porno movie. But you say nothing. It's hard enough to be one of the lads, but if you cause ripples, in the long run you'll only get a bad name for yourself. So you forget about it. You wouldn't get a good hearing anyway. Officers come and go.
(Interview No. 21, 28/7/99)

It was my first duty. My first guard in the Brugha, (Cathal Burgha Barracks, Rathmines). They put one on (pornographic video). I asked them to turn it off. They wouldn't. So I went out on the beat. I would have been laughed at if I complained.
(Interview No. 45, 12/9/99)

Many officers complained of the problem of pornographic films in workplace locations. Of the nineteen officers interviewed, nine complained of this problem. The most senior of those interviewed, a Commandant (and a Medical Officer) was exposed to this phenomenon:

There are plenty of blue movies played overseas. The battalion is awash with pornography. Up in the Medical Aid Post where I worked, the medical orderlies would have them on. I'd have to tell them to switch them off. There was nowhere to look.
(Interview No. 22, 9/8/99)

One captain stated:

There were porno films being played in the mess. And no, I never complained. I just used to walk out.
(Interview No. 33, 31/8/99)

A number of officers I interviewed related an interesting record of an incident that took place when they were cadets:

As cadets, the Bravo channel was being played at night in the cadet's mess. And there were some soft porn films being run on it. When we walked into the room, they wouldn't turn it off. The situation got worse and worse. They started putting on porno videos. After a confrontation with the guys, because it wasn't fair on the junior cadets – it wasn't a good example either – we approached a female member of the cadet school to have it sorted. The females all got paraded over it. The lads found out we'd gone to the office. There was a lot of hassle.
(Interview No. 13, 19/4/99)

This account was corroborated by the account of another officer of the same incident:

They were watching soft porn, on the Bravo channel. And the cadet's mess is for everyone. The junior cadet females wouldn't go in because of it. So I told them to stop watching it. They hid the remote control. Then the next night when I came in, they put on a porno video. We went to the office and complained. Myself and the other girls suggested that the Bravo channel be deactivated and blue movies be banned in the mess (...) (W)e were paraded by the Company Commander. We were all disciplined – the girls – for not “handling it right”. We got into the shit for complaining. The Class officer said that he wasn't going to interfere, that as cadets we should be able to sort it out. When the guys found out, they were obnoxious. It got worse after that.
(Interview No. 17, 22/7/99)

An alarming feature of these two accounts is the parading and cautioning of complainants. Exposure to the phenomenon seems to have been widespread and universal. Most of the women interviewed seemed reluctant to complain and did not appear empowered to do so. The structures for such grievances do not exist. Pornography, in whatever form, is not referred to in any PDF, DFRs, SOPs guidelines or administrative instructions. Its apparent prevalence is surely an unhealthy aspect of workplace culture. I doubt if it would be tolerated elsewhere. I cannot imagine a pornographic film being played in a financial institution, in a university faculty, or in any factory setting. There is a requirement surely for the military authorities to address this problem, and to refer to it specifically.

- Exposure to Pornography (Posters, Screensavers etc.) in the Workplace.

Of the forty-three women interviewed at home in Ireland, thirty-one mentioned that they had been exposed to pornographic images in the form of posters, calendars, playing cards, screensavers in the workplace. These images were encountered in stores, (seventeen of the sites), offices, (eleven of the sites), workshops, (two of the sites) and in a gymnasium (one of the sites).

Of the seventeen women interviewed overseas, fourteen stated that they had at one time or another been exposed to such images. This exposure took place in stores (nine of the sites),

and offices, (five of the sites). Most of the women interviewed indicated that the practice of displaying such images was declining. Nevertheless, the women interviewed found such images when encountered, offensive:

You don't see the page three girls so much now. Most of the lads would be mortified if we caught them with those on the wall. But you still get the die hards with them up. Usually in stores. One sleazy old bastard in our unit even asks you, "what do you think of the tits on her?"
(Interview No. 42, 11/9/99)

Yes, you still get the porno posters around the place. Here and there.
(Interview No. 45, 12/9/99)

It would appear that all ranks, privates, NCOs and officers are exposed to this phenomenon. One officer, a captain with eighteen years' service had the following experience:

I was overseas in Naqoura. When I logged on to the computer, I was greeted with a screensaver of a naked woman. I got the I.T. guys to replace them all. I was nearly going to put Brad Pitt or George Clooney on there, but I think we scanned in something boring – I think it was a tank of some sort.
(Interview No. 24, 11/8/99)

One interviewee, a sergeant, with eighteen years' service reported the following:

I used to play cards with the guys in the transport pool. They had a deck of cards with pictures of these topless women. So I asked them to get another set, which they did. That was it. They also took down a few dodgy posters that were there.
(Interview No. 19, 27/7/99)

Many of the women interviewed reported complaining about images they encountered in the workplace, (thirty out of forty-five). Their complaints appear to have been reasonably effective with all of them reporting some reduction thereafter in the prevalence of such images. It could be argued that this was a phenomenon that could be readily reported due to its blatant, concrete and publicly demonstrable or provable nature. There is also a link between the status (in terms of rank and/or experience) of the woman and their willingness to complain:

Just after I was commissioned, you'd see a fair few posters of naked women around the place. I used to pretend they weren't there. Like, when you're the new Second Lieutenant you don't want to make waves. But now I've clamped down on it. No way would I tolerate it now.
(Interview No. 29, 26/8/99)

Of the fifteen who reported encountering such images, and who expressed a reluctance, or fear of reporting or complaining to the military authorities, fourteen were private soldiers with only a short period of service, on a five year contract. Their responses varied but the following examples illustrate the general thrust:

There are a lot of those posters in the 'Q' stores. When we're going for our kit issue as recruits they were there. A year later they're still there. You'd be mad to complain. You'd be a laughing stock. You'd just get a name for yourself.
(Interview No. 20, 28/7/99)

You're better off just to ignore them. They'd say, "if you can't hack a few pictures here, how could you possibly handle six months in the Leb. With the lads?"
(Interview No. 27, 24/8/99)

As stated previously, there is no specific mention or reference to pornographic images in DFRs, SOPs or administrative instructions, nor are there any guidelines or policy documents, which explicitly prohibit their display.

- **Obscene Phone Calls and Letters.**

In the course of interviewing the women for this study, a total of twenty-six women reported having been subjected to obscene phone calls, or having received obscene/nuisance mail in the workplace. Twenty of the forty-three women interviewed at home indicated that they had had such an experience. Six of the seventeen women interviewed in the Lebanon indicated such an occurrence had taken place. Eight of the women reported receiving obscene phone calls whilst at their work extensions, or working on a switchboard in the signals cell. (One of the eight received such a call over a VHF radio whilst overseas). Ten of the women interviewed reported a combination of both obscene phone calls to their work extensions, and obscene letters to their work and home addresses. One of these ten reported being in receipt of "hate" mail, and "hate" calls of an obscene nature. Eight of the women interviewed reported having been in receipt of 'nuisance' mail and telephone calls. Curiously, all eight were officers. These letters and calls were all from senior officers and consisted mainly of inappropriate overtures and were not obscene in nature. Five of the women interviewed named one particular individual officer who would send them photographs of himself along with outline proposals of friendship with a view to relationship and possible marriage. Three of these women complained about this matter to their superiors. Two of these were subsequently paraded by their commanding officers and warned of the dire consequences of making such an allegation about a senior officer:

I've had poetry written, invitations to lunch, even phone calls to home from a senior officer. A senior officer with whom I had a direct working relationship. I was pestered by this guy for months. I couldn't believe it was happening. I did not experience any support from my C.O. in this regard. I was actually paraded by him after I approached him on the matter. He informed me that I should be aware that it is an offence under military law to make a false allegation against a superior. He told me to think long and hard about it. Now, lest there be any confusion here, this wasn't friendly advice, this was a threat. The army doesn't try to deal with these problems. It's more inclined to cover them up.
(Interview No. 23, 10/8/99)

One of the women however got what she felt was a satisfactory response from her CO:

I got a lot of unwelcome advances from this senior officer. I got letters. I got photos he took of me when I was a cadet. Pictures he took of me at the Christmas dinner. It was bizarre. I said it to the CO. He said to keep the letters, and to keep a diary of any calls. He said that he'd put a stop to it immediately, and that if I wanted I could initiate an official complaint. At the time I was happy enough to just have it stop. And it did. He just ignores me at coffee now. Thank God.
(Interview No. 7, 15/4/99)

The majority of the women who reported such incidents, however, were not happy with the army's response. In this example, the interviewee felt that her persistence in complaining about a form of harassment finally led to some action being taken – but that the manner in which her complaint was dealt with was unsatisfactory and left her with no redress:

I kept getting obscene phone calls on the beat. Now, it had to be one of the guys who knew my stint there. I tried leaving the phone off the hook, but it meant not being contactable by the BOS. This was going on for weeks. I complained to the C.S. I suggested we trace the calls. He said Signals said this was impossible. Now that's a bare faced lie. They just didn't want it (trouble) in the unit. I kicked up one hell of a racket about it and gave the C.S. an ultimatum. So, they said they'd put an LED display phone in. They never did. Oh, and surprise surprise, the calls stopped. I had no proof either. (To take the matter to higher authority)
(Interview No. 25, 2/8/99)

- Sexual Assault in the Workplace

Of the forty-three women I interviewed at home, ten alleged that they had been the victims of a sexual assault in the workplace. Of the seventeen I interviewed overseas, two alleged they had been the victims of a sexual assault in the workplace. The nature of the alleged assaults ranged from touching, to allegations of attempted rape and rape. The allegations of assault were made by privates, NCOs and officers. Given that the PDF is such a small community, many of the incidents outlined to me would be "common knowledge" to many personnel in the form of rumour and hearsay. All of the women bar three appealed to me not to link their accounts to events to their biographical outline, as they did not wish their stories to be

identified with them. All of the women interviewed were critical of the manner in which the army handles such incidents:

What happened to me constituted a sex assault. One of my buddies witnessed the whole thing. I wouldn't have a chance against him. I've no faith in the system. No way.

(Interview No. 28, 25/8/99)

One interviewee, a captain with seventeen years' service, summed up the situation as perceived by these women as follows:

I was assaulted. I complained. I did not get equitable treatment. Women in the PDF are not encouraged to complain about these issues. They are not encouraged to report on them. The army is more concerned about how it looks than if a woman gets raped. And if you do, the court sits in hell and Satan's the judge. I would categorically state, that if any woman in the army is harassed, assaulted or raped, inform the Garda Síochána, not the military police, otherwise you will not get justice.

(Interview No. 33, 31/8/99)

6.5 Chapter summary

Section one of chapter six concentrates on international trends in military training with reference to integrated training for male and female personnel. The section highlighted studies in the United States and Britain, which show that integrated training raises the standards of performance of units with integrated units outperforming single sex units. (Holm 1993; DACOWITS, 1992; Brower, 1996) These studies, combined with the performance of women in combat in such conflicts as the Gulf War have led in the United States to the US National Defence Authorisation Act of 1993 which has repealed the 1948 statutory limitations on the assignment of women to many combat roles. The trend in the international military has been towards a greater integration in training and deployment of female personnel.

The focus of section two is on recruit training within the PDF. The existence of separate syllabi of training for male and female platoons is confirmed in the documentary analysis of the relevant training circulars. (TS INF 8/90; TS 10/90) These syllabi of training were used for the all female platoon recruited in 1990. This policy was changed in 1992 with the decision on the part of the military authorities to conduct fully integrated recruit training in integrated units. The section contains accounts of the experiences of such integrated training gained within the setting. Section three is concerned with cadet training within the PDF and traces the trend towards the full integration of such training. Section three mirrors section two

to the extent that both show evidence of a deliberate trend towards integrated training for female personnel in the Defence Forces.

Section three contains data on the integrated training environment of the PDF obtained at interview. Of the 60 women interviewed for the study, 8 were trained in the segregated training environment with separate syllabi of training for male and female personnel as described earlier in the chapter. All eight expressed the opinion that the training they received in this segregated environment was not up to standard. Of the 60 women interviewed, 50 were trained in a fully integrated environment with the same training opportunities and experiences as their male peers. All 50 of these women expressed the view that their training was as effective as that for their male colleagues. Forty-three of these women endorsed the integrated system of training advocating integrated training as appropriate for an integrated service. Seventeen women however, were very critical of the emphasis within this training, particularly in the area of physical training, which they felt was punitive and linked to a tendency toward bullying within the setting. Twenty-five of the women interviewed linked aspects of their training to bullying in the workplace. This linking of the training environment of the PDF to bullying in the workplace led to the discussion of bullying and harassment included in this chapter.

Section four incorporates the data obtained at interview on bullying and harassment in the PDF into this chapter. As stated earlier, certain recurring themes or 'categories' of bullying and harassment suggested themselves for inclusion within the chapter as a result of the data obtained at interview. Of the 60 women interviewed, 28 alleged that they had been exposed to inappropriate remarks on dress within the setting. These inappropriate remarks are alleged to have been offensive and often sexual in nature. Nineteen of the women reported that they had endured inappropriate remarks on their physical appearance within the setting. Some of the remarks were overtly sexual in nature and all were distressing to those concerned. Twenty eight of those women interviewed alleged being subjected to inappropriate remarks of a sexually explicit nature within the workplace setting. Twenty-six of the women identified the alleged perpetrators as being NCOs or officers of senior rank to themselves. Twenty-seven of the women interviewed reported being on the receiving end of unwanted advances within the workplace setting with twenty five allegedly involving NCOs and officers senior to the interviewees. Of these 25, only two felt that they were in a position to complain about the matter. Thirty four of those women interviewed complained of being exposed to sexually explicit and offensive graffiti within the workplace. Some of the women interviewed outlined examples of graffiti that was personalised and some outlined explicit and offensive material appearing on official unit noticeboards.

Forty-one of the 60 women interviewed reported having at one time or another being exposed to pornographic films in PDF work and living spaces. The women concerned identified guard-rooms, locations overseas, and the Cadet's Mess as common locations for such exposure.

Forty-five of the women interviewed reported having been exposed to other forms of pornography within the workplace including pornographic posters, playing cards and screensavers.

Of the 60 women interviewed, 26 stated that they had received obscene letters and phone calls in the course of their service in the PDF. Twelve of the 60 women interviewed alleged that they had been victims of sexual assault. Of the 60 women interviewed, 59 complained of some form of harassment or bullying within the PDF. Of the 60 women interviewed, none had ever been consulted in any way or canvassed for their opinions on any aspect of PDF training or issues around bullying and harassment.

In terms of the army's grievance procedures, or system of redress, the interviewees were almost unanimous in their expression of non-confidence in existing structures. Many of the women interviewed spoke of a fear of complaining, particularly vulnerable women, i.e.: women of junior rank serving in a five year contract capacity. One interviewee, a sergeant with eighteen years' service expressed her concerns to me in this area and her fears for more vulnerable women:

You know, the individuals concerned don't want to rock the boat. They have to listen to inappropriate and lewd subjects in guard-rooms. They have to put up with remarks made about females, and about females' sex lives. These girls are too intimidated to complain.

(Interview No. 2, 13/4/99)

When we complained we were punished. The company commander said it reflected poorly on us as potential officers. We did it out of desperation. They had no respect for us. The guys in the class had no respect. But especially the officers. We looked up to them. And it turns out, they've no respect either.

(Interview No.13, (19/4/99)

On any complaints about sexual harassment, the army tends to do damage limitation and try to minimise the effect. Certainly they're not properly dealt with.

(Interview No. 16, 21/4/99)

The data gathered in this chapter raises many questions about the training environment of the PDF which will be dealt with in the conclusion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The deployment of female personnel within the PDF

This chapter deals with the deployment of women throughout the Defence Forces over its primary (combat) and secondary (support) roles. It is intended on this basis to establish whether or not a gender division of labour exists within the PDF. It is intended to examine this phenomenon through an examination of PDF policy on deployment at home and abroad, and the Defence Forces Board Report on policy for the deployment of female personnel. This documentary analysis of PDF policies is complemented by a simple analysis of deployment statistics provided by enlisted personnel section at DFHQ. These statistics are then reviewed in light of a number of audits of the work carried out by female personnel of the PDF. These audits were carried out in two main phases, April 1997 and October 1999. These audits allow for an analysis of the de facto deployment of female personnel on the ground. The fact that the audits took place two and a half years apart allows for a simple analysis of any change in the pattern of women's deployment, over the period of the study.

This chapter on deployment explores the scope and range of military "experience" (Reskin and Padavic 1994) assigned women by the military authorities. In assessing this aspect of PDF culture, use has been made of documentary and archival material in discussing policies on the deployment of female troops (other ranks and officers). The documentary material examined also extends to a detailed treatment of PDF policies, practices and aspirations in the area of the deployment of women soldiers at home and overseas. There is a consideration of the law in relation to these policies in the section on 'legal aspects'. This discussion of the deployment of female personnel in light of the law, functions in parallel with chapters four and nine, in situating the study within the context of the aspirations, policies and practices outside of the setting. It gives the chapter a wider perspective.

The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings generated by the data. There is also much use made of the data gathered by interview revealing women's attitudes and insights to the deployment policies and practices of the military authorities.

7.1 Defence forces policy on the deployment of female personnel

Within the spirit of liberal feminism's advocacy of legislative and educational measures to promote equality, the equality of opportunity literature strongly recommends an examination of those policies and guidelines for equality present within the workplace in order to assess the equality environment. At present, no such set of guidelines or policies exists within the Defence Forces. A documentary and archival analysis of the setting reveals the absence of equality policies within the body of Defence Forces Regulations, standard operating procedures, memoranda, letters of instruction, administrative instructions, and orders. Apart from a memorandum issued by the Chief of Staff in 1992, which states an aspiration for equality of opportunity for female personnel, there is no coherent or explicit body of guidelines, instructions, or recommendations, which might be termed an equality policy. The documentary and archival search conducted by the author within the setting did, however, reveal the existence of a document dating from 1990 and titled 'Policy on the deployment of females in the Defence Forces'. (DFHQ, 1990, Confidential) An examination of this document gives an insight into the dynamic determining the status and roles assigned Irish female soldiers. The Adjutant General's 1990 policy document on the deployment of females represents an official blueprint for the status and roles to be assigned female personnel in the Defence Forces. The policy document begins:

Except in cases of direst necessity, European and Western cultural norms have excluded women service personnel from direct combat roles.

(Introduction, Para (a), Policy Statement, Confidential)

The opening statement acknowledges the role of women in combat and is followed by a further statement, which indicates an explicit commitment to equality of opportunity within the Defence Forces:

The General Staff acknowledge (...) and fully supports the concept of equality of opportunity in the areas where women are to be employed. Where possible female personnel are encouraged to participate on an equal footing with their male colleagues in areas where they serve together.

(Introduction, Para (b), Policy Statement, Confidential)

This statement is qualified as follows:

Specifically (women) will not be posted to units in the Infantry, Artillery, Air Corps, nor to the ARW (Army Ranger Wing), Brigade Operations/Intelligence Staffs, nor in the case of officers to Operations Sections at Command H.Q., or D.F.H.Q (...) Women N.C.O.s and Privates may serve on Operations/Intelligence Staffs at Command H.Q. or D.F.H.Q.

(Areas of participation, Para (b), Policy Statement, Confidential)

(It is interesting to note here that the military authorities in 1990 did not see the value of women as members of Intelligence Staffs. Sixty nine years previously the Divisional Intelligence Officer of the I.R.A., Northern Division, actively endorsed female intelligence staffs). (See appendix six)

The document makes explicit and official a set of organisational expectations, which would confine women to certain roles within the organisation and which would effectively subordinate and segregate women within the PDF. The document contains many provisions that are at variance with the opening statement of the document and the Chief of Staff's 1992 stated position of recognising "equal opportunities in all aspects of Defence Forces activity". Some of the many examples include:

ARMY:

- (i) The employment of women in (signal) corps duties at an operation headquarters, where arms are carried for self protection only will not be prohibited.
- (iii) Women M.P.s will not serve in the No. 1 Garrison, M.P. Company at Government buildings. They will not carry out gate security duties, nor pay escort duties, both of which essentially require the carrying of arms.

(Service Corps and Special Establishments, Para (c), i Signal Corps and iii MP Corps Confidential)

The stipulations in relation to the Air Corps are also interesting:

AIR CORPS

- (iv) Women will not be eligible to serve as pilots in the armed support role, nor take part in flying operations in ATCP (Aid to the Civil Power Operations - Anti Terrorist Activities).

(Para (c), (iv) Air Corps, Confidential)

These stipulations are at variance with the policies and practices of the international military as outlined in chapter four. In the case of flying duties in particular, the following international

precedents apply. Female pilots fly U.S. Naval Marine F16's or F18's on combat assignments. (U.S. Navy News Service, 28-04-93: 1) (Air Force Times, 12 April 1993: 7). In the Royal Air Force, due to the implementation of the Army 'Equal Opportunities Directive' in December 1995, there are now 17 qualified female pilots in their three services including two "fast jet" or combat pilots (Statement on the Defence Estimates, 1996: 78). Elsewhere, the Israeli Air Force employ women as pilots for both manned (sic) and unmanned (drones) aircraft (Egozi, 1990: 31). The Air Corps have ignored the provisions of the 1990 policy document and to date, (in common with other air forces) have trained and commissioned one female pilot (1998). This female pilot is flying search and rescue duties.

Similarly in the Army, women have, since 1992, been assigned to units in the combat corps of infantry, artillery and cavalry. Women are also serving in the headquarters and formations listed in the paragraphs quoted from the policy document. There are no women as yet serving in the Army Ranger Wing. It would appear therefore that there is a trend towards integration evident in the appointments assigned to women which exists despite the provisions of the 1990 policy document. In sections five, six and seven of this chapter, a detailed examination of the roles assigned female personnel is provided. This examination of deployment practices is of vital importance given the lack of an up to date policy document on deployment. The de facto deployment practices of the Defence Forces in relation to women will be examined in detail in order to establish if these ad hoc practices reflect the aspirations of the equality of opportunity agenda.

In relation to the Naval Service, there is some documentary evidence of an attempt to plan for the integration of women. Subsequent to the 1990 policy on women in the PDF, a board of enquiry was established in 1993 to examine the question of female service in the Naval Service. The board of enquiry would appear to have examined the integration of male and female personnel in other forces in order to gain an international perspective. Reference was made to experience gained by the Royal Navy who have for some years been operating with what they term "mixed gender crews". There are at present some 700 women at sea in surface ships of the Royal Navy from the Adriatic to the Gulf to the Antarctic (Statement on the Defence Estimates, 1996: 78).

In other Navies, reports have shown that gender integrated crews perform as well as those with all male crews.

(Board Report on Employment of Females in the Naval Service, 1993: 15, Confidential)

The United States Navy has at present four women in command of Surface combat vessels. (U.S. Navy News Service, 28 Apr 93: 2) (U.S. Navy Times, 05 April 1993: 4). The Board recommended the "recruitment of females into all areas of the Naval Service", (Board Report, 1993: 29). This and all other recommendations of the Board were fully endorsed by the Flag Officer Commanding the Naval Service, (FOCNS). No qualifiers were attached to the recommendations of the Board by the Naval Authorities. The Board, (consisting of three male Naval officers and one female Army officer) concluded:

The Board accepts that military organisations are essentially social institutions and that the ideas and attitudes of the community at large will permeate the Naval Service (...) (with the) employment of women in other Navies a definite trend emerges towards a fuller integration of female personnel into all roles.

(Board Report, 1993: 27)

Examples of gender-integrated naval crews on full operational duties abound. In one tragic incident, four sailors (including one female) lost their lives in the engine room of H.A.M.A.S. 'Australia' on 5 May 1998. The four were sealed into the engine compartment and burned by fire and a CO2 'drench' in order to save the ship. The incident puts paid to the myth that commanders will not knowingly put female personnel at risk in a life and death scenario. In this case the ship's captain was prepared to sacrifice the lives of four sailors regardless of sex. (Sky News, 5 May 1998)

It is significant that the Board report into the Naval Service drew from the actual experience of agencies outside of the PDF to inform its findings. The Naval Service has since begun recruiting female personnel for all duties and the first female naval officers were commissioned in 1997. This represents a trend towards the integration of female personnel into the Naval Service in line with international trends.

An analysis of the 1990 policy document and the Naval Service board report into the employment of female personnel reveal a set of aspirations for the service of female personnel within the army, air corps and naval service. The 1990 policy document contains many provisions designed

to limit the range of appointments open to female personnel within the army and air corps. The appointments closed to them are mainly operational appointments attracting higher rates of pay in the form of operational allowances such as flying pay, border allowances, security duty allowances and army ranger wing allowances. The de facto situation in all three services however appears at variance with the provisions of the 1990 policy document. In both the Army and Air Corps, ad hoc deployment policies have evolved which reflect a trend towards the greater integration of women within the Defence Forces. The latter sections of this chapter examine these ad hoc deployment policies and assess the equality ethos reflected in these practices. The Naval Service board report contains no restrictive provisions on the deployment of female personnel and contains an explicitly stated aspiration for equality of opportunity and full integration for women within the Naval Service.

7.2 Defence forces policy on the deployment of female personnel to overseas appointments

The Irish army has a world-wide commitment to United Nations (U.N.) peacekeeping and peace enforcement missions. Latterly, PDF personnel have also been involved in North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Stabilisation Force (SFOR), Kosovo Force (KFOR), Organisation for Security Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and Western European Union (WEU) led missions. Given that overseas service is a key criterion for promotion for all ranks, overseas service is crucial to one's career prospects. Overseas missions are categorised in three ways:

1. Forces HQ Missions (Staff Officers "A" and "Q" Force HQ)
2. Troop Serving Missions (Command of Troops, Line/Combat)
3. Observer Missions (No troops. U.N. Military Observer)

It is interesting to note that in the last twenty years only one female officer has been nominated for a lucrative and prestigious observer mission, (Western Sahara). (This is despite the precedent of female Gardai doing similar work). According to the 1990 policy document:

Women will not serve with U.N. (United Nations) Forces abroad except at a designated Forces H.Q. i.e. UNIFIL HQ (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon Headquarters) Naqura (Lebanon) and UNFICYP HQ (United Nations Force in Cyprus Headquarters), Nicosia (Cyprus) excluding service in IRISHBATT (Irish Battalion in Lebanon), UNIMOG MP Company (United Nations Iran, Iraq, Military observer group Military Police Company). (Policy Statement, Para (b) Areas of Participation, Overseas, Confidential)

This provision clearly limits the nature of overseas service open to women. These provisions were explained by a May 1994 memorandum from the Adjutant General's branch:

2. No formal Policy Document has been issued by UNNY (United Nations, New York) in relation to female officers serving in appointments with either Peace-keeping Missions or Observer Missions. However UNNY has stated in writing that no distinction is made with regard to the deployment of males and females in Peace-Keeping or Observer Missions. The decision on whether to assign females to duty with U.N. Missions is one for the Government of the troop contributing countries concerned.
3. The Defence Forces Policy on the deployment of females is based on the Principle of Equality of Opportunity, therefore no individual is precluded from selection for overseas service on the basis of gender. However Defence Forces Policy must not conflict with host nation policy or U.N. policy (as laid down for a particular mission).
4. In relation to service with Overseas Missions the following points will be addressed when considering the assignment of females:
 - (a) Location and Host National Policy
 - (b) United Nations Policy (if any)
 - (c) Policy and Practice of other troop contributing nations
 - (d) National and local culture and religious norms
 - (e) The Role of Women in the particular society.

(Memo, Adjutant General's Branch, ORS/OS/A13, 31 May 1994, Confidential)

To argue that "local culture may dictate that it is inappropriate" that female officers should serve is misleading. For many years, female Norwegian platoon commanders and female troops have served in UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) in South Lebanon in appointments 'in the hills' or outside of force headquarters. This has been the case despite 'national and local culture and religious norms'.

I worked in the former Yugoslavia in Serb-held Prijedor (near Banja Luka) in September/October 1996. Whilst in Bosnia I saw Czech, Canadian, British and American female troops operating on routine patrols. Indeed, females have fought in Bosnia as in the case of the Danish tank gunner who engaged a Serb gun position expending all of her ammunition. (Brower, 1996: 13) Female members of An Garda Síochána are serving as observers in former Yugoslavia, and this despite the much publicised treatment of women in that conflict.

A number of female personnel are now serving with the PDF in former Yugoslavia. As of October 1999 there are female PDF personnel serving with SFOR (Stabilisation Force) in Sarajevo as military police, with KFOR (Kosovo Force) in Kosovo as drivers in the Transport Company and in Prevlaka as observers for ECMM (European Community Monitoring Mission). Despite the provisions of such a policy document, the military authorities have to some extent recognised the potential of these female personnel and have ignored those provisions of the 1990 policy document which would deny them such service.

In relation to the issue of access to overseas appointments, of the forty-three women interviewed in the purposive sample, all forty-three felt they were discriminated against in their access to overseas appointments. Of the seventeen interviewed in the random sample, sixteen stated that they felt they were discriminated against in terms of access to overseas appointments. Therefore, despite evidence of women being deployed overseas contrary to the provisions of the 1990 policy, there is still a very strong feeling amongst those female personnel interviewed that the ad hoc practices which have evolved regarding the deployment of women overseas discriminates against women. Fifty-nine of the 60 women interviewed expressed misgivings about their access to overseas missions. This almost unanimous feeling amongst the women interviewed, is typified by the following responses:

They have a ban on women going to the hills. They have restrictions on all sorts of postings. The reason we're given is the customs of the country. I think this is just bullshit. And overseas appointments will have an effect on the promotion competition. It goes back to a time when a stereotyped idea of women dictated we not go.
(Interview No. 4, 14/4/99)

It was so frustrating not to be allowed go overseas. It was soul destroying to see junior guys going over and back ahead of you. Such a waste of years. When I eventually got out, the transport officer processed my 154. He only saw my initials. When he saw me he tore it up. He said, "there'll be no female drivers in my section". I ended up in the orderly room. In an office. I joined the army to get away from office work.
(Interview No. 10, 16/4/99)

Women lose out on money. Male lieutenants can go out twice while the female waits for the admin job. We lose money. And then they give the admin job to a male officer. I suppose that's their version of equality.
(Interview No. 12, 19/4/99)

We're not allowed to serve in the hills. They say it's to do with the local culture. If they followed that to its logical conclusion then you'd only have Arabs going to the Leb. In my experience with the Battalion, I met the Hezbollah looking for bodies. They didn't care that I was a female. They were just interested in bodies. The military authorities don't credit these people enough.
(Interview No. 24, 11/8/99)

We're not allowed to the hills because there's no toilets for women. There's no toilets in the Glen of Imaal. I was sent there often enough.
(Interview No. 27, 24/8/99)

Of the forty-three women interviewed at home, forty stated that all overseas appointments should be open to both men and women on an equality of opportunity basis. Of the seventeen interviewed in the Lebanon, all seventeen stated that all overseas posts should be open to both men and women on an equality of opportunity basis. Therefore, out of a total of sixty women, fifty-seven felt that restrictions on access for women for overseas postings should be lifted.

The three who were opposed to this open access cited the following reasons:

The situation in the Lebanon doesn't lend itself very well to women. There are social problems in the Battalion. Women get corralled. It's not a good place for women. That's my own personal view, and I guess that's the official view.
(Interview No. 7, 15/4/99)

Women aren't suited for overseas. We're homebirds I think.
(Interview No. 11, 19/4/99)

In principle I suppose women should have equal access. Yes. In practice though there are problems I think. I feel that it would be unfair to send a seventeen or eighteen year old woman to a post with four or five men. It wouldn't be fair on her. And it wouldn't be fair on them. But at Battalion and Company Headquarters, there'd be no problems. If anything happened to her it'd be her word against theirs and vice versa. If she made a false allegation, you know, you're just leaving yourself wide open. You're just raising issues that could best be avoided.
(Interview No. 23, 10/8/99)

It is worth noting that only one of these, the second cited, "blames" women's 'nature' for this lack of suitability. The other two indirectly blame the social context, which would deter women from such postings. Many of the women (fifty-seven) who were in favour of opening up access to all appointments overseas on an equality of opportunity basis cited the example of other nationalities doing so. (Many of the female Irish Personnel serving overseas, confined to

Battalion and Company Headquarters, would have direct experience of encountering female troops of other nationalities carrying out operational duties in the area of operations)

The other nationalities are doing it. I don't see why we can't. We need more women overseas.

(Interview No. 6, 14/4/99)

They say the culture there is different. But the other armies have women out there. What's the big deal with a woman on a checkpoint? A woman could easily man the GPMG (General Purpose Machine Gun).

(Interview No. 14, 20/4/99)

They say that for religious reasons women can't go on VCPs (Vehicle Check-Points) or Ops (Operations, Patrolling etc). So therefore they can't serve in the companies. But they would get used to us. They're used to the women in the other contingents. The religion thing is just an excuse. I could do any job in the Battalion, and I'd stand in the road any day. (Checkpoint Duty)

(Interview No. 30, 29/8/99)

Many of the women's responses at interview, in endorsing the principle of opening up all overseas appointments to women, also passed comment on the PDF's policy in this regard:

Of course the hills should be opened up to women. All the jobs in the Battalion in fact. They say it's for cultural reasons why we're not allowed serve in the companies. That's rubbish. The higher ups think they are protecting the little girls. They're afraid of a bad press. They're covering their asses. No one wants to be the CO that says, okay, put a woman on a checkpoint. In case anything might happen. I trust my buddies. I know the lads would back me up on a checkpoint. They know I'd back them up. But the CO, it seems like he doesn't trust us.

(Interview No. 41, 11/9/99)

We should serve overseas in all the jobs. We end up in the officers' mess or the orderly room. There it is. It's just unfair. The army isn't fair about it when it comes to overseas. They don't treat us like soldiers, they treat us like little girls.

(Interview No. 44, 11/9/99)

The army's policy in relation to women's overseas service stinks to high heaven. From 1985 to 1989 no women were allowed overseas. I got a reply to my application, which stated that the Lebanon "was an unsuitable place for women". The situation has improved a little – by necessity. They need I.T. qualified people, so they'll take a woman as signals officer – out of desperation. But it's still not fair. They wouldn't let me serve in Naqoura with my husband in Israel. Even though male officers can have their wives in Israel. They said it was too dangerous. They were just afraid of setting a precedent.

(Interview No. 8, 15/4/99)

Given the unanimity of the women's expressions of dissatisfaction with the practice of denying women certain overseas appointments, (fifty-nine out of sixty) and their overwhelming desire, (fifty-seven out of sixty) for such appointments to be officially opened to women, the PDF ought to examine this issue and produce an explicit policy on the issue to replace the 1990 document and the ad hoc practices which have evolved.

7.3 Legal aspects

The 1990 PDF policy on female personnel contained provisions which would be considered discriminatory in relation to the deployment of female personnel. The ad hoc policies which have evolved in relation to the deployment of women at home and abroad give some cause for concern. This is borne out by the figures in relation to their deployment and from the interview data contained in this chapter. In the absence of a replacement policy for their deployment, it is useful for comparison to examine the 1990 policy in the light of the law. Contrary to Constitutional Law, the policy on female personnel purports to exclude women from certain duties and appointments. According to Article 40 of the Constitution, "1. All citizens shall, as human persons, be held equal before the law". Effectively, Article 40 forbids discrimination against women on the basis of their sex. In addition to Constitutional Law, the Defence Acts from 1954 to 1990 make no distinction between members of the Defence Forces on the basis of the sex of such members. The wording of the Defence (Amendment) (No. 2) Act of 1979 is of particular importance.

The provisions of the Defence Acts 1954 to 1979 and of any Statutory Instruments made thereunder shall apply to women members of the Defence Forces holding Commissioned or Non Commissioned rank and accordingly all words in those Acts and those Instruments importing a reference to a person of the Male sex, shall be construed as importing a reference to persons of either sex.

Given that officers of the Defence Forces are subject to both constitutional and statutory law, no member of the general staff, (or the minister for that matter), may promulgate a policy which discriminates against certain personnel on the basis of their sex. The 1990 policy is in direct breach of several international treaties and covenants and also Irish statute law. Among them are as follows:

- (a) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (U.N.) 1948 states: "Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country" and "everyone without any discrimination has the right to equal pay for equal work".
- (b) European Social Charter (1961), (Council of Europe)
- (c) The Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (U.N., 1967).
- (d) Geneva Conventions 1949.
- (e) Article 235, E.E.C. Treaty. Directive (EEC 76/207) states, The implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion and working conditions.
- (f) The Anti Discrimination (Pay) Act 1975.
- (g) The Employment Equality Act, 1977.
- (h) The Employment Equality Act, 1998.

The Geneva Conventions Act (1962) incorporates the Geneva Conventions and gives them legal effect within the state. This Act distinguishes between combatants and non-combatants on the basis of membership of the Armed Forces. Members of the Armed Forces when party to a conflict (other than medical or religious personnel as defined) have the right to participate directly in hostilities. The definition or status 'combatant' is based solely on a soldier's function. Certain classes of soldiers are considered 'non-combatant', i.e. medics and religious ministers (chaplains). The sex of the soldier is irrelevant. It is completely erroneous in both military and legal terms to label female troops as 'non combatant'.

The 1990 PDF policy in relation to its female personnel could be considered therefore to be discriminatory in that it is in contravention to the legislation mentioned. The situation is sufficiently pointed as to have moved the Equality Commission to recommend that the Minister for Labour make an Order under Section 12 (2) applying the Acts to the Defence Forces. In June

of 2000, I enquired of the Department of Defence whether such an order had been made. I was informed by the Minister for Defence that the matter was the responsibility of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform. I contacted the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform on the matter and was referred to the equality unit. I was informed that such an order had not been made as the Defence Forces were as of October 1999 covered by the provisions of the Employment Equality Act of 1998. This new legislation they stated, superseded all previous equality legislation, making an order applying previous acts to the Defence Forces unnecessary.

Under the provisions of the 1998 Employment Equality Act, a number of points arise in relation to the Defence Forces. The Act according to the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform “extends protection to the Defence Forces for the first time in Irish law” (Guide to Employment Equality Act 1998, 1999:3). The Defence Forces does not qualify for any exemptions from the legislation except the manner in which personnel may claim redress. In this respect, members of the Defence Forces may only seek redress from the Director of Equality Investigations specifically in relation to ‘recruitment’ after seeking such redress through the Minister for Defence (Employment Equality Act, Pt VII, Section 77, (3) (a) and (7) (c)). Aside from this exemption, the Defence Forces are covered by every provision of the Employment Equality Act of 1998. This includes all provisions in relation to positive action (gender) in relation to access to paid employment (recruitment), vocational training, and promotion (Guide to Employment Equality Act 1998, 1999:3). The Act also makes compulsory the adoption of the Equality Authorities recommendations on harassment and bullying within the workplace (Ibid: 4).

Given the provisions of the recent Equal Status Act and the Employment Equality Act, the 1990 deployment policy and the ad hoc deployment practices which have evolved since 1990 would appear to be in contravention of the law.

7.4 The Defence Forces' board report on policy for the deployment of female personnel.

The 1990 policy document was drafted on the 22nd of August 1990 but remained confidential and its contents were not made known to female personnel until the 31 May 1991. This document, and the manner in which its contents were made known led to a number of submissions and queries from female personnel.

The pressure of redress from female personnel forced the Chief of Staff to issue a convening order on the 30 September 1991 for a board to examine and report on the "Employment of Females in the Defence Forces", (Chief of Staff, Convening Order 30-09-91). The board assembled on 7th October 1991. It consisted of eight members, seven military and one civilian, nominated by the Secretary of the Department of Defence.

The board which subsequently became known in army circles as "the beauty board" sought views in the form of written submissions from General Officers Commanding, Commanders and Staffs at all levels, Branch Heads and Directors. According to the Board Report:

Specific opportunity was afforded to the maximum available female serving personnel to express written and verbal viewpoints to a special subcommittee of the Board.
(Board Report, 20 March 1992: 2 Confidential)

Of the sixty female personnel I interviewed, none were invited to make submissions to this board.

The Board's recommendations were as follows:

1. The withdrawal of the current policy statement on the role and service of women in the Defence Forces.
2. The enunciation of a new policy statement which will allow for the full participation of women over a period of time in all aspects of Defence Forces activity to include participation in operational work.
3. The full integration of women in relation to access to the military career educational system and to promotional opportunity in the Defence Forces.
4. A transitional period to plan and implement the recommendations of the Board.
(Ibid: 3, Confidential)

The Board's conclusions led to the Chief of Staff's Memo of 16th November 1992, which stated:

Females will have opportunity of employment in all aspects of Defence Forces activity including Operational and Ceremonial on the same basis as their male counterparts. (Memorandum, Office of Chief of Staff, 16.11.92, Restricted)

The Board's recommendations and the Chief of Staff's statement give a clear and explicit aspiration for equality of opportunity for female personnel. As of June 2000, there is as yet no equality policy or deployment policy formulated to replace the 1990 policy. Nor is anyone tasked with formulating such policies. The Strategic Planning Office of the Chief of Staff's Branch has no plans to address this issue. The latter sections of this chapter will examine in detail the deployment of female personnel in order to assess the pattern of their employment in light of the legacy of the 1990 document, the subsequent board report and the absence of any clear and coherent policy in this area.

The Board's deliberations and certain annexes to the report make for some interesting reading. References from members of the Chief of Staff's Branch to the original idea of a Women's Service Corps indicate that the Defence Amendment Act of 1979 provided for 277 appointments. (Board Report, 20-03-92: 3 section 3, Para 2 (a)). The military authorities, through their recruitment policies, by accident or design, in 1997 had capped the numbers of women at 177 and by 1999, twenty years later, had only recruited a total of 367 women. On the question of redressing the imbalance of women's representation, the Board concludes:

3. The numbers of females in all ranks (currently 0.8% of total strength) should continue to reflect the normal balance evident throughout Defence Forces Rank Structure. Recruitment of personnel is *governed by vagaries of financial and personnel policy neither of which presently indicate any specific trends for the foreseeable future.* (My italics)

(The Board Report, 20-03-92: Section 7, Para 3 - Confidential)

The board indicates in this statement that the situation vis a vis promotional prospects for women as outlined in chapter eight is tolerable and that there would not appear to be a requirement for the recruitment of more women. The inclusion of the provisions 'vagaries of financial and personnel policy' abdicates responsibility for these matters and indicates no intention of proactive action in these matters. The following paragraph seems to endorse the view that there were sufficient numbers of females in the PDF (0.8%) and there is the suggestion of a link between operational effectiveness and the numbers of females:

4. Current female strength in the Defence Forces would not cause an imbalance in Operational task detailing, given the range of other appointments currently successfully filled by them.

(Ibid.: 8, para 4 - Confidential)

Overall the Board Report seems to suggest that an 0.8% level of female participation is acceptable. There is a strengthening of the implied link between the female presence and operational efficiency, in para 5:

5. Consistent with ongoing control measures and professional discerning leadership within the Defence Forces, the aspirations and ability of women who elect for a military career will find expression. Posting authorities, commanders and staff must exercise discretion and sound professional judgement. This should ensure that personnel posted to operational units are made fully aware of inherent risks and practices pertaining to service in such units, and that military efficiency is NOT (sic) adversely affected.

(Ibid.: 8, Para 5,- Confidential)

Para 5 would appear to reveal a residual doubt over the bona fides of female personnel. Despite the Chief of Staff's stated commitment to equality of opportunity, the Board Report still urges caution when dealing with these 'other' members of the PDF. Para 6 gives a further insight into the domain assumptions of the Board members:

6. The principle of female personnel participating in Operational employment within an Irish Defence Forces milieu will not be contrary to American, Western European or Australian cultural norms.

(Ibid: 8, Para 6 - Confidential)

Paragraph 6 expresses the view that the deployment of female personnel ought to be consistent with such practice in the international military as listed. The paragraph suggests that the military authorities ought to be cognisant of such norms and ought to incorporate these norms into policy and practice. As no such policy exists, only those ad hoc practices as evolved by the Defence Forces can be assessed by comparison with international standards. The latter sections of this chapter concentrate on the deployment patterns evolved, with chapters 4 and 9 functioning to place these patterns in a wider context. Paragraph 6 makes no mention of the norms for the deployment of women applying in Ireland amongst those involved in terrorist and non conventional operations. Paragraph 6 seems to ignore the fact that Irish and British prisons

contain a number of female terrorists (capable no doubt of 'adversely affecting' 'military efficiency').

On the matter of overseas service, the Board concludes that:

This is an area in which UN policy implies certain restrictions on the employment of women, which must be adjudged on a continual basis by the General Staff.

(Ibid: 9, Para 8 - Confidential)

"The Role of women in the particular society", (Ibid.: 9, para 8, (5) Confidential) is again cited as a reason to debar women from operational duties in Lebanon. This is despite the participation of women in such duties in the neighbouring Norwegian battalion. The issue of this 'cultural' reason for barring women from well-paid jobs in the Lebanon was rejected as a valid argument by a total of forty-two of the sixty women interviewed. This aspect of the interview data was not anticipated by the author, nor was the virulent rejection by women of the "role of the women in the particular society" argument. Of the forty-three women interviewed at home, twenty-nine specifically mentioned and rejected this 'cultural' rationale for refusing women access to certain appointments in the Lebanon. Of the seventeen women interviewed in the Lebanon, thirteen specifically mentioned and rejected this argument.

Their observations were extremely interesting and I feel are a fair reflection of female soldiers' views on this aspect of PDF policy. The following examples are typical of their responses. Some of the women raised the issue of the culture of the PDF:

The cultural argument we're given is just a convenient excuse for not putting in the infrastructure for women. What am I saying? I'm beginning to sound like them! The infrastructure is there, it's just they don't want women. It's jobs for the boys. This is more to do with our own cultural problems than any aspect of Lebanese culture.
(Interview No. 18, 23/7/99)

You know the army likes the idea of itself having a few women soldiers here and there. They wheel us out for the cameras. They say of course we can't do the job in the Leb because of their culture. But it's really our problem. The Irish army is very backward on this. They train us as soldiers, then send us to the kitchen.
(Interview No. 21, 28/7/99)

We cannot serve in the hills. They say it's to do with the local culture. If they followed that to its logical conclusion, then you'd only have Arabs going to the Leb.
(Interview no. 24, 11/8/99)

The culture thing is crap. They just want to keep the numbers of women low. On the chicken runs (P.T. runs with security), the locals are well used to us. It's the Battalion that's not used to woman. It's like oul fellas getting away from their missus. One of the girls was stopped going from her room to the Comcen for a call from Ireland because she was wearing a T-shirt. The Battalion is worse at enforcing this type of thing, culture if that's what you call it, than the Lebbos.
(Interview No. 38, 8/9/99)

The Arabs don't have a problem with the women. It's the Army itself that has a problem with women. The Arabs I met didn't give a damn that it was a woman cleaning their wounds. Some of the shitheads in the Battalion won't let us take blood from them. And these are the same shitheads that call the Arabs niggers. I'll tell you who the real niggers are. They're running this camp.
(Interview No. 43, 11/9/99)

Only one of the sixty women I interviewed expressed misgivings about local culture with regard to women's service:

I don't know if I'd trust the Arab men on a checkpoint. If the army wanted to put a woman on the checkpoint, I wouldn't like to be the experiment.
(Interview No. 55, 22/9/99)

There were many women however who were happy to share the dangers of checkpoint duty with their male colleagues:

I'd do the checkpoint if I got the chance. I'd prefer it to the officers' mess.
(Interview No. 36, 8/9/99)

I already do camp security. I'd prefer the road to the mess. I hate the mess. I'd do checkpoint at the drop of a hat. The locals wouldn't give a damn.
(Interview No. 37, 8/9/99)

Given the subjective views of these women, and the objective examples of other nationalities deploying female personnel in operational appointments, (Finnish Battalion, Norwegian Battalion, Polish Battalion, in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) forces, Stabilisation Force (SFOR) and Kosovo Force (KFOR)), perhaps the PDF should reconsider their position on this matter and exercise their

discretion in a positive, equality of opportunity manner. This would be more in keeping with the Chief of Staff's stated commitment to equality of opportunity and international trends in the deployment of women.

The board concludes under 'Recommendations' and states:

The Board does not consider amendments to Defence Forces Regulations to be necessarily resultant from the recommendations contained in this report.

(Ibid.: 10, Section 5, Para 3 - Confidential)

Subsequent to the conclusion of the board's deliberations on the Employment of females in the Defence Forces, the Chief of Staff convened a working group in December 1992 to "Evaluate progress in regard to the implementation of the report". (Females in the PDF, Implementation Board Report 23 Dec 92: 1, Confidential)

The board consisted of five members, all male. One of the members, a Commandant, Officer Commanding Personnel Resources, in effect the Army's Human Resources Manager, submitted a report to the Board entitled: "Physical Capacity, Personnel of the Defence Forces". (PDF, PHY. PRS. 04 Feb 93: 1 Confidential)

In it he states:

- 3 There is a tendency to compensate for physical weakness in females by not detailing them for the most strenuous tasks. Added to this in the tactical training situation is an overly protective attitude from male colleagues.
(Ibid.: 1, Para 3)

This officer who wrote this statement never trained with female personnel. Having trained with female personnel and having trained female personnel I would contend that the 'over protective attitude' cited simply does not exist. (A set of protective attitudes develop during training for all members of the group, male and female – that is one of the purposes of military training).

He goes on to state:

There is no doubt that some male officers and male enlisted personnel are physically weak. This may be due to their small stature.
(PDF, PHY. PRS. 04 Feb 93: 2 - Confidential)

The Officer Commanding Personnel Resources goes on to add:

We set a minimum height of 5' 2" for female cadets and 4' 10" for enlisted personnel. There is no gainsaying the fact that females of these sizes are at a definite disadvantage compared to their male counterparts. One only needs to contemplate a 4' 10" female driving an APC (armoured personnel carrier) or a Man Diesel Truck, or the credibility of a 4' 10" Platoon Sergeant to realise that some females will NOT (sic) be suited to a variety of appointments because of their physical stature.
(PDF., PHY, PRS/ 04-02-93: 1, Para 4, Confidential)

Given the history of women in combat, at home and abroad, the Officer Commanding Personnel Resources comments could be said to reveal certain biases against women and people of shorter stature. While the Officer Commanding Personnel Resources was putting pen to paper regarding the notion of women driving 4 wheel drive ManDiesel trucks, a female member of Depot Supply and Transport Corps was driving a 6 wheel drive articulated truck, at times under fire in Somalia with UNOSOM (United Nations Operation in Somalia). As a human resource manager, and contributor to a Board Report on the employment of Women in the Defence Forces, the attitude of the Officer Commanding Personnel Resources reveals a set of domain assumptions which is anti-woman. The Implementation Board made a number of recommendations in their report. They included a commitment to addressing the training gap left by separate male and female training syllabi:

14. Female soldiers in service will undergo a short course in tactics and internal security to bring them up to the same standard as their male counterparts.

(Implementation Board Report, 23 Dec 92: 2, Para 14 Confidential)

Selection for overseas duties would still remain "subject to U.N. Policy" (as adjudged by the General Staff), (Ibid.: 2, Para 15, Confidential). It was recommended that service in Operational Units be open to female personnel, "does NOT imply that females will in the future be afforded any preference over their male counterparts" (Ibid.: 2, Para 16, Confidential).

The Implementation Board concluded their Report with a caveat:

28. Two difficulties have been encountered by other armies in the integration of females particularly in to the operational sphere.

(a) the non acceptance by male comrades that females are capable of performing "the duties associated with the job".

(b) the risk to the "completion of the mission" due to male personnel being over protective of their female comrades.

(Implementation Board Report, 23-12-92: 4, Para 28, (a), (b), Confidential)

The Report implies that Para 28, a, b, are justification for a 'softly softly' approach to be adopted in the area of equality of opportunity. It is up to the General Staff to show leadership and initiative in demonstrating confidence in female personnel. Any institutionalised notions about women as at 28 (a) should be robustly challenged. To use the excuse at 28 (a) to delay change is to blame and punish the victim.

The assertion at 28(b) has been proven time and time again over the history of conflict to be incorrect. It does not seem to affect the effectiveness or mission of terrorist organisations such as the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA). It would seem that our military leadership is not paying attention to a conflict being fought under their very noses.

One can only conclude that the Board Report on the Employment of Females in the PDF and the subsequent Implementation Board Report were ill conceived, ill informed and ill disposed to the interests of women. Their net effect as evidenced by a study of the actual employment of female personnel, would appear to be negligible. The reports contain no proactive recommendations in terms of greater recruitment for women, affirmative action in deployment policies, promotion, or personnel support in terms of equality officers or agencies.

There has been some improvement in the area of deployment. I feel that this has occurred despite the best efforts of the military authorities. It has occurred because of the effects of wider societal change. There are now women in our Naval Service, and women training to be pilots in our Air Corps. Women are going overseas in ever-greater numbers. This is to be welcomed. However all developments should be scrutinised carefully to avoid the tokenism and lipservice to equality highlighted in the equality of opportunity literature. For example, in December 1996, there were ten female privates serving at Battalion Headquarters in Lebanon. This was one of the largest cohorts of female personnel to serve with UNIFIL. On the face of it, this was an example of more progressive deployment policies and a personnel decision based on equality of opportunity. Closer examination reveals the following:

- 3 were serving as waitresses in the Officers Mess.
- 2 were Members of the Pipe Band
- 1 was a Switch Operator (Telephonist) Battalion HQ
- 2 were Switch Operators (Telephonist) A Company
- 2 were Switch Operators (Telephonist) B Company

In September of 1999, I interviewed seventeen women serving overseas with the 85th Battalion. They were employed as follows:

- 6 waitresses (Officers' Mess)
- 5 Signals (Switch Operators)
- 3 Clerks
- 2 Medical Orderlies
- 1 Driver

In relation to overseas service, females (other ranks) are permitted to serve only at Company or Battalion Headquarters. At these headquarters, in practice they are serving as medical orderlies, clerks, drivers, signals personnel (in the Communications Centre of the switchboard/radio room) or as waitresses in the officers' mess. The women I spoke to expressed dissatisfaction at being "corralled" at Battalion headquarters into a single sex dormitory. This dormitory was supervised by a male NCO (sergeant) despite the fact that a female NCO (sergeant) was also present on that floor:

The same guy who paraded us and warned us about having affairs with married men, halfway through the trip he had us all taken out of our accommodation and put into an all female block. They even put a sergeant, a guy from headquarters company in to watch us. There wasn't a problem when we were integrated.
(Interview No. 49, 12/9/99)

Whilst in the Lebanon I enquired as to why the female personnel were now segregated into a single sex block. The senior officer responsible for the decision told me to ask the medical officer. I asked the medical officer the same question. He told me that at a conference he had remarked on the rise in the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases amongst male troops in the battalion. On hearing this, it was decided by a senior officer to segregate the women in order 'to terminate this increase in the spread of sexually transmitted diseases amongst the men'. The Medical Officer told me he had pointed out to the senior officer in question that these infections

were most likely acquired by male troops whilst on leave. The decision to 'corral' the female personnel went ahead. This was despite the fact that there was no objective evidence or reporting of such infections among female personnel.

The women interviewed in general expressed satisfaction with the work assigned them in the Battalion. The women who worked in the officers' mess, however, spoke very strongly against the policy of employing only female privates as waitresses in the officers' mess. The following are quotes from these women:

I would describe my work in the officers' mess as degrading. It's all women serving, with a male sergeant to oversee us. You never get a male private detailed for here. They still even have to have a man in charge. The Arab workers in the dining complex even talk down to us. I didn't join the army to serve tables. I'm supposed to be here peacekeeping, but instead I'm checking the freezer for ice-cream.
(Interview No. 35, 7/9/99)

It's degrading to work in the officers' mess. It wouldn't be so bad if it was broken down to males and females. But it's the Irish way of thinking – let the girls do the washing up. It pisses me off. I'm never coming out to this again.
(Interview No. 37, 8/9/99)

I'd much prefer to be working in a line job. The waitressing lark is cracking me up. There shouldn't even be an officers' mess in the Leb. It's the same food. Why can't they just queue up like the rest of us?
(Interview No. 40, 11/9/99)

When I put in for overseas, I was told I'd be going to the officers' mess. I wasn't given a choice. It annoys me that the lads aren't working in the officers' mess. We're all trained the same way.
(Interview No. 42, 11/9/99)

These views of this type of work were shared by women interviewed at home:

Looking for overseas, I can only apply for the officers' mess or signals. Signals is what we all hope for. No one wants the officers' mess. As a dogsbody. Cleaning up. It's wrong. It's all females that do it. Women haven't progressed at all. They're in the kitchen. I don't object to the work, it's just the fact that it's only the women who are detailed.
(Interview No. 32, 1/9/99)

You really have to scratch around to get the signals job. I'd hate the officers' mess. There's not many could hack waiting tables on officers for six months. But it's always the women. Never again.
(Interview No. 31, 31/8/99)

The younger women don't know what's in for them when they apply for overseas. I mean, signals is okay, but most of the first timers end up in the officers' mess. Basically as skivvies. No matter how desperate I was to go overseas, there's no way I'd do it. I just couldn't. No way. I'd prefer a hundred Hezbollah than the whinging and bullshit from the officers and their precious fucking mess.
(Interview No. 21, 28/7/99)

I've had one overseas trip. I worked in the officers' mess. I worked as a skivvy, serving up dinners to officers. I hated it. I used to lie to my family about what I was doing. I was so ashamed. When I got home I made up stuff about seeing villages and going on patrols. If you didn't laugh about it, you'd cry.
(Interview No. 1, 12/4/99)

There is evidence in these responses of resentment for deployment into what could be considered a 'feminine' role in the work place. The status and roles assigned these women have been clearly interpreted by the women themselves as those of "skivvy" or "dogsbody".

There is evidence, however, of some flexibility on the part of some members of the Battalion in relation to the detailing of women only for these duties:

I'm tech qualified in signals. I did an apprenticeship in electronics. I fix radios. When one of the girls in the officers' mess went on leave, the BSM (Battalion sergeant major) asked our CS (Company sergeant) for "one of your girls" to replace her. The CS told him to fuck off. We were delighted.
(Interview No. 38, 8/9/99)

My CO promised me I'd go to a clerk's job. When I got here, the BSM told me that I was going to the officers' mess. I refused. I refused point blank. He threatened to charge me for refusing to follow a lawful order. I was scared shitless. But I thought, to hell with them, send me home. I stuck to my guns and guess what? They put me in the orderly room.
(Interview No. 44, 11/9/99)

We must be careful to ensure that as ambassadors for our country, in terms of our employment policies we do not export a prejudicial view of women's place in the world of work. This chapter, through an examination of the roles assigned female personnel at home and abroad, highlights a gender division of labour. The data gathered at interview demonstrates an almost unanimous

level of dissatisfaction with PDF practices in this area. The pattern of women's deployment also has serious implications for the promotion prospects, or power within the organisation. This issue is dealt with in the next chapter.

7.5 The deployment of female personnel (other ranks) within the defence forces

The official position of the military authorities in relation to deployment is outlined in the memorandum of 16th November 1992, wherein the Chief of Staff states:

1b. Females will have opportunity of employment in all aspects of Defence Forces activity, including Operational and Ceremonial on the same basis as their male counterparts.

(Memorandum, Office of the Chief of Staff, 16.11.92, Restricted)

In order to ascertain the reality on the ground in terms of the deployment of female personnel, I surveyed two important documents. The Defence Forces Gazette, (DFR A17, Para 5, Adjutant General's Branch) and SR1 (Strength Return 1). SR1 compares the strength versus the establishment of personnel in the PDF. By examining these documents I was able to determine the distribution of female Officers, N.C.O.s and privates through the various corps and appointments of the PDF. The findings relate to appointments held by women as of 30th September 1996. There were one hundred and seventy seven female personnel in the army. Table (v) supplied by Enlisted Personnel Section, Defence Forces Headquarters, (EPS, DFHQ) gives the breakdown by rank of all 177 women in the PDF at this date. The table consists of two columns and seven rows. The left hand column contains the rank held by female personnel with the most senior rank (Commandant) in the top row and the remaining ranks in descending order with the most junior rank (Private) in the bottom row. The right hand column contains the numbers of women holding each rank. The bottom row contains the total number of female personnel in the Defence Forces.

Table (v): Ranks held by Female Personnel of the PDF as of 30.09.96.

Commandant	6
Captain	30
Lieutenant	13
2 nd Lieutenant	5
Sergeant	9
Corporal	26
Private	88
Total	177

Source: Enlisted Personnel Section, DFHQ, (SR1) Confidential.

Table (v) gives an indication of the status of female personnel within the PDF in terms of rank held within the organisation. In assessing the role assigned female personnel, I examined the appointments held by female personnel. This examination would in effect involve an examination of the gender division of labour within the PDF. In examining this gender division of labour, I have placed those appointments held by female other ranks under two headings:

1. Line or Combat Appointments

These appointments involve Line or Regimental duties in the 'combat' corps of Cavalry Artillery, Infantry, Naval Service and Air Corps. These appointments would be in areas considered 'operational' or the 'primary' role of the PDF; "to defend the state against internal and external aggression".

2. Admin/Logistical/Support Appointments

These appointments involve clerical, administrative, or logistical/technical support, duties at corps headquarters or in any of the support corps. (i.e. Supply and Transport Corps, Engineers, Signals, Military Police, Medical Corps etc.) These duties would be considered as secondary or in support to the PDF's primary role

By referring to SR1, as on 30th September 1996, the following breakdown by numbers and appointments held was obtained and compiled into table (vi) as supplied by Enlisted Personnel Section, DFHQ as of 30.09.96. The left hand column lists in the seven rows those units of the

PDF which would be considered line or combat appointments. The remaining two columns on the right hand side give figures for male and female personnel respectively holding these appointments. The bottom row of the table contains the total numbers of male and female personnel holding line appointments.

Table (vi) Combat (primary) Appointments – Male and Female personnel (all ranks) 30.09.96

Combat Appointments	Male	Female
Infantry Corps	3,823	45
Artillery Corps	719	8
Cavalry Corps	562	3
Naval Service	991	NIL
Air Corps	1,062	13
79 Battalion UNIFIL (Lebanon)	533	5
No. 1 Security Company	15	1
Totals	7,705	75

Source: Enlisted Personnel Section, DFHQ, (SR1) Confidential.

Table (vi) gives the breakdown of those operational or combat appointments held by male and female personnel. These figures drawn from SR1 represent the 'official version' of those appointments held by male and female personnel. Table (vii) gives the breakdown of administrative and logistical appointments held by male and female personnel. Table (vii) is similar in organisation to table (vi) with three columns and thirteen rows. The left hand column contains those areas of activity and units within the PDF which would be considered secondary or support roles within the organisation. The right hand columns respectively contain totals of male and female personnel holding the various appointments as listed in the left hand column. The bottom row of the table contains the totals of female and male personnel holding such appointments as of 30.09.96.

Table (vii): Support (Secondary) Appointments (Male and Female) as of 30.09.96.

Admin/Logistic/Support Appointments	Male	Female
DFHQ Staffs	261	10
Brigade and Command Staffs	628	27
Engineer Corps	549	3
Signal Corps	422	19
Ordnance Corps	457	2
Supply and Transport Corps	664	6
Medical Corps	310	16
Military Police Corps	391	11
Observer Corps	14	NIL
Special Establishments (Schools etc.)	64	3
33 Irish Component (Naqoura, Admin)	75	5
Totals	3,835	102

Source: Enlisted Personnel Section, DFHQ, (SR1) Confidential.

Therefore, using the figures supplied by DFHQ, on paper at least, 66.7% approximately of the total male population of the PDF are employed in its 'fighting' arm, with 33.3% in Administrative or Support roles. For women, on paper at least, 42% approximately are gazetted into the fighting arms, with 58% in Administrative or Support. This is almost an inverse proportion in the deployment of personnel based on sex.

These figures taken from SR1 display a pattern of deployment of female personnel that shows them to be more likely than their male peers to be deployed to secondary roles within the organisation. I considered it useful for the purposes of the study to conduct a number of audits of the work assigned female troops in order to examine the pattern of their deployment more closely.

Once gazetted to a Unit, a soldier can be assigned tasks as deemed fit by the local commander. The tasks deemed fit for female personnel (other ranks) show a clear gender division of labour. This tendency is more marked when one audits the actual work being done by women on the ground.

The first audit of the work assigned all of the women of the Defence Forces was carried out from January to April of 1997. It was similar to the audit undertaken by the Gleeson Commission, (1990, pp 18, 19, 78-97), in order to obtain a “snapshot” of the actual work being done by PDF personnel, to ascertain exactly who was doing what on a day to day basis within the military.

In order to obtain this information, I used the following procedure as outlined in methodology:

1. I ascertained the numbers of females in a unit by consulting SR1, which lists the entire PDF, unit by unit and gives the breakdown of male and female personnel in each unit.
2. I then contacted the unit by telephone and asked the detailing authority (the adjutant and sergeant major of the unit) to tell me the duties assigned those female personnel within the unit.
3. I then listed the duties actually being performed by these women, (as opposed to those duties allocated them in SR1) and divided them across the line and support, (primary and secondary) and roles of the PDF.

In obtaining the following information, I contacted every Unit, Army, Naval and Air Corps in the PDF to confirm the appointments and employment of these personnel. I conducted this audit during the first four months of 1997. The information given provides an insight into the actual work being done by women (other ranks) in the PDF at the time. I compiled the total numbers of women performing line and support tasks into two tables. The first table, table (viii) contains the total numbers of female personnel (other ranks) working in the combat corps or line appointments during the period of the first audit. The table consists of two columns and three rows. The left hand column details the type of line appointment with the right hand column containing the number of female personnel (other ranks) holding such appointments. The bottom row contains the total number of female personnel (other ranks) holding these appointments.

Table (viii): Combat (primary) Appointments – (Female, Other Ranks, April 1997)

General Duties (Line), (Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry)	17
Drivers (Artillery, Infantry, Cavalry)	4
Total	21

Source: Unit audit, Conducted January to April, 1997.

An examination of the roles assigned women in this audit gives us an insight into the division of labour amongst female personnel. As of the 30/4/97, twenty one, or 17.1% of the total were involved in what could be termed the core combat function of the PDF. The remaining 102, or 82.9% are involved in the support or secondary functions of the PDF as seen in table (ix).

Table (ix) consists of the total numbers of female personnel employed in the administrative or support/secondary roles within the organisation during the period of the first audit conducted for the study from January to April 1996. The table consists of two columns with a row dedicated to each category of administrative appointment as listed in the left hand column. The right hand column contains the numbers of female personnel employed in such appointments from January to April of 1996. The table is shown overleaf.

Table (ix): Support (secondary) Appointments – Female (Other Ranks, April 1997).

Clerk	29
Radio Operator	8
Waitress/General Duties Officers Mess	5
Waitress/General Duties Cookhouse	5
Gym Instructor	1
Air Hostess	2
Military Police	4
Groom	6
Tailor	1
Bandswoman	1
Instructor Administrative	3
Training staff	1
Air Traffic Control	3
Aircraft Technicians	1
Aircraft Technicians Apprentice	4
Dental Nurse	1
Information Technology	4
Signals Riggers	2
Signals Linesperson	4
Electricians	2
Cadets	2
Recruits	3
Totals	102

Source: Unit audit, Conducted January to April, 1997.

The ratio of female personnel involved in line to support roles within the Defence Forces is in the order of 17.1:82.9. (Unit audit) This 'teeth to tail' ratio is in the order of about 67:33 for male members of the Defence Forces. (Source SR1, September 1996 Confidential)

In October of 1999, I conducted a second audit of those appointments being filled by female personnel, (other ranks). The audit was made easier due to the ongoing compilation of a

computer database at enlisted personnel section in Defence Forces Headquarters. This database lists those female personnel in receipt of technical pay, and lists those with special qualifications and filling a vacancy such as clerk, or radio operator. The data base also lists, unit by unit, the numbers of women serving. It was therefore possible for me to simply contact the listed units and verify the work being carried out by those females not in receipt of technical pay, and not listed as specially qualified and filling a vacancy. Tables (x) and (xi) on the next two pages show the work being carried out by female personnel (other ranks) as of October 1999. Table (x) consists of two columns and three rows. The left hand column lists those line or combat appointments held by female personnel (other ranks) as of October 1999. The right hand column lists the numbers of female personnel (other ranks) employed in such appointments as of October 1999. The bottom row lists the total number of female personnel (other ranks) in such appointments throughout the PDF.

Table (x): Combat (primary) Appointments (Females, Other ranks, October 1999)

General Duties, Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry	65
Drivers, Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry	5
Seaman (Female) Naval Service	9
Total	79

Source: Enlisted Personnel Section, Unit Audit, Oct 1999, Confidential.

Table (xi) overleaf consists of two columns and a number of rows showing the support or secondary roles held by female personnel (other ranks) as of October 1999. The left hand column lists the categories of support or secondary appointments with the corresponding numbers of female personnel (other ranks) in the right hand column. The bottom row of the table shows the total figure for the Defence Forces as of October 1999.

Table (xi): Support (secondary) Appointments (Females, Other Ranks, October 1999)

Clerk	30
Radio Operator	15
General Duties/Waitress Officers Mess	5
General Duties/Waitress Cookhouse	9
Storeperson	37
Air Hostess	4
Military Police	10
Groom	8
Tailor	1
Bandswomen	2
Administrative Instructor	1
Training Staff	6
General Service Recruits	44
Cadets	6
Naval Cadets	7
Naval Recruits	7
Air Traffic Control	1
Aircraft Technicians	4
Apprentices	7
Radio Technicians	2
Naval Mechanic	1
Dental Nurse	4
Information Technology Section	5
Linesperson	3
Electrician	1
Driver	4
Audio Visual Technician	1
Cook	2
Total	227

Source: Enlisted Personnel Section, DFHQ and Unit Audit, Oct 1999, Confidential.

The results of the second audit are very interesting. Two and half years after the first audit, the numbers of women (other ranks) serving in the Defence Forces has gone from 123 to 306. This represents a two and a half fold increase in women's numbers over the period of this study. This is a significant development and represents a very positive trend for the PDF. In all, a total of 1,652 (male and female) recruits were recruited into the PDF from 1996 to July 1999. Of this total, 217 women were recruited during the period. When one factors in wastage from retirements and discharges, this accounts for the rise in numbers over the period from 123 to 306.

There is a change in the numbers employed in the line or combat areas of PDF activity. A total of 79 women are now employed on general line duties in the Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry and Naval Service Corps. This represents 25.8% of the total number of women serving in the PDF (other ranks). It is significant to note the advent of female "seamen" (sic) serving aboard Naval Service vessels.

Two hundred and twenty seven women or 74.2% of the total number of women are serving in support appointments. This represents a proportional decrease in the numbers of women serving in these appointments by comparison to the 1997 audit. The 1997 audit showed a total of 102, or 82.9% involved in these duties. This represents, by comparison with 1997 statistics, a drop of 8.7% in the number of women serving in support appointments in October 1999. This is certainly a positive phenomenon and may indicate evidence of some commitment in practice to the Chief of Staff's 1992 Memo on equality of opportunity. It is also interesting to note that, though not reflected in these figures, there has been an expansion of women's role in overseas missions. As of the 31st October 1999, in addition to the female troops serving in the Lebanon, there are two women soldiers serving in Sarajevo as military police officers with SFOR, one woman in Split serving as an EU monitor in Croatia, and one woman serving as a driver with the Irish Transport Company in Kosovo with KFOR.

The present "teeth to tail" ratio for female troops in terms of deployment is certainly an improvement. (25.8:74.2, 31/10/99, as opposed to 17.1:82.9, 30/4/97). There is however a way to go before this figure reflects the ratio for male soldiers in this regard (67:33, SR1, Sept. 1996). This trend has no doubt been helped by documents such as the Chief of Staff's 16 Nov 1992 memo on equality of opportunity and the dramatic increase in the numbers of female personnel in the PDF. The integration of female personnel over line and support roles has however, been hindered by the legacy of the 1990 policy on the deployment of female personnel, the subsequent

Board Report, the absence of an explicit equality of opportunity policy and the cultural interference created by discourses which function to construct military service as being essentially 'masculine'.

As of October 1999, it is clear from these figures that if you are a female soldier in the PDF, you are more likely than a male colleague to be in a job that does not attract border, security, seagoing, flying or ranger wing allowances. Roughly three out of every four women are employed in jobs that do not attract these allowances. Overall as a female soldier you therefore can expect to earn less than male colleagues. As a female soldier, based on the requirements of the IPMS system, you can expect poorer prospects for promotion as a result of army deployment policies.

This would certainly appear to be the case for women soldiers, a separate 'class' within a hierarchical organisation. This is evident in an apparent gender division of labour within the PDF as indicated by the unit audits. The pattern of deployment revealed deprives women of the 'experience' and 'education' (Reskin and Padavic, 1994) required for promotion or "strategic" power within the organisation. (Adler, 1994) Indeed this pattern of deployment fits the description in the literature of a segmented dual labour market (Barron and Norris, 1976), and with the hypothetical outcomes of an equality hostile workplace as described by the EEA (1998). (See also in this regard, Jacobsen, 1998:227-9; Shaw, 1995:114-5.)

In relation to the question of the deployment of female personnel at home in Ireland, the sixty women I interviewed had some interesting observations. Of the 43 women I interviewed at home in Ireland, 34 stated that they did not have the same choice of appointments as their male colleagues. Of the seventeen women I interviewed overseas, thirteen stated that they did not have the same choice of appointments at home as their male colleagues. Of the sixty interviewed therefore, a total of forty seven felt that they were discriminated against in terms of their appointments at home. These women, serving in the PDF, from first hand experience, expressed the view that they were denied the opportunity to obtain many career courses, (fifteen of the sample), and were denied command appointments (five of the sample), and denied operational appointments (twenty-seven of the sample) because they were female. Based on their experiences in the workplace, the responses of these women would seem to suggest that the military authorities, far from challenging a patriarchal stereotype for women in the military, are actually endorsing such a stereotype.

The following extracts from the interviews are typical of the women's experiences and their attitudes to this issue:

When I joined the army in 1981 at 19, I thought it would be different. I was very interested in overseas. From the interview and the advert it all sounded so exciting. But when I enlisted I got two choices, transport or clerk.
(Interview No. 10, 16/4/99)

The advert for us said you could go anywhere in the army as a woman. You could in your backside. You could either go to the orderly room, or go to hell!
(Interview No. 5, 14/4/99)

They've certainly barred women from the FCA appointments where one would be paid more. I don't know of any female Medical officers who have it. That is the de facto policy.
(Interview No. 22, 9/8/99)

You cannot serve where you choose as a woman. There are restrictive policies as they apply to women at DFHQ level.
(Interview No. 26, 13/8/99)

It's a fact. You cannot serve in all of the appointments in the infantry battalion. I put in a redress at not being allowed direct command of troops. I got a kiss my arse answer. The Board Report on Females was just a token gesture. It wasn't taken seriously.
(Interview No. 33, 31/8/99)

Of those forty-seven women who felt discriminated against in this way, the opinion was expressed by all ranks including the most senior individual, a Commandant and Medical Officer. It was interesting to note that the thirteen who did not feel they were discriminated against in this manner, were with one exception all private soldiers on a five year contract who had entered service in the last two years. All of these respondents had undergone fully integrated training, and a number of them, (three), were serving in operational units. Small though this number is, it suggests that changes are taking place slowly.

Of the forty-three women interviewed at home, forty-two felt all appointments at home both combat and support, should be open to both male and female personnel on an equality of opportunity basis. All seventeen of the women interviewed in the Lebanon felt all appointments, combat and support, should be open to women on an equality of opportunity basis. Of the sixty

women interviewed, only one respondent was of the opinion that certain posts should not be open to women. She stated:

I don't think that women would be able for a lot of the jobs in the army. Take the engineers for example, where you would be physically building things. A female just wouldn't be effective in that scenario. And I would say in some war situations women wouldn't be as good at making certain awful decisions. Women are more emotional. Take for example even, the sight of dead bodies. And anyway, there's no female has made commandant yet that could run a post or a unit. Maybe in times to come things will be different. But if some men find it tough to run a unit, I can't imagine a woman being able to do it.

(Interview No. 11, 19/4/99)

This respondent was the only one interviewed opposed to the full integration of women into all appointments within the domestic establishment. It should be pointed out that this particular respondent was a Direct Entry with a professional qualification. She has had no formal military training and has not served overseas or on exercises, on the ground with troops. Therefore, like the military leaders quoted earlier she is not speaking from the experience of integrated military training.

On the face of it, the PDF practice and previous policies are very much at variance with the aspirations of their female employees. From the data gathered from both the Unit Audit and the interviews, the PDF's practice in the deployment of female personnel at home appears at variance with the Chief of Staff's stated commitment to equality of opportunity. The pattern of their deployment, allied to the absence of a coherent policy document on equality of opportunity, suggest a non woman-friendly work culture.

7.6 The deployment of female officers within the PDF

I also examined the roles assigned female officers within the Defence Forces. I categorised those roles (as with other ranks) under two headings:

1. Combat/Line Appointments:

These appointments involve direct command of troops, and are found in the combat corps of Cavalry, Artillery and Infantry.

2. Support/Staff Appointments:

These appointments are Administrative ("A") appointments and logistics ("Q") appointments at Command/Brigade Headquarters (Comd/Bde HQ) or Defence Forces Headquarters level (D.F.H.Q.)

This survey of officers' appointments was similar to one I carried out for the MA thesis in 1995. In carrying out the survey for the PhD thesis, I consulted the Gazette for officers and updated the figures to apply to October 1999. It is interesting to compare the original figures from the MA thesis of 1995 with the figures which pertain today. The following tables reflect the situation vis a vis deployment for female officers in April 1995. As of 30 April 1995, there were one thousand, five hundred and forty five officers in total, fifty four of whom were female. Table (xii) shows the numbers of female officers employed in the combat corps as of 30th April 1995. The table consists of two columns. The left hand column shows the combat or line appointments held by these female officers with the corresponding numbers in the right hand column. The bottom row shows the total figures for female officers deployed to combat appointments in the PDF as of April 1995.

Table (xii): Combat (primary) Appointments (Female Officers, April 1995)

Infantry Platoon commanders	3
Artillery Officers (Line)	3
Cavalry Officers (Line)	2
Total	8

(Officers Records, DFHQ, Confidential, 1995)

Table (xiii) shows the staff and support appointments held by female officers as of April 1995. The table consists of two columns with those categories of support/administrative appointment

held by female officers listed by row. The right hand column lists the numbers of female officers holding these appointments. The bottom row shows the total number of female officers holding such appointments in the PDF as of April 1995.

Table (xiii): Support (secondary) Appointments (Female Officers, April 1995)

Medical Officers, Dentists, Pharmacists	13
Army School of Music, Instructor	1
Army Headquarters, Administration	2
Army Headquarters, Logistics	2
Information Technology	3
Assets Management, Quality Control	1
Command Welfare Officer	3
Command Catering Officer	4
Pay Officer	1
Command Headquarters Administrative	1
Command Headquarters Logistics	1
Customs Clearance Officers	1
Signals Officers	2
Signals Officers Logistics	2
Engineer Administration	3
Supply and Transport Administration	2
Air Corps Administration	1
Infantry Administration	1
Air Corps Training Administration	1
Cadet School Instructor	1
Total	46

(Officers records, DFHQ, Confidential, 1995)

With regard to male officers the figures as of 30/4/95 showed that of 1,491 officers (male), 688 or 46.14% held combat appointments. (Officers Records, DFHQ, April 1995, Confidential)

This contrasted with a mere 8 or 14.8% of female officers holding such appointments. Based on these figures, there would appear to have been a disproportionately high number of female officers employed in staff jobs. Many of these jobs were in those areas perceived as traditionally

'feminine' i.e., as Catering and Welfare Officers etc. In addition to being assigned those tasks initially envisaged for a WSC, these women were being paid less than their male colleagues. This is due to the fact that their assigned roles would not attract seagoing allowances, flying pay, FCA allowances, Army Ranger Wing allowances, or border allowances. This is attributable to policies which preclude such service for women. This situation is similar to that in civil employment, where men's skills are valued and women's undervalued in the gender division of labour. Recognition of this has led to the notion of "equal pay for the work of equal value".

As stated earlier for other ranks, the military authorities through their deployment practices for officers, would appear to have been endorsing a segregated pattern of employment ensuring a gender division of labour. The trend has been noted elsewhere in the literature:

Most of these jobs can broadly be described as 'service' work, the 'caring' professions and socialised forms of domestic service. Many feminists have pointed out that the distribution of women in the employed workforce bears a striking resemblance to the division of labour in the family.
(Barrett, 1977: 157)

In October of 1999, I conducted a second audit of the work carried out by female officers and their deployment over the combat and support roles of the PDF. I obtained this information from the Gazette of officers' appointments held at officers records, DFHQ. The figures in the following tables pertain to the 31st October 1999. Table (xiv) shows the primary or combat appointments held by female officers as of October 1999. The table consists of two columns. The left hand column lists row by row the combat or line appointments held by female officers. The right hand column lists the numbers of female officers holding such appointments with the total for the PDF as of October 1999 shown on the bottom row.

Table (xiv): Combat (primary) Appointments (Female Officers, October 1999)

Infantry Platoon Commanders	5
Artillery Officers (Line)	3
Cavalry Officers (Line)	3
Naval Service (Line)	4
Air Corps (Line)	1
Total	16

Source: Officers' Gazette, Officers Records, DFHQ, 31/10/99 – Confidential.

Table (xv) similarly organised, shows the support or administrative appointments held by female officers as of October 1999.

Table (xv): Support (secondary) Appointments (Female Officers, October 1999)

Naval Service Administration	1
Medical Officers, Dentists, Pharmacists	11
Army School Music, Instructor	1
Army Headquarters, Administration	3
Information Technology	1
Brigade Catering Officer	1
Administration, General	2
Logistics Administration	1
Brigade Headquarters Administration	2
Signals Administration	4
Signals Logistics	1
Engineers Administration	1
Logistics Base Administration	2
Air Corps Administration	3
FCA Cadre Officer	1
Military Police Officer	2
Military College Instructor	1
Artillery School Instructor	1
Governor, Military Detention Barracks	1
Equitation School, Jockey	1
Administration Infantry	4
Total	45

(Source: Officers Gazette, Officers Records, DFHQ, 31/10/99 – Confidential)

The first phenomenon of note is the increase in the numbers of female officers during the four and a half year period 30.4.95 – 31.10.99. The number of female officers increased from fifty four to sixty one, an increase of seven officers over the period. This 13% increase in numbers is a lot less dramatic when compared to the almost two and a half fold increase in female (other

ranks) for the period 1997-1999. This is due to a number of factors. The recruitment of female officers since 1982 had been more or less steady with cadets enlisted at a rate of an average of four a year. This compares with a more staggered approach to the enlistment of female personnel (other ranks). After the initial intake of female personnel (other ranks) in 1982, there was no further enlistment until 1990. It has only been since 1994 that women have entered the PDF in significant albeit disproportionately moderate numbers. A number of female officers have retired their commissions consistent with the trend in recent years for officers of captain rank with third level qualifications to seek employment elsewhere. It could be argued, that had a quota system for the enlistment of female cadets not been in force in the eighties and nineties, and had female cadets been enlisted in proportion to the numbers applying, or strictly on merit, there would have been more female officers in the PDF by 31.10.99.

The numbers of women employed in command appointments in the combat corps stands at sixteen. This represents 26.2% of the total number of female officers and shows an increased participation of female officers in the combat corps of the order of 11.4% compared with 14.8% of female officers holding such posts in 1995. This participation rate of 26.1% mirrors the 25.8% of female personnel (other ranks) deployed in combat/line appointments. It still, however, falls far short of the 46.14% participation rate for male officers in line/combat appointments.

It is significant to note the arrival of female officers to the ranks of the Naval Service and Air Corps, seagoing and flying appointments. Despite the ban in the 1990 policy document on females working at sea or in aid to the civil power operations in the Air Corps, female officers are exercising command of naval vessels in the executive branch of the Naval service and flying search and rescue operations in Air Corps operations. As is the case with the figures relating to female personnel (other ranks), a trend of greater numbers of women participating in more of the primary functions of the PDF is now evident. This would suggest a positive indicator for increased participation rates across the combat and support roles of the PDF for female personnel.

It suggests some evidence of support for the commitment to equality of opportunity given by the Chief of Staff in his November 1992 memo.

This evidence however must be viewed in the light of the negative influences of:

- (a) the legacy of the 1990 policy document;
- (b) the negative tone of the subsequent board report and implementation group;

- (c) the lack of an explicit equality of opportunity policy document dealing with the issues of recruitment training, deployment and promotion;
- (d) the continued embargo on female officers' deployment to operational appointments in South Lebanon;
- (e) the continued imposition of a quota or ceiling on the numbers of female cadets enlisted annually;
- (f) the cultural interference caused by patriarchal discourses which would construct military service as being essentially masculine.

I believe that much of the integration of women into the combat appointments as listed has been due not to an altruistic desire on the part of the military authorities for equality of opportunity, but out of necessity and the simple rise in numbers of female personnel; this rise in numbers coupled with a shortage of qualified male personnel for combat appointment at lieutenant and captain rank has in short led to a "woman's effect" or form of "critical mass".

Looking starkly at the 73.8% of female officers still serving in the lower paid support roles, the work assigned these female officers suggests the military authorities have not taken the issue of integration seriously enough. A de facto 'Women's Service Corps' exists, a corps within a corps. There is an unseen and subtle division of labour despite the appearance of satisfying the requirement to have women admitted to the PDF. Care should be taken that the commitment demonstrated in the increase in numbers continues to increase and does not stop short of a true commitment to genuine equality of opportunity. The danger of tokenism should be taken into account to avoid a situation where these women would:

(C)onstitute not the cutting edge of a new occupation trend, but the sum total of that trend (...) and will remain tokens in a heavily male dominated profession - meaning scrutiny, scepticism and sexism.

(McIlwee, 1992: 4)

7.7 Resentment from peers

By being set aside for 'special treatment' in terms of their employment, some male officers as previously mentioned, see this as evidence of favouritism. This strains officer relations and further alienates women within the officer body. This sceptical scrutiny or tension between male

and female personnel within the Defence forces was much remarked upon by the women I interviewed. Within the purposive sample of forty three women interviewed, forty one of the women stated that they had experienced resentment from male superiors, peers or subordinates. Of the seventeen women interviewed in the Lebanon, fourteen stated that they had at one time or another, in some form or another, experienced resentment from their male colleagues for being female. Of the total group of sixty interviewed, five did not raise this issue.

Many of the women interviewed expressed the view that such 'resentment' was almost institutionalised, and was an accepted feature of their working lives. One officer stated:

You're not going to get through the army without experiencing this type of resentment. The cadet school was certainly a focus for this resentment. From fellow cadets and staff alike.

(Interview No. 26, 13/8/99)

Another officer stated:

You constantly get comments like, "go on and flutter your eyelids and you'll get what you want". But more significantly it's an acceptance thing. Colleagues will say to you, "oh you know, he's anti-woman". Matter of factly. Like it's normal to be anti woman. There is a general acceptance of this.

(Interview No. 18, 23/7/99)

Interviewee No. 10 had this to say:

When officers ring the unit looking for information they hear my voice and they say, "can I speak to one of the lads?" So I always say, "I am one of the lads". I've had a C.O. give out to me for issuing instruction to one course that we ran. He didn't like my tone he said. He said, "a woman shouldn't speak like that to people". It wasn't 'ladylike'. You should hear the guys.

(Interview No. 10, 16/4/99)

At the level of basic administration, one's army number, one's basic identity within the military, the distinction between male and female is made. All male officers' numbers begin with the letter 'O' followed by a four-digit number. This number denotes one's seniority within the organisation. For female officers, their number is prefixed by the letter 'OF', and the number allotted female officers is unrelated to the general order of seniority. (This system is under review)

For other ranks, one's army number consists of a six-digit figure. This six-digit figure denotes one's seniority. For female personnel, a separate six-digit coding was established. For all female other ranks, their army number begins with the numbers '300'. This means that when looking at a list of soldiers on paper, one can immediately spot the female troops. Their numbering system, being outside the consecutive seniority system adopted for male personnel, makes it more difficult to establish an order of merit for females. This generates a certain amount of mistrust and resentment for both male and female personnel competing for courses and promotion.

One officer expressed her misgivings as follows:

The whole numbering system for women is ludicrous. The way I see it, some guy is going around with my number. Our numbers are like the yellow star. They just show up you're a woman; so they can skip over your volunteer status for overseas, or courses. (Interview No. 13, 19/4/99)

In total, forty nine of the women who stated that they had experienced resentment for being female, mentioned competition for courses and promotion as foci for such resentment. The following quotes are typical of these responses:

When I got the Naqoura appointment which meant acting corporal, the lads in the unit said, typical woman. Like I got it because I was a woman. It had nothing of course to do with the fact that I have a national certificate in French. (Interview No. 21, 28/7/99)

One officer summed up the seeming ubiquity of this resentment within a male dominated organisation as follows:

I think when you're on course, when you're getting a class place, when the element of competition enters into the equation, when there's perceived competition, then being female can become an issue with a lot of men in the army. (Interview No. 16, 21/4/99)

Certainly, in a male dominated organisation, with the risk of competence being construed within the context of the constructed masculinity, which embodies military service, resentment for being female is evident from the women's responses.

The women are aware of such attitudes of resentment among male colleagues, as their comments show:

I'll never forget my first regimental sergeant major. In front of the whole company he roared at me, "I can't believe there's a woman on my square. Get off my square". I'll never forgive him for that. It was as much my square as his.
(Interview No. 2, 13/4/99)

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The sergeant major used to treat the women terribly. He'd come down on parade and detail the women for cleaning details in the mess. He wouldn't let us drive even though we had 145's (Army Driving Licence). We asked him to allow us. He couldn't believe it. He said, "why are you complaining? - All you have to do is keep the place neat and tidy". When we took it further, he said he wouldn't impose female drivers on the Lebanese. "They've been through enough already".
(Interview No. 38, 8/9/99)

One medical NCO had this to say:

Some of the guys wouldn't let me take blood from them. They said it was because I was a woman. When they brought in (name of soldier killed in action), we had to get him ready for post mortem. They told me to go and make the coffee. They thought I wouldn't be able for it. I am a fully trained medic. I'm proud of it. How would you feel?
(Interview No. 43, 11/9/99)

This harmful dynamic or self-fulfilling policy of under-utilising the female asset has had a negative effect on morale. With the organisational expectations for women lower than those for men, division between male and female officers has occurred and unit cohesion and morale – essential for military efficiency – have suffered.

One factor has been demonstrated to have had both an adverse and positive effect on organisational morale; namely the quality of leadership.
(Edmonds, M., 1988: 32)

By deploying female personnel in this manner, the military authorities under the provisions of its Integrated Personnel Management System, have handicapped their chances of promotion. This is in contravention of the spirit of equality and legal guidelines:

Initial assignments and later career moves should be made in such a manner that all men and women have an equal opportunity to undertake a full range of tasks, including the most demanding duties of the grade. To this end, posts in any grade should not be identified as being more appropriate to staff of a particular sex or marital status, especially where one sex has been traditionally under-represented. Assignments to posts should be made without discrimination on grounds of sex or marital status...

Departments should encourage women to pursue career paths which will rectify under-representation, encounter the more demanding jobs, and maintain them on an equal footing with men when promotions are being considered.
(Equal Opportunity, Policy and Guidelines for the Civil (Public) Service, July 1986, para 17, *Placement and Mobility*: 70)

7.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter set out to chart the deployment of female personnel over the primary (combat) roles and the secondary (support) roles within the organisation. This deployment was charted by means of the unit audits concluded in April of 1997 and October of 1999. The data generated by these audits is examined in sections five and six of the chapter. The first four sections of the chapter focus on the documentary and archival search for policies on equality of opportunity or policies on the deployment of female personnel. No comprehensive body of equality of opportunity policy was detected within the setting. A policy document for the deployment of female personnel dating from 1990 was discovered along with a number of subsequent board reports, implementation reports and memoranda. It is in light of these documents and the section on current legislation on such matters that the ad hoc policies for the deployment of females are examined in sections five and six. The chapter concludes with a section on the impact such practices have had on the quality or tenor of service as experienced by female personnel. The chapter examines the background to the pattern of the employment of female personnel within the setting, examines that pattern in order to establish if a gender division of labour exists, and finally assesses the impact such a division of labour has on female personnel.

Section one contains an examination of the 1990 document titled 'Policy on the deployment of females in the Defence Forces'. This confidential document is the only document within the setting which articulates in a comprehensive way Defence Forces policy for the deployment of female personnel. It is therefore of importance to the study in that in the absence of any other policy document, its provisions may shed light on those ad hoc practices for the deployment of female personnel as examined in the latter sections of the chapter. The 1990 policy document is quoted from in section one with many of its restrictive provisions outlined. These restrictive provisions include bars on the service of female personnel in the combat corps of the infantry, artillery, cavalry, Air Corps and Naval Service. It is noted that such provisions are at variance with international military practice as outlined in chapter four of the study. It is also noted that practice within the PDF since the Chief of Staff's 1992 memorandum and stated commitment to

equality of opportunity, appears to ignore these restrictive provisions. There is evidence within the setting therefore of a trend towards the greater integration of female personnel. This evidence is to be found in terms of ad hoc deployment practices that have evolved within the setting and which are examined in sections five and six of the chapter. There is no evidence within the setting of a policy for the deployment of female personnel which supersedes or replaces the 1990 policy. There is no evidence of a comprehensive equality of opportunity policy as defined by the Equality Authority, the law, or the equality of opportunity literature within the setting. It is only in the case of the Naval Service that something approaching such a policy is found. This is contained in the board report on the employment of females in the Naval Service dating from 1993. For the Naval Service at least this represents a trend towards integration which is expressed both on the ground in terms of action and at the level of management in terms of an explicitly stated policy which is committed to equality of opportunity.

Section two examines the Defence Forces policy on the deployment of female personnel to overseas appointments. Policy on the deployment of female personnel to overseas service is of vital interest to the study in that overseas service is a key criterion for promotion within the setting. Therefore there is a direct link here between the roles assigned female personnel within the setting and the status to which they can aspire in terms of rank and promotion. The section shows that the 1990 policy document on the deployment of female personnel contains restrictive provisions with regard to the deployment of female personnel overseas. These provisions, unlike those in relation to service in other areas of Defence Forces activity such as the Air Corps, Naval Service, infantry artillery and cavalry, are still enforced. They are reiterated in the May 1994 memorandum from the Adjutant General's branch which re-states objections to women's service in certain appointments overseas on the basis of 'cultural' issues. PDF policy in this regard is shown in section two to be at variance with international military practice. Data obtained at interview reveals that 59 of the 60 women interviewed for the study feel discriminated against in terms of their access to overseas appointments. Fifty-seven of those interviewed felt that the restrictions to such service imposed by the military authorities ought to be lifted. Two key points emerge in section two. Overseas service is vital for promotion to higher rank. Women are denied access to such overseas service due to the provisions listed in the Adjutant General's 1994 memorandum which reiterate those restrictive provisions in this regard contained in the 1990 policy document. The Defence Forces have no equality of opportunity aspirations in this area in terms of a proactive or 'positive action' approach to the issue. There is an almost unanimous feeling amongst female personnel that they are discriminated against in this area. The data in

relation to overseas service for female personnel examined in sections five and six would appear to confirm these concerns.

Section three on 'legal aspects' lists all of the relevant legal provisions, national and international in relation to the deployment of female military personnel. Section three shows the 1990 policy document on the deployment of female personnel and any ad hoc practices which would function to discriminate against female personnel to be contrary to both the letter and the spirit of the law. The information obtained from the equality section of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform shows that the military authorities are not exempt from the provisions of the 1998 Employment Equality Act, which came into operation on the 18th of October 1999. The 1998 Act compels the military authorities to implement the full range of equality measures as recommended by the Equality Authority (including positive action) in relation to access to employment, conditions of employment, training, vocational training, and promotion (Guide to Employment Equality Act, 1999: 1). According to the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, "The Act extends protection to the Defence Forces for the first time in Irish Law", (Ibid:3). At the time of writing, no committee, board, or investigating authority has been promulgated within the setting to assess the impact of such legislation. Nor are there plans in the Strategic Planning Office of the Chief of Staff to do so.

Section four examines the Defence Forces' board report on policy for the deployment of female personnel. The board, which convened in October of 1991, recommended that the 1990 policy document be withdrawn and a new policy be formulated. This recommendation was followed in November of 1992 with the Chief of Staff's memo, which stated that "females will have equality of opportunity in all aspects of Defence Forces activity". Eight years later, there is as yet no replacement policy in regard to the deployment of female personnel. There is no equality policy or statement. The only manner in which it is possible to assess the equality environment of the PDF is by examining the Chief of Staff's 1992 memo, the board report of 1992, the implementation board report of 1992 and the Adjutant General's memorandum of 1994 along with the ad hoc practices which have evolved in relation to the deployment of female personnel.

The 1992 board report contained no recommendations for positive action in terms of the recruitment of female personnel and in section 7, paragraph 3 states that at 0.8% of strength, the numbers of women then present in the PDF did not suggest any specific trend for future recruitment. In section eight of the report, at paragraphs 4 and 5, it is implied that an increase in

the numbers of women in the Defence Forces would limit its operational effectiveness. The report goes on to state at paragraph 8 that any trends for the recruitment or deployment of female personnel would be in accord with 'American, Western European or Australian cultural norms'. It is ironic to note that some of the board's statements and many of the PDF's evolved practices in this regard are very much at variance with these norms. On the matter of overseas service, the 1992 board report, at section 9, paragraph 8 reiterates once more the requirement for the military authorities to police and enforce what it terms UN policy restrictions on the deployment of female personnel overseas. This reiteration of the 'local culture' argument is roundly rejected by the women interviewed for the study. Forty-two of those interviewed specifically mention and reject the 'local culture' argument for denying female personnel access to overseas appointments.

Section four then goes on to consider the recommendations of the implementation board report of December 1992. In February of 1993, the officer commanding personnel resources wrote a report to the board outlining his concerns governing the 'physical capacity' and stature of female personnel. In his report the Defence Forces human resource manager ignores the reality of female personnel serving in Somalia at the time he drafted his report and speaks of the problems of credibility and acceptance that would make female personnel non effective on the basis of their height. It reveals a set of domain assumptions that consider female differences as deficits whilst ignoring the reality of their contribution to the military both at home and abroad.

The implementation board report conclude with a number of caveats in relation to the deployment of female personnel. Whilst the Chief of Staff's memo of 1992 and the board report of 1992 contain aspirations in relation to equality of opportunity, the implementation board report seeks to qualify such aspirations on the basis of a number of observations which are inimical to the interests of female personnel. These qualifications are contained in paragraph 28, (a) and (b) wherein the implementation board states that there is a "non acceptance by male comrades that females are capable of performing the duties associated with the job" and that there is a "risk to the completion of the mission due to male personnel being over-protective of their female colleagues". These observations reflect the domain assumptions of a board not cognisant of international trends in the deployment of female personnel, inexperienced in training with or training women, unaware of the de facto performance of women in combat, and inclined to reinforce and not challenge negative assumptions about female personnel. As pointed out in section four, such assertions as at paragraph 28 (a) and (b) of this report are a classic example of

victim-blaming and the reinforcement of stereotyped notions about female personnel with no basis in fact.

Section four goes on to examine the situation vis a vis female personnel serving overseas post the implementation board report. The findings of the author on the ground in south Lebanon in September of 1999 indicate a workplace culture which endorses the 1990 policy and the 1994 Adjutant General's memorandum, in terms of the adoption of restrictive policies and practices in relation to the deployment of female personnel overseas. The women interviewed expressed deep reservations about being tasked to work as waitresses in the officers mess in Camp Shamrock in Lebanon. Section four concludes by warning that the Defence Forces as ambassadors for Ireland, should not export a prejudicial view of women's place in the world of work. The section highlights that provision of the Adjutant General's 1994 memorandum which enforces a gender division of labour overseas. The data gathered at interview demonstrates a universal level of dissatisfaction amongst female personnel with PDF practices in this area. The pattern of women's employment with regard to overseas service has a negative impact on their prospects for promotion, or power and status within the setting. Thus, section four demonstrates an important link between role and status in the overseas appointments assigned to female personnel in the Defence Forces.

Section five deals with the deployment of female personnel (other ranks) within the Defence Forces. This section makes use of the data provided by the military authorities in Strength Return 1 or SR1 to establish the pattern of employment for female personnel in October 1996. The data obtained from SR1 indicates that in October 1996, 42% of female personnel were employed in combat appointments with 58% employed in secondary or support roles within the organisation. It is pointed out in this section that combat appointments attract higher pay in the form of allowances paid for such duties as security duties, border allowances, seagoing allowances, flight pay and army ranger wing allowances. The figures for male personnel obtained from SR1 as of October 1996 show that 66.7% of male personnel were employed in combat appointments, with 33.3% in support roles. A greater proportion of male personnel were therefore employed in the higher paying combat appointments than was the case for female personnel. This suggests a gender division of labour within the PDF on the basis of the official figures provided in SR1.

Section five then considers that data gathered by the author in the unit audits conducted in January to April of 1997 and October of 1999 to establish on the ground exactly those roles

assigned female personnel in the Defence Forces. The audits reveal the 'experience' open to female personnel by virtue of their assigned appointments and any trends towards integration revealed in a comparison of the data obtained in the audits. The audits covered all female personnel (other ranks) of the Defence Forces. The audits reveal that in 1997, 17.1% of female personnel (other ranks) were assigned combat appointments with 82.9% assigned support appointments. These figures compare unfavourably with the official statistics as provided in SR1.

The unit audit of 1999 shows that in October of 1999 the percentage of female personnel (other ranks) employed in combat appointments had risen from 17.1% in 1997 to 25.8% in October 1999. Similarly the percentage of female personnel (other ranks) employed in support appointments had dropped from 82.9% in 1997 to 74.2% in October 1999. The numbers of women had increased from 123 in 1997 to 306 in 1999. There was also evidence that over the period of the two audits, female personnel had been assigned appointments in combat appointments that had previously been closed to them particularly in the case of the Air Corps and Naval Service. The unit audits conducted in relation to female personnel (other ranks) indicate that a gender division of labour exists within the Defence Forces but that there is evidence of a trend towards greater numbers and integration for female employees. This integration however would appear to be as a result of ad hoc practices which have evolved and not through any programmed or policy driven initiative. Despite the trend towards integration noted in the unit audits, there is still evidence in October of 1999 a gender division of labour which is discriminatory towards women. Despite the increase in the numbers of women within the organisation, at roughly 3% of strength they are still seriously underrepresented within the Defence Forces by comparison with NATO averages (15%) and the numbers of women throughout the public service (48%). This would appear to be borne out by the data obtained at interview with forty seven of the sixty women interviewed expressing the view that they are discriminated against in terms of access to combat appointments within the PDF. Fifty nine of the sixty women interviewed stated that all such combat appointments should be open to female personnel on an equality of opportunity basis. The figures revealed in the unit audits would seem to indicate that this is not the case.

Section six examined the deployment of female officers throughout the Defence Forces. The section contains data on the deployment of female officers in 1995 provided by the military authorities through the gazette published at that time. The data from April 1995 shows that

14.8% of female officers were assigned combat appointments with 85.2% employed in support appointments. This compares less than favourably with figures for male officers from April 1995 which show that at that time, 46.14% of male officers were employed in combat appointments with 53.86% employed in support appointments. The audit of female officers appointments carried out in October 1999 reveals a trend towards the integration of female officers into all appointments within the Defence Forces which mirrors that trend detected for female personnel (other ranks) over the same period. The data obtained in October 1999 show that 26.2% of female officers are employed in combat appointments with 73.8% employed in support appointments. As was the case with female personnel (other ranks) female officers had been over the period of the audit assigned combat duties in the Naval Service and Air Corps. The data obtained in the audit of female officers showed a more modest increase in the numbers of female officers in the organisation over the period. The increase of 13% or seven officers is less dramatic than the increase for female personnel (other ranks) given the steady recruitment of female cadets throughout the eighties and nineties compared to the larger number of female personnel (other ranks) that were recruited to the organisation as a result of the lifting of the recruitment embargo in 1994. The data presented at section six in relation to female officers shows that a trend towards the greater integration of female personnel is evident over the period 1995-1999. This trend is, however, the result of the evolution of ad hoc practices as no policy document exists in this area. The data also indicates that despite this trend towards integration, a marked gender division of labour is evident in the roles assigned female officers in the Defence Forces. The data also suggests that female officers are underrepresented in numbers in the organisation by comparison with the international military and the remainder of the public service.

Section seven of the chapter deals with that data obtained at interview which reveals the impact of the deployment of female personnel on their experience of service in the Defence Forces. Fifty five of the sixty women interviewed for the study stated that they experienced as a matter of routine resentment for being female within a male-dominated organisation. The pattern of employment for female personnel imposed by the military authorities would appear to have had the effect of alienating women within the setting. This is one of the outcomes hypothesised in the equality of opportunity literature in describing work place settings without an equality culture.

The data gathered and presented in this chapter reveals a number of salient facts. There is no equality of opportunity policy present within the setting of the PDF as defined by and understood

in the equality of opportunity literature and the law. There are practices in the deployment of women that have evolved in an ad hoc fashion. Whilst there is some evidence of a trend towards the greater integration of women resulting from these ad hoc practices, the roles assigned female personnel show a marked gender division of labour within the PDF. This marked gender division of labour has serious implications for female personnel in terms of their being marginalised within the workplace and having less potential for promotion within the organisation. This is reflected in the opinions expressed by the women at interview with a universal and almost unanimous agreement amongst female personnel that they are the victims of routine and officially sanctioned discrimination.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Promotion

The aim of this study, to critically examine the status and roles assigned female personnel in the PDF, has been addressed in a number of ways. The role of women in the PDF has been examined in chapter seven, in terms of the deployment policies and practices as promulgated by the military authorities. The pattern of women's employment within a gender division of labour was charted through a number of unit audits. The women's attitudes to this pattern of employment and their aspirations in this respect were also assessed through a simple analysis of interview data. In the chapter on training, an analysis of the PDF training environment, particularly as it impacts on women, gave some insights into the role envisaged for female troops, and their perceived status within a male dominated organisation.

The issue of status, in terms of the numbers and visibility of women, was assessed in the chapter on recruitment. PDF policies in this regard were shown to have had an effect on any possible impact women may have had on the organisation by limiting the numbers of those eligible to apply for service and imposing quotas on the numbers of those selected for service. Issues of status were also examined in the chapter on deployment in terms of the appointments assigned female personnel over the primary and secondary roles of the organisation. The issue of status is now further examined in this chapter on promotion. There is a discussion of the criteria for promotion and how PDF deployment and training policies impact on women's promotion opportunities in this regard. There is a simple analysis of figures in relation to female (other ranks) promotion and female officers' promotion. There is also a qualitative insight into the perceptions of female troops in relation to their promotion prospects and their aspirations for promotion.

The power or status of women within the organisation through this simple analysis can be assessed by applying the models outlined by Adler (1994) in terms of access to "strategic power" and Reskin and Padavic (1994) in terms of "autonomy" for female personnel. It will be of interest to note if the PDF operates to proactively promote women in the workplace in accord with EEA guidelines (1998) and in line with the spirit of equality of opportunity literature, or if indeed the PDF is a work environment hostile to equality of opportunity with an ad hoc and "informal promotion policy and a work culture that froze (sic) women out". (Reskin and Padavic, 1994: 98-9)

8.1 Promotion, other ranks

Table (xvi), supplied by Enlisted Personnel Section at DFHQ and based on the statistics contained in Strength Return 1 (SR1), shows the breakdown by rank of both male and female personnel, (other ranks) as of 30th September 1996. The table consists of five columns and eight rows. The first column on the left hand side lists the ranks held in descending order with the most junior rank of private in the bottom row. The remaining columns respectively from left to right contain the relevant numbers of male and female personnel along with the percentage of the total as calculated by EPS. The table is useful in comparing the numbers and percentages of male and female personnel holding non-commissioned rank.

Table (xvi): Ranks held by male and female personnel (Other Ranks) 30.09.96

Rank Held	Male	% Male	Female	% Female
Sergeant Major	44	0.4%	Nil	0%
BQ	53	0.5%	Nil	0%
Company Sgt	273	2.6%	Nil	0%
CQMS	370	3.7%	Nil	0%
Sergeant	1,593	15.7%	9	8%
Corporal	2,394	23.6%	26	21%
Private	5,401	53.5%	88	71%

Source: SR1, DFHQ, Confidential, 30 September 1996.

The table shows that as of 30.09.96 71% of female personnel (other ranks) held the rank of private. A total of 33 women had been promoted to the ranks of corporal and sergeant. There were no women promoted to senior NCO rank as of September 1996.

Female personnel (other ranks) have been serving in the army since 1982. Due to the amended syllabi of training (TS INF 8/90 Females, TS 10/90) with an additional 39 hours of training in administrative duties, it could be said that female personnel were being 'groomed' for administrative type work. Certainly because of the absence of the majority of tactical training on these syllabi, most line or regimental appointments were closed to women.

These syllabi, devised by the military authorities and chosen for these women, greatly restricted the roles envisioned for women in the army. The net effect of these training policies, deployment policies and deployment practices since 1992 is that at present the ratio

of female personnel involved in line to support roles within the Defence Forces is in the order of 25.8:74.2. This is in comparison to a ratio of 67:33 for their male colleagues. In terms of the teeth to tail ratio women are certainly at the tail-end of the operational job market. This internal re-segregation of the workforce has led to a diminution in the status of these women and this is reflected in their rate of advancement through the ranks.

Promotion competitions within the Army are internal affairs with the deliberations of Promotion boards deemed confidential. Supposedly open and based on merit, promotion competitions are difficult to scrutinise as they are shrouded in confidentiality. In attempting to analyse their deliberations one is hampered by secrecy and access. Most competitions are held within the unit with the attendant issues of objectivity and the internecine nature of internally-run promotion competitions. There are no equality of opportunity policy, statement or aspirations in the area of promotion. Having said that, however, there is a comprehensive and complex appeals system for unsuccessful competitors. It is within this environment that male and female personnel compete for promotion. Amongst the criteria deemed desirable would be:

1. Seniority (Time served in present rank)
2. Successful completion of military courses at home
3. Successful completion of military courses abroad
4. Command of troops at home
5. Command of troops overseas
6. Confidential reports (AF667)

Through no fault of their own, many female personnel have been denied many of these experiences. Through past and present training and deployment policies and practices, women are in effect handicapped when it comes to promotion. This is evidenced by the fact that as of 30.9.96 not one of the 740 Senior NCO's vacancies currently available was filled by a woman. Only 7% of women as opposed to 15.7% of men had achieved the rank of Sergeant, while 71% of female personnel found themselves still at Private rank as opposed to 53% of their male colleagues. This situation is worth comparing to the situation for female personnel which exists as of 31st October 1999 and shown in table (xvii) overleaf. The table provided by EPS in DFHQ consists of three columns and eight rows. The first column on the left hand side lists the ranks held in descending order with the most junior rank of private in the bottom row. The remaining columns respectively from left to right contain the relevant numbers of female personnel along with the percentage of the total of female personnel as calculated by EPS.

Table (xvii): Ranks held by female personnel (Other ranks) 31.10.99

Rank held	Female	% Total Female
Sergeant Major	NIL	0%
BQMS	NIL	0%
Company Sergeant	1	0.3%
CQMS	1	0.3%
Sergeant	11	3.6%
Corporal	33	10.8%
Private	260	85.0%

Source SR1, EPS, DFHQ, 31 Oct 99. Confidential.

The figures for breakdown by rank for female personnel (other ranks) for October 1999 reflect the increase in the numbers of women serving in the PDF. Their numbers have grown from a total of 123 (other ranks) in 1996 to a total of 306 (other ranks) in October 1999. In terms of status as defined by rank, currently 85% of female personnel are at the rank of private. This percentage is higher than that of the 71% recorded at this rank in 1996. This is due to the virtual tripling of numbers of women recruited during the period (from eighty-eight in 1996 to two hundred and sixty in 1999).

The number of corporals has increased from twenty-six in 1996 to thirty three in 1999, a total increase of seven. This brings their representation to 10.8% of total at this rank. With the increase in numbers at the rank of private, and through the uptake of courses and throughput of personnel, this percentage should increase. As it stands, 10.8% of the total at this rank is quite low and suggests women are under-represented at this rank. Given that the majority of these women at private rank enlisted since 1994, however, this representation is likely to increase dramatically. (Promotion to corporal normally takes five to seven years from enlistment).

The number of female sergeants has increased from nine to eleven in three years. This is a modest increase. The overall representation at this rank has dropped from 7.3% to 3.6% in the three years. This proportional drop, again, could be said to be related to the increase in the numbers of women who have joined the army in this period.

What is significant is the advent of women's promotion to the senior NCO ranks of company sergeant (one), and company quartermaster sergeant (CQMS) (one). These women were

promoted in 1999. This is a positive phenomenon, and it will be interesting in the future to see if and at what rate this trend might continue.

8.2 Promotion for female officers within the PDF

Promotion for officers comprises both a fixed-term and competition process. Initially on commissioning, promotion to Captain takes place after a fixed period of seven years. Promotion to commandant and beyond is determined by an agreed competition system known as 'promotion on merit'.

Prior to the Gleeson Commission of Enquiry into the PDF (1990), promotion was based on seniority alone. The new 'merit' system is governed by:

1. D.F.R. A.15 'Promotions'
2. Gleeson Commission, Chapter 2, para 2.2.7
3. Integrated Personnel Management Systems (IPMS)

In the case of DFR A 15 'Promotions', this refers to the strictly legal criteria necessary for promotion including such provisions as the necessity for the individual in question to be a member of the Defence Forces as defined in the Defence Acts. D.F.R. A. 15 does not contain any list of criteria for promotion that comes under the scope of this study in that the strictly legal definitions it contains apply to those establishment conditions necessary for a vacancy within the organisation to be filled by means of promotion. The criteria as listed apply to the competition as such and not the determination of an order of merit as outlined by both the Gleeson Commission and the Integrated Personnel Management System.

In the case of the Gleeson Commission, Chapter 2, para 2.2.7., the following points arise. Chapter 2, para 2.2.7., states:

- A promotion system, if it is to serve the best interests of the individual and the organisation, must be and be seen to be
- (i) fair to the individual
 - (ii) based on acceptable criteria of performance and achievement
 - (iii) based on the impartial judgement of competent assessors, and
 - (iv) supported by proper personnel management policies, particularly a career development strategy which ensures adequate mobility for individuals to provide them with broadly based experience.

Para 2.2.8., goes on to state:

Proposals for a new system of promotion in the Defence Forces are outlined in the following paragraphs. The Commission accepts that the details of these arrangements

will need to be developed further but it recommends that revised promotion procedures which incorporate the features outlined be devised and implemented without delay
(Gleeson Commission, 1990: 28-9)

The proposals outlined in paragraphs 2.2.9 – 2.2.13 cover such criteria as the requirement for the candidate to have completed the requisite military courses deemed necessary for promotion, have a satisfactory rating by reporting (commanding) officers, have a satisfactory sick leave record, minimum service in the present rank and in the case of certain senior appointments have a minimum potential service in the higher rank.

These proposals became the basis for the subsequent formulation of the Integrated Personnel Management System or IPMS by the military authorities for serving personnel competing for promotion. The IPMS was formulated in the Adjutant General's Branch and stresses the careful management of career profile for promotion purposes. Four "core elements" of the 'desirable' career path have been identified by IPMS:

1. Unit (Line) Appointments
2. Career Courses
3. Staff, Instructor Appointments
4. Overseas Service.

(IPMS, 1991, Para 26)

In order to be considered a serious contender for promotion one must achieve appointments in these critical areas. The career-oriented officer will have command experience in an operational unit, will have all necessary career courses passed and preferably have staff (Military College, Brigade or DFHQ) experience. The paramount ingredient for promotion however is overseas experience and such service, particularly with observer status, is seen as a key factor in promotion.

Given these criteria for success, it is obvious that women have been handicapped by deployment policies. To date, no female officer has attended a foreign career course, and only two female officers have been selected for an observer mission abroad. Operational units have in the past been closed to female personnel as have command and staff appointments at HQ level. To compound this, female officers were, in the 1980s, excluded from the tactical phases of the Standard Infantry Course and various corps 'Young Officers' or Y.O.s courses. (This situation has since been rectified and all officers undergo the same training). A description of this situation is included in the 1992 PDF study group on female

soldiers. The study group however do not comment on the implications of such a situation for promotion:

- (1) The Female Course Syllabus was approximately 100 hours, or three weeks shorter than the Male Course Syllabus.
- (2) The main difference between both syllabi was in Tactical Operations and internal Security. There were 17 hours allotted to Tactical Operations on the Female Syllabus in comparison to 132 hours on the Male Syllabus. There were 10 hours allotted to Internal Security in the Female Syllabus in comparison to 31 hours on the Male Syllabus.
- (3) The Female Syllabus did however include 62 hours on Command and Staff duties in comparison to 32 hours on the Male Syllabus.

(Study Group - Female Soldiers, 16 Dec. 1992: 4, Restricted)

As a result of complaints from female officers, special "female officers' tactical courses" were run in 1992 and 1993 to rectify this deficit in training. This artificially-created environment places an additional strain on relations with male colleagues. When female officers enter the promotion competition (circa 2000) their progress will be hindered through that systematic tampering of their career profiles euphemistically called 'deployment policy'.

The deployment policies, flawed as they are, compound the vicious circle of unease created by discrimination. This unease or resentment among male and female peers was highlighted in the last chapter and comes into focus when male and female personnel compete for appointments or promotion. Such unease is exacerbated by an unhealthy work environment, one which does not respect difference. As Tanton writes:

The organisational environment which is not healthy for women is similarly unhealthy for men (...) and will continue to reinstate the formidable hierarchical structures which eliminate the potential for individual respect, flexibility and difference.

(Tanton, 1994: 2)

In addition to those aspects of women's service which prove problematic for promotion and form part of an 'unhealthy' work environment is the assessment of merit based on the consolidation of officer's annual confidential reports. This has serious implications for female officers. An already contentious and subjective sub-unit assessment, the "451" (Annual Confidential Report) has been shown in studies abroad to be inimical to the interests of female officers.

A study of this type of subjective, sub unit assessment in the U.S. Navy found Unit Commanders allowed the gender of subject officers to colour their assessment of their

performance. A study by Thomas (1983) of anonymous narrative accounts of appraisals of the job performance of female and male U.S. Naval Officers investigated whether gender influenced the judgements of the job behaviour of individuals. She concluded it did. The study in 1983 found female officers were rated on average lower than their male counterparts on satisfaction rating scales because of their sex. This type of subjective assessment which rates women lower than men in terms of their management prowess on the basis of the constructed masculinity of management is referred to by Tanton (1994:37-8) as 'managerial sex typing'.

Given these implications for women arising from written reports and allied with the full range of obstacles to promotion for women enshrined in policy, the PDF seems at bald variance with the Equal Opportunity Policy and Guidelines issued to the Public Service:

24. There should be equality of opportunity at all stages of the promotion process.
25. Management (...) (should) ensure that there are no impediments (e.g. lack of experience or training) which would disadvantage them in the promotion situation.

(Equal Opportunity Policy, 1986, para 24, 25 "Promotion": 8)

Table (xviii) gives the breakdown by numbers and rank of male and female officers in the PDF as of April 1995. The table consists of three columns and ten rows. The left-hand column lists the officer ranks held by male and female personnel as of 30.04.95. in descending order with the most junior officer rank of 2nd Lieutenant in the bottom row. The middle column lists the numbers of male officers holding each rank as listed in the left-hand column. The right hand column lists the numbers of women holding the ranks as listed. The table is useful for the purposes of comparison of the numbers of male and female officers holding commissioned rank. The table also gives an indication of the assignment of status to female personnel in the work environment as discussed.

Table (xviii): Ranks held by male and female officers as of 30.04.95

Rank Held	Male	Female
Lieutenant General	1	N/A
Major General	3	N/A
Brigadier General	8	N/A
Colonel	37	N/A
Lieutenant Colonel	142	N/A
Commandant	478	6
Captain	589	30
Lieutenant	173	13
Second Lieutenant	60	5

Source Officers Records, DFHQ Confidential, 30.04.95

As a result of a combination of factors, female officers find themselves disadvantaged in terms of promotion. As of 30th April 1995, the vast majority of female officers were 'trapped' at junior officer level. Roughly 88.7% of female officers were Lieutenants and Captains compared with only roughly 54.6% of their male colleagues (Source SR1, 30 April 1995).

The six female Commandants were direct entries, Dental and Medical officers, whose appointment and promotion takes place outside of the 'merit' competition applicable to line officers. Given the nature of the 'merit' competition and the criteria laid down in the IPMS guidelines, it is unlikely that female officers will be adequately represented amongst senior officer ranks. Table (xix) shows the situation for female officers as of the 31st of October 1999. The table consists of three columns and nine rows. The left hand column lists the ranks in descending order with the most junior officer rank held by female personnel as of 31.10.99 in the bottom row. The middle column lists the numbers of female personnel occupying the corresponding rank in the left-hand column. The right hand column consists of the percentage of the total number of women as calculated by officers records. This table gives an indication of the status in terms of strategic power and autonomy as achieved by female personnel at the rank of senior officers.

Table (xix): Ranks held by female officers as of 31.10.99.

Rank Held	Total Female	% Total Female
Lieutenant General	N/A	
Major General	N/A	
Brigadier General	N/A	
Colonel	N/A	
Lieutenant Colonel	N/A	
Commandant	5	8.1%
Captain	31	51%
Lieutenant	19	31.1%
Second Lieutenant	6	9.8%

Source; Officers Records, DFHQ, Confidential. 31/10/99

The figures for October 1999 show an increase from fifty-four female officers in 1995 to sixty-one in 1999. This increase in numbers does not mirror the almost three fold jump in the numbers of female other ranks in the same period. The representation of women at senior officer level has reduced from six commandants in 1995 to five in 1999. There is a similarity in terms of representation at junior officer rank between the situation as it stands now and as it stood in 1996. Today 91.9% of female officers are at junior officer level, with 88.7% in 1996. Women have not yet entered the competition for promotion to senior rank.

This problem of under representation is highlighted by comparison abroad. In the U.S. Army:

Today one lieutenant in six is female (...) only one colonel in thirty. Only three of the Army's 407 General Officers are women.

(Moskos, 1990: 12)

These figures are considered to represent rates of participation in management so low as to be discriminatory. Other commentators have accused the military of being discriminatory in this regard:

A glass ceiling, pay inequities and rising counts of sexual harassment (...) the military has been openly discriminating against women in ways that would be unthinkable in the private sector (...) Today 45 years after President Truman's decision to desegregate the Armed Services, a black American is the most senior soldier in the U.S. military. (Hopefully) (...) a generation from now, Gen. Powell's job may be held by a woman.

(Peak, 1993: 1)

Given the complex array of obstacles and blocks to women's promotion, a range of proactive and affirmative steps must be taken to redress the balance and to create a work environment where men and women can succeed in an open and fair manner.

8.3 The promotion environment of the PDF

The issue of promotion, and the prospects for promotion came up for discussion during the interview schedule. Of the forty-three women interviewed at home in Ireland, thirty-eight expressed the opinion that they did not have an equal chance at promotion as their male colleagues. Five of the forty-three women interviewed felt that the promotion system as it stands would give them a fair chance at promotion. Of the seventeen women interviewed in the control sample in the Lebanon, fifteen felt that they were handicapped in terms of promotion prospects.

Out of a total of sixty women interviewed, fifty-three women felt they were handicapped under the present promotion system. In expressing the opinion that they were handicapped when it came to promotion, the women referred specifically to those areas of experience deemed necessary or desirable for promotion under the IPMS system.

In terms of access to career courses, and its impact on promotion:

The lads get all the courses in the Battalion. So they get the promotion. From our recruit platoon, none of the girls have made corporal yet.
(Interview No. 41, 11/9/99)

The NCOs courses are almost impossible to get on. In our unit, when there's a vacancy, the guys always get first call. They don't think we're fit to be in charge.
(Interview No. 31, 31/8/99)

The feeling that women's chances for promotion are curtailed due to practices which deny them the experience/training identified by the IPMS as desirable for promotion is one that is shared by other ranks and officers alike. The following quotes from officers interviewed give an idea of the attitudes of female officers to the promotion system:

When it comes to promotion, women will have a problem competing with their male colleagues. For example, there's never been a female company commander overseas. All the important areas, the career jobs – women just aren't in them.
(Interview No. 4, 14/4/99)

Well, up to captain certainly, the system is fair enough. It's automatic. But in the long term, no. Not when you consider the overseas dimension. We're going to enter the promotion competition at a disadvantage. Overseas wise, we're not on a level pegging with the guys.
(Interview No. 16, 21/4/99)

If we continue to have problems getting overseas in command appointments, then the system will cause problems for us in the future. Even now there's problems. Just looking at numbers. There are no female lieutenant colonels. There is going to have to be a fight for promotion.
(Interview No. 29, 26/8/99)

Yes, the promotion system will cause problems for women once the competition opens up. If some guy spends all his time on courses and overseas, then that's what it's all about. It wouldn't do for us who rarely get courses overseas, or appointments overseas, to be seen to get preferential treatment.
(Interview No. 23, 10/8/99)

Many of the female officers interviewed specifically mentioned the 'vicious circle of unease', (Tanton, 1994: 2) created by discriminatory practices and perceived difference in status:

My career path to date, with its attendant restrictions, has left me at a disadvantage promotion wise. Prior to 1992 we weren't allowed serve outside 'A' appointments. The same applied to overseas jobs, we weren't allowed to do the real work. A lot of the 55th Cadet class will take redresses against our class if we get promoted commandant in the next few years. But I don't know how problematic this really will be because of the original eight of us in the class, only two are left. Not a very encouraging picture, is it?
(Interview No. 8, 15/4/99)

Interviewee No. 8 is here expressing the fear that if she and her female colleague from the 54th Cadet class are promoted commandant, this will cause male members of the 55th Cadet class who have competed in the same competition to initiate what is termed in the Defence Forces, a 'redress of wrongs' procedure. This redress of wrongs or grievance procedure would be based on questioning why male personnel who have satisfied IPMS criteria for promotion should be unsuccessful in a competition for promotion in which female personnel who do not satisfy the criteria are successful. The military authorities in denying female personnel the range of appointments necessary to satisfy promotion criteria have placed female personnel in the invidious position of having any promotion subject to hostile scrutiny from male peers. This de facto situation does not fit with the hypothesised work environment typical in an equality friendly environment.

I don't feel that we do have an equal shot in the promotion stakes. I've asked this a hundred times to be clarified, you know, the boxes to be ticked. I'm not credited with them. Through no fault of my own. One doesn't get to choose one's appointments overseas as a woman. Am I to be penalised for these choices, made for me by others? This has the potential to be a huge problem. If I am promoted, then male colleagues who have ticked the boxes are going to be complaining and saying, why the fuck did I do these things? They would be perfectly within their rights to get a redress of wrongs on this basis. You see as a woman, you're damned if you do, and you're damned if you don't, when it comes to a promotion. Basically, the criteria are okay. But not letting us tick the boxes will keep women out of the senior ranks. (Interview No. 24, 11/8/99).

For the majority of women interviewed, the feeling was that given present deployment practices, it simply was not possible for women to meet all of the requirements deemed necessary for promotion.

In relation to the promotion issue seven of the sixty were confident of their long-term prospects for promotion. The following quotes illustrate their optimism and confidence:

Me personally, I think I've a better chance for promotion than most, male or female. I'm convinced I'll be the first female sergeant major in the army. (Interview No. 32, 1/9/99)

Yes, I think I'll get to senior NCO rank. I think I've a very good chance of making major. Sooner or later it's going to dawn on them, we need a female sergeant major. That would suit me fine, thank you. (Interview No. 19, 27/7/99)

In discussing with me their thoughts on the promotion system, the women interviewed went on to discuss their future in the PDF. Of the forty-three women interviewed at home, twenty-five stated that they were actively considering leaving the PDF. Six stated that they didn't know what they would do. Twelve stated that they wanted to remain in the PDF and serve the maximum number of years possible. Of the seventeen interviewed in the Lebanon, seven stated that they were thinking of leaving the PDF. Four stated that they didn't know what they would do and six stated that they wished to remain in service.

Approximately half of those interviewed (thirty-one) stated that they were actively considering leaving the PDF. This possibly is a function of the "Celtic Tiger" economy. With employment prospects healthy in the civilian workplace, many of these women may simply be attracted by improved rates of pay and prospects elsewhere. An examination of their responses tells a different story, however. The following quotes give a qualitative insight into the mindset of these women:

Morale amongst women in the army is low. I don't think the job measures up to people's expectations.
(Interview No. 3, 13/4/99)

I had a big army background. My brother and my father were in the army. The army has not lived up to my expectations. It's not a challenge. In the infantry you're hidden behind corners. You just feel you're not worth anything.
(Interview No. 6, 14/4/99)

I wanted to do something different. I saw the cadetship as challenging. I did it out of curiosity. It hasn't lived up to my expectations. There's a lot of bullshit. And there is so much begrudgery. It's very stifling.
(Interview No. 16, 21/4/99)

I joined the army to be a soldier, not a cleaner. I wouldn't recommend it.
(Interview No. 20, 28/7/99)

There's no future in the army for women. If you're a career woman. Forget it.
(Interview No. 21, 28/7/99)

I would not recommend the Irish army for women. Outside the army there's a better atmosphere for developing people. The PDF is potentially, I think, a very unhealthy place for women.
(Interview No. 26, 13/8/99)

I joined because of a strong family influence. But I can tell you I found out pretty quick. I joined a different army to my brothers. I joined as a woman. And that means you're immediately demeaned.
(Interview No. 28, 25/8/99)

I always wanted to join the army. You know. It's not the average nine to five. But I am very disappointed at the way women are treated in the army.
(Interview No. 42, 11/9/99)

I feel that these women's feelings are summed up by one officer with seventeen years service. In what I feel is a very poignant response, she states:

I wanted to be a soldier since I was at least ten years old. I was a real warrior. But the army won't let me be a soldier.
(Interview No. 33, 31/8/99)

Of the eighteen women who expressed the desire to stay within the PDF, sixteen listed as a reason to stay the pension and security of the job. Two stated that the job offered the opportunity to combine parenting with a job as a result of the flexibility of local working arrangements and time off, i.e.:

As an organisation, the army has some attractive conditions of service. The money is fine. As officers we effectively have flexi time. As we say, hey, you mightn't have much of a career, but you can drop off the kids and collect them later.
(Interview No. 11, 19/4/99)

In terms of recommending the PDF as a career for other women, of the forty-three women interviewed at home, thirty-nine said they would not recommend the PDF as a career for women. Of the seventeen interviewed in the Lebanon, sixteen stated they would not recommend service in the PDF for other women. If fifty-five of the sixty women felt that they could not recommend service in the PDF for women, it seems to suggest that the majority of women in the PDF are disillusioned with their experience of service life and prospects for promotion.

It therefore behoves the military authorities to reconsider the promotion system and the IPMS criteria in light of deployment practices for female personnel. A good starting point for such a review might lie in consulting female employees on this issue. Of the sixty women interviewed at home and abroad, only one of these women had been canvassed by the military authorities for their views on any aspect of service life, in terms of conditions of service, pay or equipment. This is at variance with the equality of opportunity agenda, which presupposes such a rapport in its literature.

8.4 Chapter summary

Chapter eight focussed on the status assigned female soldiers within the Defence Forces on the basis of rank achieved through the current promotion system. The chapter demonstrates the link between the roles assigned female personnel within the setting and the status achieved by these female personnel in an examination of the criteria for promotion in sections one and two. Section three contains a simple account of female personnel's attitudes to the promotion system as outlined at interview. The chapter lends itself to the equality audit as suggested in the equality of opportunity literature in chapter three in that the examination of promotion for female personnel gives an indication of female personnel's access to "strategic

power” (Adler, 1994) and “autonomy” (Reskin and Padavic, 1994). Such access is posited in the theoretical outline as an indicator of an equality friendly environment.

Section one deals with the promotion system as it applies to female personnel (other ranks). The data obtained from Enlisted Personnel Section in Defence Forces Headquarters (EPS, DFHQ) as of September 1996 show that 71% of female personnel (other ranks) were at the rank of private. Twenty-nine percent of female personnel (other ranks) had been promoted to the ranks of Corporal and Sergeant with 26 female corporals and 9 female sergeants in the PDF in September 1996. No female personnel (other ranks) had been promoted to the senior non commissioned officer ranks of company quartermaster sergeant (CQMS) company sergeant, battalion quartermaster sergeant or battalion sergeant major. Therefore, as of September 1996, female personnel (other ranks) had no representation at the level of senior NCO.

The data supplied by EPS, DFHQ, for October 1999 show women entering the ranks of senior NCO with two female personnel promoted to company quartermaster sergeant and company sergeant respectively. This is positive trend in terms of women’s access to strategic power or autonomy. The data from 1999 show that 85% of female personnel serving in the Defence Forces hold the rank of private. A modest increase in the number of corporals and sergeants is also evident with 33 corporals (an increase of 7) and 11 sergeants (an increase of 2). These figures and the increase in numbers of women over the period 1996 – 1999 are positive indicators in terms of an increase in the numbers of women entering military service and a modest increase in the numbers of those being promoted. At 3% of strength however, the overall numbers remain low by international military standards (15% NATO) and the remainder of the public service (48%). The criteria for promotion for female personnel (other ranks) as listed in section two give rise for concern in terms of the deployment practices as outlined in chapter seven. It is reasonable to argue that unless those restrictions which have evolved in practice in terms of female personnel’s access to overseas service and the nature of the appointments assigned them are reviewed, then female personnel (other ranks) cannot compete for promotion on an equal basis with their peers.

Section two outlines the situation in terms of promotion for female officers in the PDF. The section begins by outlining the criteria for the promotion of officers as prescribed by the Gleeson Commission (1990) and the Integrated Personnel Management System (1991). The criteria as listed suggest that unless those deployment practices and policy statements as outlined in chapter seven are revised, female officers would not be in a position to compete

for promotion on an equal basis with their peers. This would seem to be at variance with the equality of opportunity guidelines as issued to the public service in relation to promotion.

The data obtained from officer's records in relation to those ranks held by female officers reveals the following. As of April 1995, 88.7% of female officers were holding junior officer rank. Six female officers had reached the rank of commandant. These officers however fell outside the scope of the promotion competition as described in that they were all medical and dental officers who had entered the PDF under the direct entry scheme as described in chapter five. Data obtained from officer's records for 1999 show that 91.9% of female officers remain at junior officer rank. At this point in time, female officers had not yet entered the competition for promotion to senior officer rank.

Section three consists of data obtained at interview in relation to promotion for female personnel within the PDF. Of the 60 women interviewed, 57 expressed the opinion that they were handicapped by the current system of promotion in that they were denied access to some of the appointments (roles) deemed necessary for promotion (status). This would appear to be the experience and opinion expressed by both officers and other ranks alike. Many spoke of what Tanton (1994:2) refers to as the 'vicious cycle of unease' created by the uncertainty created by deployment practices and promotion criteria. This was expressed by some interviewees in terms of a fear that promotion for female personnel might be subject to hostile scrutiny from male colleagues and that redress procedures might arise from such promotion. Thirty one of the sixty women interviewed stated that they were actively considering leaving the organisation. Fifty-five out of the sixty stated that they would not recommend the Defence Forces to female colleagues as a setting to work in. Of the sixty women interviewed, none were ever consulted by the military authorities on the promotion system. The equality of opportunity literature as discussed in chapter three presupposes such a rapport to exist in the workplace. The data gathered in this section appears to confirm a deal of uncertainty and unease generated by the problems posed for female personnel in terms of the deployment practices and criteria for promotion as promulgated by the military authorities. The chapter demonstrates a link between the roles and status assigned female members of the Defence Forces.

CHAPTER NINE

Equality of opportunity: An Garda Síochána, the RUC, the international military and the public service

This chapter will consider the lot of female employees in other uniformed organisations at home and abroad and in other sectors of the public service. It will consider the question of proactive and affirmative action policies in the light of those PDF policies highlighted in chapters five to eight. I will consider equality of opportunity policy and practice within the Garda Síochána, the RUC, the international military and throughout the public service. I will also deal with issues of representation in this area from the point of view of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, RACO and PDFORRA. The examination in this chapter, of policies and practices in the area of equality of opportunity as they apply in other organisations and institutions at home and abroad, situates the study within a wider context. The practices and policies as promulgated by the PDF can be considered in comparison to those that apply elsewhere.

9.1 An Garda Síochána

I decided to examine the status and roles assigned women in an Garda Síochána for a number of reasons. To begin with, it is, like the army, a uniformed branch of the Public Service. It is an organisation which came into being at roughly the same time as the army. (An Garda Síochána celebrated their 75th anniversary in 1998). It is an organisation that interfaces with the general population on many levels, and particularly (like the army) in time of crisis with issues of public order and the use of force. It is an organisation, which was perceived as being, until recently, an all-male environment.

Initially, women were a minority grouping within the Garda Síochána. Like the proposed Women's Service Corps mentioned in chapter five, they played a separate and different role within the force. Prior to the enactment of the anti Discrimination (Pay) Act of 1974, female Gardaí found themselves often in lower paid and less powerful work situations than their male colleagues.

After the 1974 Act, female Gardaí were integrated into mainstream policing. All "women only" units were disbanded. An Garda Síochána was brought under the ambit of the Employment Equality Act of 1977 by the E.C. Directive, S.I. 331 of 1985. Since then, the number of female Gardaí has doubled.

Women now comprise 8% of the force with eight hundred and fifty three members serving. (Source, "B" Branch, Garda Headquarters, Restricted). This compares with 12% in the RUC, 12.2% in the Netherlands, 13.5% in Sweden and 16% in Britain. The numbers of female Gardaí are monitored by the European Network of Policewomen established in 1989. This body also monitors the integration and deployment of policewomen across the EU to ensure they are employed and skilled in every aspect of policing.

Female members of an Garda Síochána may serve in any and every branch of the organisation. There are no bars either by policy or practice to female employment in any of an Garda Síochána's units. Women serve in every Branch and Unit, from the Emergency Response Unit, to VIP Protection, Serious Crime, Fraud, Rape, Criminal Assets and Drugs to regular street and community police-work. Unlike the army, women participate in all areas of Garda activity, both at home and abroad.

Not only is this integration extant, it is encouraged in a number of ways. To begin with, the Gardaí have an explicit commitment to equality of opportunity in the form of an "Equality Statement".

An Garda Síochána Equality Statement:

An Garda Síochána is committed to and supports equality of opportunity in employment regardless of gender, creed, colour or marital status. It is the policy of the Commissioner that the principles and practices of equality of opportunity should apply to the recruitment, placement, selection, career development and all other conditions of service of members of An Garda Síochána, and to ensure that no member of An Garda Síochána or job applicant receives less favourable treatment on the ground of gender, creed, colour or marital status.
(‘B’ Branch, Garda HQ, 1998)

The Defence Forces have no such equality statement. Indeed the "principles and practices of equality of opportunity" as applied to recruitment for the army could on the evidence gathered in this study be called into question. The army discriminates against female applicants by imposing quotas and ceilings on the numbers accepted. Recruitment to An Garda Síochána is conducted by

the Civil Service Commission. At present approximately 25% of all recruits are female. This compares to a total of 16% female for army recruits during 1994-1996. As recruitment to the army is run internally and conducted by the various Command Manpower Officers, confidentiality and access become issues in scrutinising their fairness. This contrasts with the situation for An Garda Síochána who emphasise the importance of transparency and perceptions of fairness:

Where there is equality of opportunity in the workplace there is an improved quality of life for all the workers. Everybody is valued despite their differences. Morale is high: systems and procedures are transparent and objective; everybody has a sense of fairness. People give of their best and are recognised, praised and rewarded for their efforts.

(Garda Policy Statement, "Developing an Equality Culture", 1997: 3)

Given the lack of transparency and the reduced percentage of successful female candidates, the military authorities could be accused of developing an "inequality" culture. This would seem to be the perception of female PDF personnel. Of the 60 women interviewed, 53 felt they were discriminated against in terms of promotion, 47 out of 60 felt discriminated against in terms of deployment at home, 59 out of 60 in terms of appointments overseas. These attitudes as expressed at interview hardly represent a sense of fairness, or high morale. As has been stated earlier, female soldiers are generally retained at a lower rank than their male colleagues, are employed in situations that attract lower rates of pay and have their promotion prospects severely retarded. As evidenced by recruitment, training and deployment policies, army "systems and procedures" are far from "transparent and objective". They are veiled in secrecy and executed along subjective and biased criteria. The correspondence that exists between female officers and the Adjutant General's office is certainly not evidence of a "sense of fairness". Female Gardaí, unlike their army counterparts, have been promoted to Senior Garda rank. At present there are two female superintendents and five inspectors with a further fifty five sergeants. Given that female Gardaí comprise only 8% of the force, their representation at 0.5% of senior Garda rank compares favourably with 2.5% for their male colleagues. (Source: "B" Branch, Personnel Section, Garda Headquarters, 1998)

Female Gardaí therefore have greater visibility in terms of their numbers and relative power within the Garda Síochána than do their female army colleagues. They have better promotion prospects and are paid more than their army colleagues. Female Gardaí are also far better protected than army personnel in terms of explicit policy guidelines.

The Garda Síochána code, unlike Defence Force regulations, contains a comprehensive set of rules and guidelines designed to protect female employees and guarantee equality of opportunity. An Garda Síochána Code contains such headings as:

CHAPTER 6 DISCIPLINE AND APPEALS

6.39 to 6.47	Sexual Harassment
6.48	Equal Opportunities
6.49 to 6.58	Grievance Procedures
6.59 to 6.60	Link between Grievance Procedure and Discipline
6.61	Role of Equality Officer
6.62	Role of Contact Person
6.63	Guidelines for Safety and Health of Pregnant Members
6.6	Recommendations of Second Commission on the Status of Women

CHAPTER 8 - ABSENCE AND ILLNESS

8.23	Maternity Leave
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The Garda Síochána Code allows for the appointment of an Equality Officer, with the rank of Chief Superintendent at Garda Headquarters charged with monitoring equality issues within the force. The Equality Officer also deals with specific cases referred through "Contact Persons" at local or unit level. The provision within the Garda Code for contact persons and an equality officer is complemented by a range of Garda Headquarters Circulars and Memoranda. These include:

3/93	Equal Opportunities in the Garda Síochána
102/93	Guidelines in relation to the Safety and Health of Pregnant Members of The Garda Síochána.

- 103/93 Equal Opportunities in The Garda Síochána
- 142/93 Freedom from Sexual Harassment -
Guidelines for An Garda Síochána
- 177/94 Re: Appointments of Female "Contact Persons"
in An Garda Síochána
- 56/96 Re: NOW (New Opportunities for Women)

The Garda Equality Statement, the Provisions of the Garda Code, and the various GHQ circulars are further complemented by Garda participation in the NOW programme. The NOW programme is the EU sponsored "New Opportunities for Women" Programme designed to raise the awareness of equality of opportunity in organisations throughout the EU. The Gardaí with the assistance of the Department of Enterprise and Employment have been participants in the NOW programme since 1995. To quote the Garda Commissioner:

Amongst the objectives of the Garda Síochána's NOW programme is the raising of awareness of equal opportunities throughout the organisation impacting on both the formal and informal cultures. This objective is being achieved through a series of seminars for Garda Management and Garda Trainers on equal opportunities issues which are a core part of the project. In the achievement of this and other objectives we can expect that all our personnel both women and men, will be fully integrated and utilised in all areas and all aspects of policing.

(Garda Policy Statement, "Developing an Equality Culture", 1997: 2)

The army could be accused, by virtue of the absence of such initiatives, of lacking in its commitment to equality of opportunity. The Gardaí are affiliated to the European Network of Policewomen. They have codified their commitment to equality of opportunity through the Garda Code, and GHQ circulars, and their equality policies copperfasten this commitment. Their participation in the NOW programme demonstrates their good faith in this matter and their vision for the future.

The PDF on the other hand has not placed on the record any mention of its vision for the future for women. In 1997, the Department of Defence and the Defence Forces in the form of the "Strategic Management Committee", (SMC) published its Strategy Statements for 1997-1999. These statements comprise the Defence Forces' aspirations as we enter the 21st century. Despite the publication in 1996 of a consultative document by the Human Resources Development Group, not one mention is made of gender equality or a commitment to equality of opportunity. The

Defence Forces Strategy Statement 1997-1999, takes no cognisance of the role of women within the organisation, and does not consider the issue of equality for the next century. Ironically, the Department of Defence, in the same document does list its aspirations for equality, but only as they apply to civilians.

9.2 Equality of opportunity policies within the RUC

Women are represented at 10% of the regular RUC force, and 11.8% of the overall strength. This compares favourably with the figure of 8% for representation within the Garda Síochána force. It also compares well with the figure of 3.1% of total strength of the PDF for women. Table (xx) shows the breakdown of male and female constables within the RUC. The table is useful for a comparison with PDF figures for male and female participation rates. The table consists of six columns and five rows. The first column on the left lists the various components, full and part time that make up the RUC. The columns to the right list respectively the numbers and percentages of male and female constables that comprise these elements of the RUC. The bottom row gives the overall totals of male and female constables within the RUC.

Table (xx): Male and Female Constables, RUC, 1998.

Force	Total	Total Male	% Male	Total Female	% Female
Regular	9424	8489	90%	935	10%
Reserve	3224	2952	91.6%	272	8.4%
Part Time	1246	811	65%	435	35%
Total	13894	12252	88.2%	1642	11.8%

Source, RUC Headquarters, 1998.

The table indicates that women comprise 10% of the regular RUC force. The RUC, as is the case with An Garda Síochána, have a comprehensive range of equality policies in place with equality officers, and training programmes in progress. The Chief Constable has an equality mission statement, with a full code of equality provisions as promulgated under the Police Act (Northern Ireland) 1970. An extract from the Chief Constable's equality statement reads as follows:

The RUC is committed to a policy of equality of opportunity for all members and applicants. The emphasis is on the fair treatment of all members, applicants (actual or potential) and the community we serve.
(Chief Constable's Report, RUC, 1998: 62)

This commitment is reflected perhaps in the numbers of women serving in the RUC. Allied to this is the fact that all branches and units of the RUC are open to both male and female personnel of the force on an “equality of opportunity” basis. In 1997, the RUC introduced part-time working and job sharing as an option for regular members. According to the RUC:

The aim of the initiative is to enable both male and female police officers who are unable to work on a full-time basis to continue with their careers. In return, the Force may retain experienced, highly trained personnel who might otherwise have no alternative but to leave the service.

(Ibid.: 62)

The RUC have a full time Equal Opportunities Unit based at RUC Headquarters in Belfast. The unit monitors policy and practice in the force and audits recruitment, training, deployment, and promotion procedures from an equality perspective.

In 1997, the Equal Opportunities Unit processed a total of eighty-eight equality grievances as follows:

Sex Discrimination	20
Religious Discrimination	19
Sex and Religious Discrimination	1
Sexual Harassment	10
Bullying	9
Victimisation	4
Others	25
Total	88

(Equal Opportunities Unit, RUC Headquarters, 1998)

The Equal Opportunities Unit also runs the RUC Equal Opportunities Training Programme within the Force. This programme is aimed at raising levels of awareness in relation to equality issues within the force.

An equal opportunities training programme of lectures and role-play, facilitated by outside management consultants is delivered to all Personnel Liaison Officers. Divisional, Command and Senior Management teams also receive instruction and guidance in equal opportunities in an ongoing effort at raising awareness of topical issues. Our goal is to ensure that the organisation’s managers are adequately informed and aware of their responsibility to safeguard for all, a working environment which is free from discrimination and harassment.

(Chief Constable’s Report, RUC, 1998: 62)

In addition to these provisions, measures, training programmes, and in addition to personnel charged with equality briefs and a dedicated Equal Opportunities Unit, the RUC's Recruiting Branch is also taking the initiative in the area of equality of opportunity. In 1997 a special working group consisting of the RUC, the police authority for Northern Ireland, and community leaders conducted a study group into the RUC's recruitment patterns:

Their remit was to review the representation of Roman Catholics, women and ethnic minorities within the RUC and to assess the reason for any under-representation and to make recommendations as to how suitable applicants from all communities can be encouraged to apply and to examine selection procedures and satisfy themselves that they ensure equality of opportunity.

(Ibid., 1998: 62)

The working party considered that at 10% of regular strength, women were under-represented in the RUC. Their recommendations in this area, submitted in January 1998, are being considered by the Chief Constable. A copy of their report also lies with the Patton Commission of Enquiry into Policing in Northern Ireland, (1999).

The RUC has been charged publicly by the media, and members of the Nationalist Community, and by members of the SDLP and Sinn Féin as a partisan and sectarian force. In terms of the criteria laid down in the equality of opportunity literature, (i.e.: Equality Statements, Policy, Personnel, Audits etc), as indicators of an "equality culture", the RUC could be postulated to be more equality conscious than the PDF. Based on these criteria, the RUC has shown more of a commitment in terms of equality policy and training to an equality environment than the PDF. It is interesting to note, that with 10% of its strength female, the RUC consider this to be a figure so low as to suggest women are under-represented within the force. To this end they have carried out a study of the issue and have hinted they will take action. The PDF, with a mere 3% of strength female, has stated in its board reports that this figure is satisfactory and in its strategy and statements for 1999/2000 makes no mention of the issue.

Again the PDF by comparison, leaves itself open to the accusation of being an 'equality-unfriendly' work environment.

9.3 The International Military

The absence of an Equality Statement or a series of measures and policies to promote equality issues within the PDF is at variance with international military practice. The British Army has an explicitly stated Equality 'Mission' with an Equal Opportunities Directive published in December 1995. This document outlines the rights and responsibilities of army personnel in this area including arrangements for making complaints under the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Race Relations Act 1976.

The Directive introduces Equal Opportunities Advisers at unit level, to provide equal opportunities guidance to Commanding Officers and to advise individuals on their rights and responsibilities under the Directive. The Directive is also supported by a leaflet on Equal Opportunities which has been distributed to all army personnel. The Royal Navy and Royal Air Force are also preparing similar documents.

(Statement on the Defence Estimates, 1996, HMSO: 78)

In addition to these measures, the British Armed Forces come under the scrutiny of an Equality Ombudsman in the form of "An Independent Consultant, the Office for Public Management, (OPM)". (Ibid, 1996, HMSO: 78, Para 516) The OPM is responsible for reviewing existing service employment initiatives and examining recruiting procedures, equal opportunity training syllabi and practices and policy statements. The British Army's Equality Statement begins as follows:

The Armed Forces are wholly committed to being an equal opportunities employer ensuring that progression through the service is based solely on merit and ability and maximising opportunities for women.

Men and women are recruited, interviewed and trained using the same procedures; we are determined to recruit the brightest and the best irrespective of gender, ethnic origin or religious beliefs.

(Equal Opportunities, Women and the Armed Forces, MOD, Whitehall, HMSO, 1999: 1)

As of 1 January 1999, there were 16,119 women in the British Armed forces. This represents 8% of strength. According to the Ministry of Defence in Whitehall, in the recruiting year 1997/1998, women made up 14% of all recruits, (21% of all officers and 13% of all other ranks). (MOD, DINFOD, Whitehall, 3/3/99)

The British armed forces report a “surge” in the numbers of women recruited to all three services in recent years:

In the last year, women have accounted for over a fifth (21%) of all new officer recruits (...) - ten years ago this figure was 13%. We have seen a marked surge in female officer recruitment, over 50% over the last five years – from two hundred and fifty in 1994/1995 to three hundred and seventy in 1998/1999.

(Equal Opportunities, Women and the Armed Forces, MOD, HMSO, 1999: 3)

The British military authorities include in their explanation for this surge their recent policies of targeting women and ethnic minorities as potential recruits (see “Modernising Employment Practices”, *Ibid.*: 3). The British point to a working environment which they claim to be “free from sexism or harassment” as key to this success. (*Ibid.*: 3). They claim to monitor this environment through an “equality Audit”, or “Monitoring programme” (*Ibid.*: 3).

In addition to an equality statement, equality policies, unit, command, brigade and divisional equality officers, the British military authorities have established a dedicated equal opportunities training unit called the “Tri Service Equal Opportunities Training Centre”. This unit, known as the TSEOTC is based at the Royal Military College of Science at Shrivenham. Its stated aim is to “encourage a top-down, bottom-up approach to equal opportunities issues”. (TSEOTC, Briefing Notes, HMSO, MOD, 1999: 1)

The TSEOTC supports dedicated equal opportunities ‘advisers’ located throughout all services of the Armed Forces and provides mandatory EO training courses for all senior officers. The TSEOTC was formally opened by the British Minister for Defence in September 1998 with the stated aim of ensuring the “successful implementation of the Armed Forces Equal Opportunities Policies”.

Amongst the functions of the TSEOTC are to ensure service wide appreciation of:

- Armed Forces Equal Opportunities Policies.
- Key features of anti-discrimination law, key definitions and codes of practice.
- Equal opportunities responsibilities of MOD employees.
- Equal opportunities complaints mechanism.
- Equal opportunities training programmes.

(TSEOTC, Briefing Notes, MOD, HMSO, 1999: 2)

The British armed forces also liaise with outside agencies such as British Gas, the B.B.C., the Judicial Review Board and Financial/Manufacturing industry “with a demonstrable track record in this area”, (Ibid: 2-3).

The British armed forces in addition to these measures also operate a confidential free phone help-line on equality issues for service personnel. They also audit the equality of opportunity environment of the forces through MOD “continuous attitude surveys” which publish annual reports under the auspices of the Armed Forces Focus Group on Equality of Opportunity.

The British military authorities are also keen to promote women to senior rank as role models for female personnel and in the spirit of equality of opportunity. At present there are women of general rank (Brigadier) in the British army, one Captain in the Royal Navy, and one Air Commodore in the Royal Air Force.

In contrast with the British armed forces, the PDF has no equality of opportunity policies, no equality statement, no monitoring of the EO environment, no EO personnel and certainly no contact with outside agencies with a view to reviewing the situation. By these criteria, the PDF leaves itself vulnerable to accusations of lacking in commitment to equality of opportunity for its personnel. Furthermore, as of 5th November 1999, the British Armed Forces are implementing job-sharing schemes for service personnel of all services.

The British Army has been forced to react to wider social change and equality legislation. It has also reacted to the reality of the necessity to mobilise women for combat assignments. The British Army of the 1960s was reminiscent of the PDF today, "still a self contained society, virtually impervious to fads and political fashions in the outside world". (Beavor, 1993: 14)

Any institution which delays reform will ultimately face traumatic change. The prospect of traumatic change tends to make institutions obsessively introspective and defensive. This would appear to be the case with the PDF. The Board Report on the Deployment of Female Personnel failed to take cognisance of international military trends, equality legislation or developments throughout the remainder of the public sector. There is evidence to suggest that the recruitment, training and deployment policies employed by the military authorities are regressive, not progressive and seriously out of step with current military and societal development. This is a dangerous position.

The essential point is that in a democratic society, a volunteer army which needs to attract recruits and obtain the public support of the nation is taking a big risk if it obstinately takes a contrary course.

(Beevor, 1993: 18)

The Defence Forces must plan for, and implement change in a structured way. To this end, the military authorities must, like the Garda Síochána, RUC or British military authorities, be proactive. Constructive policy statements and equality initiatives are required to facilitate change and survival in a fast changing environment. As stated in the literature:

Thinking on your feet is no longer good enough (...) the army cannot merely play a defensive game. In certain circumstances, it must go beyond reacting to events in order to control the flow of their consequences. (...) (T)he army must not only inform its own personnel of the implications of change (...) in a much franker fashion than has been the custom in the past, it must also make sure that the nation as a whole is also aware of them.

(Beevor, 1993: 22)

Beevor calls for a form of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika' in a restructuring and review of policies accompanied by an openness and public commitment to change. It would be a recommendation of this study that the PDF adopt a similar approach as a beginning to tackling the issue of equality of opportunity. The US military are progressive in this regard. The U.S. Military employ a plethora of initiatives and policies, which in an explicit and public way are aimed at equality of opportunity. Women are represented amongst the highest ranks of the U.S. military, including secretary of the Air Force providing highly visible role models for female personnel. As mentioned previously, all combat and overseas appointments are open to women. A system of Equality Officers and Unit Liaison Officers similar to the Garda, RUC and British Army models also exist. The U.S. Military have an explicit Equality Statement as part of their overall mission statement.

In addition, the interests of female personnel are represented in Congress by the Defence Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS). This committee formally recommended on 24 April 1991 that all combat exclusion laws for women be repealed. No such committee or advisory group exists either with the Defence Forces, the Department of Defence or Dáil.

U.S. Military personnel are well informed through support groups, and information programmes on Race and Equality issues. Service telephone 'Hotlines' are also provided for instant assistance. The ongoing battle against "deeply entrenched cultural patterns" within the U.S. Military is considered a leadership issue by the U.S. secretary of the army Togo West (Newsweek, 1997, Feb 17: 41; Brooke J., New York Times, 1997, March 03: 10).

The United States' most conservative and notorious military institution, "The Citadel" or the South Carolina Corps of Cadets, remained obstinately closed to female personnel until 1996, along with the Virginia Military Institute (VMI). These conservative last bastions of an all male ethos in military training adopted a proactive and positive plan for the assimilation of female cadets. There is evidence here of some measure of forethought and preparation for the integration of female personnel which is sadly not evident in the Military College or Brigade Training Depots.

The "Citadel Approved Plan for the Assimilation of Female Cadets", (Lt Gen, C.E. Watts, Citadel board of Visitors, 30 July 1996) addresses amongst other things the following issues:

Para 1: 1

The number of women in management positions within the staff to serve as role models for female cadets

Para 2: 1-2

The Adequacy of Female Role Models in leadership positions within the Commandants Department

Para 3: 2

The need for additional training in the areas of sexual harassment and sensitivity for the Human Affairs Officers, Cadre, Tactical Officers, Faculty and Staff

Para 4: 3

To encourage the Corps of Cadets to support a co-educational system at the Citadel (Peer group education - also present in Sandhurst)

Para 5: 3

A Women's Issues Advisory Board

Para 7: 4

Adopting a mechanism for discussing lessons learned and collecting feedback from female cadets

Para 8: 5

To ensure facilities other than barracks adequate to accommodate female cadets, short term and long term

Para 39: 16

Amend standing orders or 'Blue Book' to reflect Citadel policy in relation to:

1. The prohibition of Discrimination or Harassment
2. Complaints procedures
3. Full list of Equality officers
5. Confidentiality

(The Citadel approved plan for the Assimilation of Female Cadets, James E. Jones, Lt. Gen. C.E. Watts, the Citadel Board of Visitors, 30 July 1996)

The PDF lacks any in-depth consideration of equality and integration issues. Apart from a paragraph in the newly drafted DFR A1 entitled, "Interpersonal Relationships", scant regard is paid to the potential for gender related conflicts.

109

POLICY:

Relationships between members of the Defence Forces of different rank which involve partiality, preferential treatment or the improper use of rank or position are prejudicial to good order, discipline and morale. Such relationships will be avoided. This policy is not intended to preclude participation in sporting and social events involving personnel of different rank which enhance morale, or personal relationships which are consistent with this policy. In all such relationships the exercise of sound judgement, particularly by the superior, is a necessary prerequisite.

110: Unacceptable Relationships.

Some examples of relationships which are considered to be unprofessional and those that involve:

- (a) Commercial and/or financial activities, which adversely affect or are likely to adversely affect the performance of duty
- (b) Borrowing or lending money, for profit or benefit
- (c) The excessive or frequent consumption of alcohol in the company of subordinates
- (d) Favouritism between family members or relatives
- (e) Playing games of chance or cards for other than nominal stakes

(Draft, Administrative Instruction, A7, 02 Feb 1996, Para 109, 110) RESTRICTED

There are large gaps in PDF policy as it relates to the integration of male and female personnel. Apart from a stated aspiration, there are no guidelines for the integration of personnel, in terms of recruitment or training.

An awareness of these issues is evident in the British and US armies in their policies and practices in these areas. This is also the case for the Australian Defence Forces. Current policy and practice within the Australian Defence Forces on the matter of gender integration and equality of opportunity, emphasises the link between modern military practices, wider societal norms and an introspective defence force:

There is a clear parallel between the current sexist attitudes and gender awareness relating to the employment of females in combat related roles within the ADF. Changes in civilian practices have altered the position of women in terms of both their jobs and the amount of authority they now have. In order that a 'generation gap' not be established between the ADF and the civil sector, a number of changes must occur within the ADF. Abolishing the stereotype about "real combat soldiers" and clearly defining what constitutes combat is necessary preliminary action, but more importantly, the deeply embedded structural inequalities have to be challenged if the individuals who perform a combat role are to be chosen for suitability and not as a result of gender.

(Weatherill, J.A., 1996: 47)

9.4 Equality of opportunity policies throughout the public service

Unlike their fellow workers in the PDF, the interests of employees throughout the State are represented by a number of bodies and institutions with an equality agenda. The Department of Equality and Law Reform, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, the Irish Business and Employers Confederation, the Council for the Status of Women, (now the National Women's Council of Ireland) are among many bodies whose activities are co-ordinated by the Employment Equality Agency, (E.E.A.).

The E.E.A. functions include:

1. Working to eliminate discrimination in employment and vocational training which is based on sex or marital status.
2. Promoting equal opportunity between men and women in employment and vocational training.
3. Reviewing the Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act 1974 and the Employment Equality Act, 1977.

(E.E.A., 1995 Annual Report: 9)

The E.E.A., working to these objectives, addresses many of the issues raised by the examination of PDF policies and practices. The concerns addressed in their 1995 report include the question

of Access to Work and Training, Promotion, Equal Opportunities, Policies and Positive Action. It is within the spirit of the guidelines laid down by the E.E.A. that the public service aspires to operate. The public service also operates within the guidelines of and under the auspices of a number of other agencies within the state.

The Equal Opportunities Policy and Guidelines for the Civil service were published in July 1986. They were drafted in order to provide a framework within which an evolving equality policy could be based. The Equality Section of the Department of Finance is a designated dedicated office of the Public Service tasked with the monitoring of the implementation of Equality Policy. This section liaises with the personnel officers of each Government department and designated equality officers to monitor equality issues.

In addition to the above, a subcommittee of the Central Conciliation Council for the Civil Service evaluates the general implementation of equality policy.

The tasks of the subcommittee are together with the Equality Section of the Department of Finance:

- To monitor the overall implementation of the policy and guidelines in departments and offices,
- To identify priority areas requiring attention,
- To devise strategies to meet the needs in these areas,
- To implement arrangements to give effect to those strategies,
- To monitor the effectiveness of those arrangements and
- To publish an annual report detailing developments concerning equal opportunities in the civil service for circulation to all staff.

(8th Annual Report on the Implementation of the Equal Opportunity Policy and Guidelines for the Civil Service, Department of Finance, March 1997: 5)

This subcommittee, which meets roughly once a month, is comprised of both union and management members. The majority of public servants therefore enjoy an equality-driven work regime, which is constantly monitored and reviewed by a dedicated office of the service.

Amongst those issues monitored and reported on are the following:

1. The Composition of the Civil Service:

The subcommittee examine the participation rates of women within the Civil Service (48%) and examine their representation in the various grades within the service. These rates and grade representations are published annually in their Annual Report.

2. Recruitment and Promotion Competitions

Analyses from statistical information on departmental, interdepartmental and open recruitment competitions obtained from the Civil Service Commission are published annually.

The Top Level Appointments Committee (TLAC) show a proportionally equal candidature and success rates for posts at Assistant Secretary level and higher for both men and women in 1995, (5%).

All competitions are analysed from the point of view of gender balance in terms of candidature and appointment. The figures are compared with previous years and overall trends of integration to identify patterns of representation. Promotion and recruitment competitions, the composition of interview boards and criteria for success are reviewed within the light of evident developments and the aspiration of equality of opportunity and a fully integrated workforce.

3. Training and Development

The importance of training for all personnel in order to enhance the work environment, and predispose all personnel to an integrated ethic, is stressed by the sub committee.

Training has an important role to play in the development of equal opportunities both in training women to maximise their participation in the workforce at entry level and to help create an environment that promotes attitudinal change to facilitate that aim.
(Ibid.: 24)

The subcommittee also deals on an ongoing basis with the combination of work and family issues, (job sharing, crèche facilities etc.), General equality issues, and any council claims or matters dealt with by the subcommittee in conjunction with the equality office. The Equality Office also visits each department conducting seminars and training days dealing with issues of equality and representation. These seminars are complemented by the Civil Service Training Centre (CSTC) Management Development Programme.

The Public Service have evidently adopted a proactive stance in the area of equality of opportunity. Information would appear to be the key to openness and a sense of fairness. This information is made available through Annual Reports, access to Equality Officers, access to information in the form of policy documents and statistical information. An atmosphere has been

created which encourages the free exchange of ideas and views. All aspects of Public Service career structuring, from recruitment to deployment and promotion are open to scrutiny and assessment. The Public Service's aspirations, policies and practices are overt and explicit.

This is in stark contrast to the activities of the architects of the Defence Forces' Policy. The military authorities have adopted a reactive approach to equality issues with no clear policy or guidelines. Recruitment, deployment and promotion activities are cloaked in secrecy. The chain of command and the routine invocation of administrative confidentiality render access and scrutiny almost impossible. The introspective and secretive machinations of confidential boards and report makers translate into a set of covert policies and practices resulting in an implicit gender division of labour.

There is no evidence within the PDF setting of positive action, in informing through policy and procedures, employee and management behaviour and attitudes (E.E.A., Positive Action Guidelines, 1995). The General Staff have failed also to take the initiative in the area of equality of opportunity in training (E.E.A., Vocational Training Guidelines, 1996) and are also in violation of recruitment and interview procedure guidelines (E.E.A. Guidelines, 1995).

The PDF fall far short of the practices and aspirations adopted by the remainder of the public service and state agencies. According to the Employment Equality Agency, in its annual report for 1996, human resource managers in both the public and private sector are actively pursuing proactive equality policies:

Personnel practitioners co-operated extensively with us throughout the year in the interests of introducing best equality practices into their companies. There has been a marked increase in the number of organisations which have incorporated specific equality policies into their management procedures.
(E.E.A., Annual Report, 1996: 9)

The military authorities have not grasped this opportunity and continue to operate a personnel management system, which is perceived by many to be inimical to the interests of female employees by virtue of its criteria.

9.5 Representation and equality issues

The Trade Union Movement in partnership with the Irish Business and Employers Confederation (IBEC) have combined the interests of both public and private sector employees through the auspices of the Employment Equality Agency and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

The ICTU, the umbrella organisation for both private and public sector workers, has taken a proactive lead in the area of equality of opportunity. A comprehensive women's charter has been issued by the ICTU, (see below). In addition to the women's charter is the provision for an annual Women's Conference to assess ICTU's "Programme for Progress". This conference evaluates the Programme, and the effect of the women's charter under the headings of:

1. Workplace issues:
 - i Low pay.
 - ii Equal pay.
 - iii Equal opportunities.
 - iv Training.
 - v Maternity, Paternity, Parental and Family leave.
 - vi Childcare.
 - vii Flexitime/Job Sharing.
 - viii Part-Time Temporary and Contract Workers.

(ICTU, Women's Conference Report, 1992: 2)

The conference also examines issues of women's representation within trade unions and adopts a proactive agenda in terms of (i) recruitment and organisation; (ii) education and training; (iii) participation in decision making and (iv) special structures.

(Ibid.: 2)

The deliberations and decisions reached by the Women's Conference are assimilated into general ICTU council policy and published in their annual Executive Council report. (See appendix 7)

The 1993/1995 report included resolutions on Equal Pay, Equality Legislation, Equal Status Legislation, the Maternity Protection Act 1994, the Adoptive Leave Act 1995, Women in Non Traditional Employments, Childcare services, Sexual Harassment, Second Commission on the

Status of Women Report findings, the Employment Equality Agency, Women's participation in Trade Union Movement and Equality Networking. One of the outcomes of ICTU Executive Council Action on these issues is the adoption of a "Third Equality Programme", called "Mainstreaming Equality 1993-1998".

The main aims of the Third Equality Programme are:

1. To integrate equality issues within the trade union agenda at national, regional and local level.
2. To ensure that trade unions at national, regional and local level examine their policies, practices and agreements to ensure that the needs of women workers are included and that women workers are not disadvantaged by them.
3. To further develop strategies to promote equality in the workplace.
4. To remove the barriers that hinder women's participation at all levels of the trade union movement.
5. To develop a monitoring mechanism within individual unions to evaluate progress.

(ICTU, Mainstreaming Equality, 1993-1998: 1)

The policies and programmes pursued by ICTU are complemented by liaison with Women's Groups, Colleges and Universities, the E.E.A. and the Council for the Status of Women. Information books and leaflets are issued to the affiliated membership on equality issues addressed by congress, information on European directives and a comprehensive review of European Equality case law.

One such case outlined in "European Case Law and Equality, a Guide for Negotiators" refers to an RUC constable denied the right to carry arms on the basis of her sex. The Chief Constable's argument of there being an exemption to equality legislation on the basis of 'National Security' was overturned in the European Courts as being in breach of Article 6, of Directive 76/207. (Case (222/84) Johnston v Chief Constable of the RUC, EC Ruling 1651). The implications of this "direct effect" ruling have obvious implications for members of the PDF frustrated by Department of Defence claims of exemption from equality legislation. Overall, ICTU could be said to be reasonably proactive in the area of equality of opportunity.

9.6 Representation and equality issues: RACO and PDFORRA

The PDF Representative Associations between them are intended to reflect the views of all ranks of the Defence Forces up to and including the rank of Colonel. Established in 1991 as a result of

a recommendation of the Gleeson Commission, the Representative Associations are still in their infancy. Prior to the advent of representation, the coming together of service personnel to discuss the terms and conditions of their employment was defined as mutiny under DFR's, an offence punishable by death under martial law, ("or any lesser award (sic) deemed appropriate by the relevant authority").

I contacted the offices of RACO in September 1997 for clarification of their policy on Equality Issues. As yet, there is no Equality Statement issuing from RACO, there are no Equality officers and no policy statements in this area. The Assistant General Secretary intimated to me that the area of equality of opportunity did not at this time have any pressing precedence and equality issues would be dealt with "as they arise" and on the basis of "complaints from members". As of October 1999, there is no change in this area.

I contacted the office of PDFORRA and was informed that a General Statement on Equality had been drafted. PDFORRA has no Equality Officers, and no policy documents in this area. PDFORRA did however provide me with a copy of a National Executive Motion dealing with the issues of Discrimination and Positive Action. The Motion, passed in 1992 has unfortunately gathered dust in respect to many of its demands.

MOTION 12:

That this Conference adopts the following policy on discrimination:

Part 1: General Statement:

"That this Association condemns discrimination in all its many and varied forms: in particular, discrimination against any member because of race, religion, gender, age or disability".

"The Association supports the elimination of all or any discrimination which would deprive or tend to deprive any member of opportunities or which would adversely affect a member's status".

Part 2: Specific Statement:

- a. Direct Discrimination:
No person will be treated less favourably than a person of the other sex or of a different marital status.
- b. Indirect Discrimination:
No person will be obliged to comply with a condition of service which is not essential to the job but for which a substantially greater proportion of persons of the other sex or of a different marital status is able to comply.

- c. Qualifications and Requirements:
The prescribing of unwarranted qualifications should not be a requirement. Qualifications and requirements should only be necessary and relevant to the appointment and without discrimination against either sex, marital status or on any other ground.
- d. Advertising:
All appointments, courses or other beneficial changes in conditions of service should be advertised within Units of Formations. Personnel serving overseas or on leave, particularly extended leave, should be a consideration prior to advertising. A positive approach should be indicated by the inclusion in advertisements of the words "Applications are invited from both males and females".
- e. Dealing with Applications:
The criteria applied and arrangements made in the handling of applications must be non-discriminatory.
- f. Interview Procedure:
Interview procedures should not be conducted so as to favour one sex over the other except by negotiated settlement with PDFORRA. Exceptions should, in general, be as provided for within Equality Legislation.
- g. Code of Practice:
To pursue a negotiated Practice within the Defence Forces of quality of opportunity designed to facilitate good recruitment and employment practice.
- h. Legislation:
To pursue by all legitimate means the inclusion of Defence Force personnel in any existing or future National or European Union Equality legislation.

(PDFORRA ADC, 1992, Motion 12)

Neither PDFORRA or RACO have women representatives on their National Executives. I attended the 1994 RACO ADC and was a Curragh Command Delegate from 1993-1994. At no time did I ever encounter a female delegate or Executive Member. At no time were equality issues discussed. This is particularly ironic when one considers that both RACO and PDFORRA owe their very existence to the actions of women and NASA (National army Spouses Association), soldiers' wives who contested a by-election in the eighties thereby embarrassing the then Government into establishing the Gleeson Commission, resulting in the advent of representation.

The Representative Associations in terms of an equality of opportunity agenda are out of step with other unions in the public service. The military authorities in terms of their equality of opportunity agenda appear equally out of step with trends in the international military, other uniformed organisations on the island and indeed Irish society's stated aspirations in this area. It is curious to note the manner in which the representative associations mirror the PDF in terms of their attitudes to equality of opportunity issues. As is the case with the official side, they appear 'inward looking' and out of step with the aspirations, policies and practices of wider society.

9.7 Chapter summary

Section one dealt with the range of policies, practices and conditions of service in force for female personnel in an Garda Siochana. In terms of numbers, there are approximately 900 female gardai at 8% of garda strength. There are no restrictive policies in terms of the deployment of female gardai and they serve in every unit and area of garda activity both at home and abroad. An Garda Siochana has an explicit equality statement and an explicit equality policy aimed at "Developing an Equality Culture" (Garda policy statement, 1997:3) Female gardai enjoy greater visibility in terms of numbers within the organisation than is the case for female soldiers in the PDF. They also have a greater representation (0.5%) at senior garda rank than would be the case for senior officers and NCOs in the Defence Forces. An Garda Siochana has a full and comprehensive body of policy documents, statements, memoranda and aspirations for equality as listed in section one of the chapter.

Section 2 deals with the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland. The RUC mirrors to some extent an Garda Siochana with a comprehensive range of equality policies, statements and stated aspirations in place. In terms of numbers, female constables comprise 10% of the regular force of the RUC. In common with an Garda Siochana, the RUC have invested in equality structures and have appointed equality officers in each district and division of the force. In addition, the RUC have an equal opportunities unit based in RUC Headquarters in Belfast. This unit also runs the RUC Equal Opportunities Training Programme within the force. The RUC study group formed in 1997 to investigate RUC recruitment practices submitted a report to the Patton Commission of Enquiry into Policing in Northern Ireland amongst whose findings was included the conclusion that at 10% of strength, women were underrepresented within the force.

The equivalent figure of 3% for female personnel in the Defence Forces compares poorly with the Garda Siochana (8%), the RUC (10%), and Nato averages (15%).

Section 3 focuses on the international military in general and the British and US military in particular in relation to equality policies, practices and statements. The British Army show a commitment to equality of opportunity in terms of investment, (financial provision for EO initiatives in the Defence Estimates) policy, practice and staff training. The British armed forces have an explicitly stated equality mission and a broad range of equality policies, initiatives and practices. These policies and practices are supported by the investment mentioned in the Defence Estimates and by education and training measures as evidenced in the Tri Service Equal Opportunities Training Centre. In terms of numbers, women comprise 8% of British military strength and are represented at the highest ranks within all three services of the armed forces. The British armed forces conduct an ongoing audit or monitoring of the equality environment and liaise with external agencies such as British Gas, the B.B.C. and the Judicial Review Board to ensure they are in step with best practice in relation to equality provisions.

The situation for the US military is very similar with an explicit equality mission statement, equality policies, practices and education programmes within the setting. In addition, the interests of female personnel are represented in Congress by the 'Defence Advisory Committee on women in the Services'. In common with the British Armed forces, the RUC and the Garda Siochana, the US military have also introduced new workplace practices such as job sharing and part time working in order to enhance flexibility and equality of opportunity within the workplace.

Section four outlines those equality policies, practices and conditions of service which apply to workers throughout the public service. Section four lists the Employment Equality Agency (now the Equality Authority), the Department of Finance Equality Training Section, the Central Conciliation Council of the Civil Service and numerous committees and implementation boards as combining to monitor and enforce equality of opportunity throughout the public service. Section four outlines the public service commitment to equality in terms of recruitment, training, work experience and promotion.

The equality agenda of the main employees' representative groups is examined in section five with a brief outline of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions aspirations in the area of equality. The

'Programme for Progress' and the 'Women's Conference' aspirations for equality are incorporated into ICTU policy with proactive measures for equality to be pursued in the areas of recruitment and organisation, education and training, participation in decision making and special structures within the movement. The employees' representative groups have an explicitly stated commitment to equality of opportunity with a range of mission statements, policies, and monitoring processes in place to give effect to this agenda.

Section six concludes the chapter with an examination of the equality agenda of the representation associations for soldiers within the Defence Forces. There is some evidence of a commitment to equality of opportunity within the Permanent Defence Forces (Other Ranks) Representative Association PDFORRA with a general statement on equality issues encapsulated in a motion passed in their 1992 Annual Delegate Conference. No such statement is to be found within RACO (Representative Association for Commissioned Officers) policies. Neither PDFORRA or RACO have equality officers, an equality monitoring process, nor do they advocate proactive measures or positive action in the area of equality of opportunity.

CHAPTER TEN

Summary Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter provides an executive summary of the main findings and conclusions of each chapter, relating these to the theoretical framework provided earlier. It also makes specific recommendations to the PDF and suggestions for further research. The chapter is structured in such a way that there is a deliberate contextualisation of recommendations with sectional conclusions. This structure fits in with the DBM system incorporated into the research protocol and fits with the qualitative/interpretative approach chosen for the study. It is in accord with the narrativity of the study.

10.1 The liberal feminist agenda and the constructed masculinity of military service

The theoretical perspective articulated in chapter three advocates a liberal feminist view in assessing the equality environment of the PDF. The theoretical perspective as articulated in chapter three argues that the conceptual framework provided, by the liberal feminist perspective, is the lens through which the PDF is examined for the study. The equality environment of the PDF is assessed by gauging its conformity to legislative and educational aspirations for equality of opportunity. Liberal feminism was the strand of feminism adopted by the author in that it would recognise the validity of the Defence Forces as a social institution. Liberal feminism would not seek a radical transformation of society as would be proposed in radical feminism. The study, in accord with liberal feminism, presupposes that the individuals under study, the female personnel of the PDF, are willing agents of the structures of capitalist society. The supposition of the author is that these women do not challenge the basic structures of the organisation but may impact on the 'masculine' culture of the organisation and the attitudes of fellow soldiers and the military authorities.

The author's domain assumptions concur with those of liberal feminism in advocating the removal of 'sex based injustices, or barriers to integration' and the provision of training to enable and empower female personnel to compete for status within existing structures. With reference to the specific workplace setting under study, the author assumes it is a matter of logic and reason, and a basic right, that women be afforded full access to the military should they choose it as a career. The author argues that full access to training and consequently to the promotion structure must exist if women are to compete with their male peers with equality of opportunity. This position is articulated by Howes and Stevenson, (1993:19) as follows;

The liberal-feminist perspective challenges sex based discrimination based on the assumption that all men are suited to use force and all women are not. Researchers have accumulated data countering the conventional wisdom that men are naturally aggressive and women naturally passive. They have documented discrimination based on gender rather than achieved characteristics (...) Women have been denied entry into public life based on fallacious assumptions about their nature.

Unlike some Radical and Cultural feminists who espouse anti-militarism and pacifism, liberal- feminism sees a role for women in the military.

The liberal-feminist position (is) if women participate on an equal basis with men (...) in society's governing and military institutions, ameliorative changes will take place.

(Ibid.:18)

On the question of patriarchy, and a system of power relationships between men and women as defined in chapter three, the study established that a gender division of labour existed within the setting promoting a 'system of male domination', or the maintenance of a 'power relationship' which subordinates women. This subordination is manifested through a lower visibility (in terms of numbers) for women, through the roles assigned them in deployment practices (a gender division of labour) and the status of these women in terms of their access to promotion.

Sex difference belief systems and stereotyping operate to prefer a patriarchal definition of combat as a male preserve, and bolster policies and practices that discriminate against women. Reality and experience, however, proves warfare to be a unisex event. Why this fact should be suppressed or denied is explained by feminists such as Segal, (1987: 169), as being in the interests of patriarchy which seeks to emphasise sex differences and define women as 'other' and 'deficient'.

The exaggeration of sexual differences on which military values rely, feeds the general misogyny of our culture (...) (It functions to) connect the ideologies and practices of militarism and those of 'masculinity'.

Segal continues in this vein to question certain perspectives on sex and society, which she feels are embedded in a patriarchal and 'masculine' ethos, often cited as evidence of women's nurturant, peace loving and feminine natures.

Battle, always unpleasant for the minority of participants, has increasingly become an intolerable experience for the majority (...) Reports of real men in real wars sit

colourlessly beside the eagerly appropriate 'men as apes' stories (...) which confirm our conventional mythologies of sex and society.

(Ibid.: 180)

Perhaps this view of warfare was once used to draw recruits into the military for what is in reality a life of passivity and menial tasks interspersed in time of war with brutality on an industrial scale. Segal lays a further charge at this carefully constructed image. "The male image of militarism, jealously guarded, also serves to deny or obscure women's relation to nationalism and militarism" (Ibid.: 179). Segal points out the irony of this tactic:

The toughening up of the male combat recruit (...) necessary to maintain the image of 'military manhood' (...) (This is) the image necessary to attract new recruits eager to prove themselves 'proper men'. This image helps sustain the morale and self esteem of the men already in uniform, most of whom, much of the time will lead lives of relentless subservience, obedience and passive dependence – characteristics more typically attributed to 'women'.

(Ibid.: 187)

Farrell (1993: 253) makes the point that in the past a male warrior myth was used to "(socialise) men to be our killers, and unlovable and therefore disposable" and as a lure to attract people to what he refers to as the "dead class" (Ibid.: 46). With the realities of modern conventional warfare, the international military have recognised the potential of female personnel, with the attendant irony for a prior 'masculine' identity.

Difficulties in recruiting manpower at the educational levels necessary in modern armies and falling birth rates in industrial nations mean that those numbers (women) are likely to rise. There is continuing pressure on military institutions to enlist more women. Even if the front line soldier remains a male soldier (...) the women at the 'rear' are engaged in jobs far more deadly (...) (T)here is no meaningful war zone, no rear, no tail, no way the soldier 'boys' at the 'front' could function to protect their women back home.

(Segal, 1987: 188-9)

Dworkin (1988: 22) also identifies this tendency to identify certain areas as essentially masculine. She lists this tendency under the headings of Form, Shelter and Safety, and outlines it as the manner in which right wing, patriarchal society 'contains' women.

Form. Women experience the world as a mystery, kept ignorant of technology, economics, most of the practical skills required to function autonomously (...) women are lost and mystified by the savage momentum of an ordinary life (...) Shelter. The Right claims to protect the home and the woman's place in it (...) Safety. For women the world is a very dangerous place. One wrong move, even an unintentional smile, can bring disaster, - assault, shame, disgrace. The Right

acknowledges the reality of danger, the validity of fear. The Right then manipulates the fear. The promise is that if a woman is obedient, harm will not befall her.

Dworkin rejects both the patriarchal and eco/cultural feminist's view of women as being essentially peace loving and nurturing:

In the secular world, women are also credited with having a sense of good that is intrinsically female, a sense of good that men do not have. This is a frequent feature of contemporary environmentalist or anti-militarist movements. Women are seen to have an inborn commitment to both clean air and peace, a moral nature that abhors pollution and murder (...) To stay worshipped, the woman must stay a symbol and she must stay good...She must not walk the same streets men do, or do the same things or have the same responsibilities.

(Ibid.: 206)

Holm (1993: 399) makes the same point with specific reference to military service:

For their own "protection", women were routinely barred from being police officers, fire fighters, railroad workers and the like. The combat exclusion statutes were among the last examples of this archaic concept. They would be regarded today as quaint reminders of a bygone age were it not for their continuing impact on military policy.

For the reasons articulated in these quotations it was felt by the author that the conceptual framework provided by liberal feminism would best articulate a theoretical perspective that advocated equality of opportunity within military structures for women supported by legislative and educational (training) initiatives. Radical feminism which advocates a complete transformation of societal structures did not fit the theoretical paradigm offered in chapter three. Nor did the views of eco or cultural feminists in relation to violence or the use of force. Landry and Mc Lean, (1993: 213) also echo this view:

If eco-feminists position themselves in such a way that women have a special mission to save the planet because they are naturally more nurturing or closer to nature than men, haven't they fallen prey to gender ideology once again?

The same point is made by Tavis, in Howes and Stevenson, (1993: 3):

There is no evidence that women are naturally more pacifistic, empathetic or earth loving than men. They are just as likely to depersonalise enemies into vermin and beasts, to be carried away with patriotic fervour, and to justify brutality.

These views reject the notion that aggression is sex specific to the male. They reject the 'masculine' construction of soldiering and combat. This is the view taken by the author, that what is socially ascribed as 'masculine' and 'feminine' behaviour can be displayed by either

sex depending on the circumstances. As an organising principle for this thesis, I would argue therefore that men and women should have equal access and freedom of choice in entering into military service, and despite its constructed 'masculinity', should enjoy equality of opportunity. Like other areas of work, such as engineering and construction, the military work environment needs to be 'de-sexed'. (Hartnett, 1979)

The literature abounds with examples and precedents of women engaging in aggressive and warlike behaviours despite these behaviours being labelled as essentially 'masculine'.

Slattery (1992: 87) gives the following examples:

Wars, like those in Vietnam and Israel, have shown women to be just as aggressive, just as capable of killing as men when put in such situations.

Dworkin (1988: 14) yet again reiterates this point:

Women of all ideological persuasions, with the single exception of absolute pacifists, of whom there have not been very many, have throughout history supported wars in which the very children they are biologically ordained to protect are maimed, raped, tortured and killed. Clearly, the biological explanation for the so-called conservative nature of women obscures the realities of women's lives, buries them in the dark shadows of distortion and dismissal.

Jacobsen (1998) reiterates both Segal's (1987) and Oakley's (1984) assertions that those characteristics deemed 'pro social' and 'feminine' are in fact those best suited for military service. In an organisation that demands obedience, conformity and compliance, the statistics provided by Jacobsen suggest that men are the most likely in society to engage in anti-social behaviour, delinquency or to commit suicide, behavioural traits unsuitable for military service. (Jacobsen, 1998: 6)

Studies have shown that women who seek out careers in the military "carry the same ideals, norms, and orientations as men" (Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984: 120). (See also Howes and Stevenson, 1993: 5-6) Given the increased numbers of women suited to and interested in military service, there is a requirement for the military authorities to "exorcise sexist clichés, and interrogate the assumptions and the explanatory frameworks underlying male-stream accounts". (Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984: 14) Such frameworks result in the creation of two sociologies of work, "the job model for men and the gender model for women". (Ibid. 1984: 24)

As Yianilos (1994: 434) puts it:

Combat status means promotions and ratings...without combat status we don't get the pay hikes (...) we don't get the promotions, the pay rises, the money and big pensions (...) Promotion at the top ranks depends on the experience of command. Women are barred from combat and combat related fields. That's where the majority of jobs are.

Yianilos calls for the recognition of women as equals within the military setting. She advocates the liberal feminist assumption that as liberal individuals we would compete as equals for status in the military, which would be recognised as a valid social institution. It has been emphasised by Siltanen and Stanworth that the female soldier has the same philosophical orientation as the male soldier – and seeks to compete on the basis of equality for status within the organisation. This is a reiteration of the liberal feminist position adopted for this study.

Female soldiers face the risk of having differences between them and the male 'norm' constructed as deficits within the military which is constructed as being highly 'masculine'. There is therefore, an argument within the setting of a more radical approach to the achievement of equality of opportunity. In a setting such as the military, where occupational role and status are highly gendered, i.e., the 'masculine' culture of the military, it may be necessary to challenge the construction of difference as deficit qua norm. In this way a more radical approach to equality of opportunity might be of use. Radical feminism, though not representative of the author's views on military structures, does offer a valuable insight to the notion of competing as 'equals' within existing structures. According to radical feminism, individuals should compete on the basis of the recognition of difference, the construction of such difference as positive potential not deficit, and competing on the basis of 'equal treatment' and not on the basis of 'sameness' with the male as norm. This aspect of radical feminism would be of use within the military setting in order to offset the imbalances created by past discrimination.

This radical approach to equality of opportunity is dealt with in chapter three. The author, whilst distancing himself from those aspects of radical feminism which seek a radical transformation of social structures, embraces that radical aspect of equality of opportunity referred to in the literature as 'mainstreaming' (Rees, 1998; Neal 1998:52). The recognition of and catering for difference called for in 'mainstreaming' would be delivered through positive action. Positive action or PA is endorsed by the Equality Authority and it identifies a number of key areas where PA is considered vital including the areas of recruitment, training and work experience, promotion, adaption of the workplace and combining work and family responsibilities. These recommendations with respect to PA are now legally binding on the

Defence Forces with the enactment of the Employment Equality Act (1998). As stated in the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform's Guide to the Employment Equality Act, (1999:3)

Positive Action – Gender

The Act allows an employer to put in place positive action measures to promote equal opportunities, particularly those geared to remove existing inequalities which affect women's opportunities in access to employment, vocational training and promotion (section 24). This provision is a significant advance on the position in the Employment Equality Act, 1977 which confined positive action measures to training.

Defence Forces

The Act extends protection to the Defence Forces for the first time in Irish law.

This aspect of radical feminism as it applies to the equality of opportunity agenda is vital to the success of such an agenda in a setting such as the PDF. To this end I would advocate 'mainstreaming' and PA as strategies for tackling the type of discrimination facing female workers in such highly gendered work settings like the Defence Forces, the Garda Síochána, the law, politics and medicine.

It is ironic to note that the international military have to some extent recognised and catered for differences between men and women. They have done this not for reasons of equality of opportunity but more for strategic reasons. This approach by the military, born out of a utilitarian view of women as being 'human capital' or a 'battlefield asset', has necessitated the modification of some weapon systems in order that they be user-friendly to both sexes. This recognition of difference, although it would be considered perverse by many Radical feminists, does echo some of Radical feminism's calls for the recognition of and realisation of the potential of those who are 'different'. Clearly, however, the norm by which such 'difference' is constructed, needs to be challenged qua norm.

10.2 Status and role: An equality audit

The following sections will link the data examined in chapters five to eight of the study to the theoretical and methodological issues raised in chapters two and three. As the study evolved, and an examination of the setting of the PDF got underway, the analysis of the status and role assigned female personnel took on the character of an equality audit as advocated in the liberal feminist literature. This audit which comprises chapters five to eight of the thesis was driven by the liberal-feminist issues and equality of opportunity agenda discussed in chapter three. The audit, which took place against the background of international trends in the

deployment of female personnel, as outlined in chapters four and nine, used the methods outlined in great detail in chapter two.

In the chapter on theoretical perspectives the author's advocacy of a liberal feminist approach to the setting was outlined. The examination of the workplace of the PDF would be situated within the equality of opportunity agenda of the liberal feminist tradition. The examination of the roles and status assigned female personnel presented in chapters five to eight would provide the data with which to gauge the equality environment of the PDF. The theoretical viewpoint of the author throughout the study was to be that the patriarchal dynamic defined in chapter three, if proven to exist within the PDF, could be countered by the legislative and educational (training) priorities identified by liberal feminism. (Haralambos, 1991:536)

In conducting the research as outlined in the chapter on method the author was in essence carrying out an equality audit of the Defence Forces as advocated in the chapter on theory. A number of points arise from the conduct of the research with specific reference to method. In terms of sensitivity and secrecy as defined in the literature on methodology and highlighted in chapter two, there were circumstances in this regard that were specific to the setting of the PDF.

In relation to the reporting on and dissemination of the data, I was required initially by the gatekeeper, (the Director of Training) to keep the research secret, i.e., "provided the work is not published". The problems that 'sensitivity' posed affected every stage of the research process. On this matter, Sieber (1993) is quoted in Renzetti and Lee (1993: 6) as follows:

Sensitivity, (...) affects almost every stage of the research process from formulation through design to implementation, dissemination and application (...) perhaps only the actual process of data analysis is likely to remain relatively untouched, (although considerations relating to the confidentiality of data can add complexities even here) (S)ensitive research raises methodological, technical, ethical, political and legal problems as well as having potential effects on the personal life of the researcher.

I encountered legal problems in having to seek clarification from my superiors in order to get permission to have the thesis read for the purposes of examination. I encountered political problems earlier on in the research process when as a line officer with the rank of Lieutenant, Staff Officers were able to deny me access to certain documents and information. Brewer makes the following observation on the potential negative effect of sensitivity, which is relevant to this study:

Researchers need to address more directly the negative effects of sensitivity and they should be aware that it requires them to make a number of pragmatic compromises that depart from the textbook portrayal of ideal research practice.

(Brewer, 1993: 127)

He adds:

Because the research methods literature largely ignores the problems raised by sensitivity, there is little textbook advice on which to draw in solving them: solutions are devised in an ad hoc fashion on the basis of common sense and experience.
(Ibid.: 143).

In relation to this study, the effects hypothesised in the literature arising from issues of 'secrecy' and 'sensitivity' were proven for this setting and impacted on the methodology employed. In this way, the research carried out for this study confirms much of what is written in the literature on methodology on entering a 'secretive' setting to examine a 'sensitive' subject. What is significant is how little is to be found in the literature on the dual problems of secrecy and sensitivity. Little is to be found in the literature which describes the paradigm of the researcher living and residing in the setting as a member of the organisation under study. This study, by describing this paradigm, and by describing a methodology that is ethically sound, makes a contribution to knowledge in the area of research methodology.

Equipped with a research methodology that was ethically and practically sound, along with the necessary clarification required from the military authorities to conduct the research and have it examined, the collecting and analysis of data could progress unhindered. The research process as described in the method chapter matched the characteristics of the 'equality audit' as advocated in the theory chapter. The organisation's equality environment would be revealed through a documentary and archival analysis of the setting allied with the methods of participant observation and interview as described. The starting point would be found in the organisation's equality statements and policies.

Landry and Mc Lean (1993:2) echo liberal feminism in advocating legislation and explicit EO policies in pursuit of an equality of opportunity agenda in the workplace. The examination of such legislation and policies within an organisation, it is argued, would act as a 'barometer' in assessing the culture (beliefs and attitudes) of the organisation and its predisposition to the EO agenda. (Haralambos, 1991: 536). Therefore an examination of PDF equality statements and policies through a documentary analysis revealed the organisation's culture (beliefs and attitudes). The practices of the organisation in the relation to its culture could be assessed through participant observation and an audit of the status and roles assigned female personnel. The status and roles assigned female personnel as established through the unit audits revealed a gender division of labour. This confirmed the hypothetical outcome as predicted in the

theory chapter of such a gender division of labour in a work environment, which was anti equality. In the discussion in chapter three of the definition of patriarchy, 'an unequal power relationship between the sexes' (Delphy, 1992:13) it was stated that patriarchy would be expressed through such a gender division of labour. It is also interesting to note that the literature identified the military as a likely setting for gender discriminatory policies and practices (Herbert, 1994: 25; Hansen, 1992: 296; Hakim, 1996: 113).

Chapter three sets out in great detail the method for conducting an equality audit of an organisation or institution. Such an audit of the workplace environment is advocated in the literature in order to assess whether an equality of opportunity work environment exists (Shaw, 1995: 118-22; Collins, 1995:11; Neal, 1998:52; EEA, 1998: 13). In advocating such an audit, the literature urges the auditor to analyse the values and assumptions of the organisation as revealed through its equality mission statement and policies. The EEA urges the auditor to examine the equality investment within the organisation in terms of an equality infrastructure presupposed to be in existence.

The liberal feminist literature of the 1990s pre-supposes a number of conditions of employment as given. These include the aforementioned equality statements, equality policies, equality monitors, equality committees, and an ongoing consultative process focussing on equality issues. The literature also presupposes that investment in such structures is a feature of the workplace and that such investment requires monitoring.

Chapter nine reveals the existence of such an equality ethos within an Garda Síochána, the RUC, the British and US Army, and throughout the public service with a parallel in workers' unions and/or representative associations. At the very minimum, the literature pre-supposes the workplace to be within the law (Jacobsen, 1998; Shaw, 1995; Collins, 1995; EEA, 1998; Neal, 1998).

The documentary and archival analysis of the PDF carried out for this study demonstrates the absence of many of these conditions of employment. The PDF, as demonstrated in chapters five to eight and in contrast with the other organisations and institutions examined in chapter nine, has no public aspirations in the area of equality of opportunity in the form of a mission statement, and no commitment to equality of opportunity in the form of policies or practices. In defence of the military authorities, there is in existence a memorandum from the Chief of Staff dated November 1992 which states that the PDF is in favour of equality of opportunity. This memorandum however is not a circular, or policy as understood in the literature and as such does not constitute the explicit set of policies and guidelines required not only by law

but presupposed within the literature to exist (Jacobsen, 1998: 313; Shaw, 1995: 119-22; Collins, 1995: 11; Brown 1993: 84; EEA, 1998: 5).

Rees (1998: 190-91) identifies the practice where an organisation claims to be an equal opportunities employer while not implementing EO policies or practices. The PDF as shown through the documentary analysis undertaken for this study states in the Chief of Staff's memorandum of November 1992, and in its recruitment literature that it is an equal opportunities employer. A documentary analysis of the 1990 policy document on the deployment of female personnel, an analysis of the practices promulgated by the PDF in relation to the recruitment, training, deployment and promotion of female personnel indicate that the PDF's claim to be an equal opportunity employer is questionable. This is reinforced by an analysis of the conclusions and recommendations of the subsequent boards of enquiry into the deployment of female personnel established in the 1990s and discussed in chapter seven of the study.

In the chapter on theory it is shown that the equality of opportunity agenda assumes or presupposes that an equality 'apparatus' exists within the workplace. This equality apparatus is described in the literature as consisting of such measures as equality statements, policies, training programmes, equality officers and equality monitoring programmes. The literature goes on to recommend that the analysis of the equality culture of the organisation should begin by examining this apparatus (Jacobsen, 1998:313; Shaw and Perrons, 1995: 119, 122; Collins, 1995:11; EEA, 1998; Neal 1998).

In conclusion, the documentary, archival and participant observation/interviewing methods employed for this study revealed that this equality apparatus simply does not exist within the Defence Forces. The remaining sections in this chapter on conclusions and recommendations will consist of a drawing together of the findings in each chapter of the study and a situation of those findings within the wider literature as discussed in the chapter on theory. Each section will explore the findings in order to establish if they match the negative outcomes or negative characteristics as hypothesised within the literature to be present in an organisation ill disposed to equality measures. The negative effects of an anti-equality work environment as discussed in the chapter on theory match those characteristics of the patriarchal dynamic as defined at the beginning of the theory chapter.

As a starting point, the Defence Forces constitutes a workplace where the basic equality apparatus described in the equality of opportunity literature and the law simply does not exist. My initial conclusion therefore would be that the Defence Forces, though claiming to be equal

opportunity employers, are not equal opportunity employers based on the criteria for such status contained in the equality of opportunity literature, the law and as articulated in the theory chapter.

In order to address this situation, my first recommendation would be that the PDF be subject to a rigorous equality audit conducted by an independent third party such as the Equality Authority. It is interesting to note as I write that the PDF has for the first time come to the attention of the public in terms of its lack of commitment to equality of opportunity. In the "Examiner" of 6 December 1999, Bernard Allen T.D., is quoted:

There is a very poor attempt being made by the Department of Defence to bring about some form of gender balance. And once females go into the defence forces, it appears there are difficulties anyway.

(Examiner, 6 December 1999: 3)

I would hope that these comments might indicate the beginning of a public debate on a subject hidden from public view and previously unexposed to the scrutiny of the taxpayer. I also note that as of the 13th of October 1999 the Equality Authority is empowered under the Employment Equality Act to conduct such an audit and to ensure compliance on the part of the military authorities with all of the provisions of existing equality legislation and guidelines including those on positive action.

10.3 Recruitment to the PDF

In chapter four of the thesis the precedent of women engaging in combat in recent times was demonstrated. With the advent of total war in this century, the participation of women in combat has increased exponentially. For example, the chapter traced the integration of women in the US military from separate 'women's corps' during world war two to a fully integrated military in the 1990's with 41,000 women deployed to the Gulf War and a total of 195,000 women serving in the American armed forces. However, as stated at the beginning of this thesis, through some process of cognitive dissonance the contribution of women in terms of combat is not readily acknowledged. A cultural parti pris has evolved which views women and this expression of citizenship antithetically. This may be in response to a perceived threat to culturally ascribed notions of masculinity. The idea of female warriors as protectors according to Wilcox:

(T)hreatens to destroy to some extent the single gender uniqueness from which men derive their self identity and feelings of masculinity.
(Wilcox, 1992: 310)

Despite society's taboos around women and the use of force, despite inhibitions and reservations that patriarchal society has about women being armed and dangerous, the reality is that women are crucial for the waging of modern warfare. This was shown to be the case in chapter four and is echoed by Goldman and Weighland (1982:260):

We have already, through the semantics of combat definitions begun to count women as de facto combatants. It matters not at all whether this has been done for reasons of well intentioned desire for social equity, or for pure political expediency. The result is the same.

There still remains, however, some resistance to the reality of women as combatants and soldiers. This resistance, in the form of cognitive dissonance, is perhaps motivated by a fear that women's military employment might threaten the status quo of the patriarchal power dynamic between men and women as identified in chapter three:

Society seems more afraid of violent women than men, as if they were more threatening than men. Indeed they are, for if women usurp the traditionally male role of aggressor, and if they do it successfully, men fear that their ultimate weapon - their physical superiority over women - is gone. The whole basis of society might crumble as a result of these dangerously unleashed women running amok. Men would be emasculated.

(MacDonald, 1992: 239)

Despite trends in the international military for the replacement of single sex 'women's corps' with fully integrated units, and despite the increased participation of women in combat internationally, the military authorities opted for a 'women's service corps' as a model for the integration of women to the Defence Forces. The concept of a women's service corps envisaged by the military authorities in 1978 was reminiscent of the all-female formations evolved by the British and Americans during world war two. Chapter four showed the manner in which these entities were replaced by an integration of women into the mainstream of all three services in both the British and US armies.

In evolving the concept of a women's service corps as described in chapter five, the military authorities drew for their inspiration on a particular aspect of women's history in the military. They ignored the trends for the integration of women in those armies with which we had considerable contact. It is significant that the model for integration proposed by the military authorities was rejected by government at that time. It shows how out of step with international military trends and contemporary social policy the PDF was at that time.

The military authorities seem out of step also with international military trends in the recruitment of women. For example, confronted with a shrinking labour pool and loss of the draft, both the U.S. Army and the British Army (the most socially conservative in NATO) (Wheelwright, 1991: 216) have since 1976 urged the fullest integration of women into the forces. Faced with personnel shortages the international military have thrown aside any culturally generated resistance to the notion of female soldiers and have actively targeted women for recruitment. The international military have reinforced Wheelwright's (1991: 216) observation that "(G)ender concerns are forced to give way when social policy makers bow to pragmatism".

The Irish military authorities have taken a puzzling approach to the recruitment of women. Contrary to conventional wisdom, the General Staff appear to be regressive rather than progressive in the area of the recruitment of women. At a time of declining male recruitment, (an 80% drop in applicants over two years) the military authorities for reasons best known to themselves, put obstacles in the way of female recruitment, (ceilings, quotas, height restrictions). Since the targeting and recruiting of women has been described as a pragmatic response to a drop in male applicants, the placing of obstacles to their recruitment in such a circumstance can only be ideologically driven.

This ideological position is expressed in the choice of uniform for female personnel. The semiotic analysis of the uniform chosen for women in chapter five links the highly gendered accoutrements of the female pattern uniform and the original vision of a separate women's service corps for women. The 'No 1' pattern uniform and its working dress variant were shown to differ from that pattern of uniform issued to male personnel in ways that were impractical for the work environment of the PDF or drew attention to the sex of the wearer in a manner which lowered their status. The female pattern uniform was designed, it is argued, with a specific pattern of employment for female personnel in mind.

The new DPM uniform, being identical for both men and women was discussed at interview. The responses of the women indicated that no consultation had taken place with female personnel and that the uniform was a 'male' issue, not taking into account differences in male and female physiology. This exacerbates an existing problem of ill fitting boots and combats as discussed at interview. Fifty seven of the sixty women interviewed stated that they could not get an issue of combat boots to fit. A further 46 out of 60 stated that they would like to see the replacement of the female pattern headgear. These responses allied to the fact that only one of the respondents had been consulted on any aspect of service life surely suggest the requirement for some sort of process of consultation.

Twenty years after women joined the Defence Forces there is still evidence of a lack of commitment on the part of the military authorities to providing them with the necessary kit and uniform to soldier effectively. With 57 of the 60 women interviewed unable to get the correct size of combat boot the data generated at interview suggests that many practical difficulties remain for female personnel in attempting to match the clothing chosen for them and the work requirements facing them daily. The data gathered in chapter five underlines the practical and symbolic impact of the uniform chosen by the military authorities for women. The choice of the male as the 'norm' for uniform fitting, reveals what is referred to in the literature refers as a reinforcing of the constructed masculinity of military service. (Gatens, in Barrett and Phillips, 1992:120-37) This construct the literature argues is carefully preserved in the military setting. (Hakim, 1996:113; Wheelwright, 1991:213; Segal 1987:169) I would recommend that the military authorities reassess the issue of combats to female personnel with a view to instituting a 'female' pattern which accommodates physiological differences between the sexes without drawing attention to the sex of the wearer in a manner which might have an impact on status. This should be done in consultation with female personnel.

By adopting restrictive practices in terms of the recruitment of women, the General Staff leave themselves open to the accusation of behaving in a patriarchal fashion. The denial of access for women to paid employment and the preservation of a male dominated workplace fits with the definition of patriarchy provided in chapter three. The present day situation in terms of the numbers of women recruited to the Defence Forces (306) is only marginally above the numbers envisaged by the board in 1978 in terms of a women's service corps (277). Given the numbers of women in the Defence Forces today and given the status and roles assigned them as outlined in chapters five to eight of the thesis, the military authorities could be said to have created a de facto women's service corps.

In terms of the 'change environment', the military authorities have given little direction or leadership in statements or policies in the area of integration or equality of opportunity in terms of the numbers of women gaining access to the PDF. The remainder of this section will focus on specific aspects of the recruitment process for women. From a purely military perspective however, the military authorities have failed to recognise or exploit a valuable military resource. In military parlance, the "enemy" in the form of potential aggressors from without, and the terrorist threat from within, have recognised, and fully utilise the lethal potential of women. The international military and those paramilitary organisations operating on this island have maximised the potential of women whom they see as a critical battlefield

asset. The Irish military authorities, by setting up impediments to the recruitment of women, have committed the most elementary of errors: they have underestimated the wisdom of the enemy.

The number of women entering the Defence Forces has increased over the period of this study. On the face of it, the trebling of the numbers of women entering the PDF over this period suggests some trend towards integration and increased participation rates for women within the PDF. This increase must be taken in the context however of the large numbers of recruits taken into the Defence Forces since 1994. An embargo on recruiting to the Defence Forces was lifted in 1994. Since 1994, a total of 3,349 recruits have entered the PDF (Source: Enlisted Personnel Section, DFHQ, 30th June 2000). Of these 3,349, 396 were female. Therefore 11.8% of this recent influx of troops is female. This figure of 11.8% should be considered against the total number of female applicants which was 15.3% of the total (Source: Enlisted Personnel Section, DFHQ, 30th June 2000). Despite the recent increase in numbers of women entering the PDF, there is no evidence here of a form of positive or affirmative action in relation to the numbers being recruited. The numbers of women in the organisation presently comprise about 3% of strength. This should be compared with the NATO average of 15% and 48% for the remainder of the public service.

The data gathered in chapter five gives cause for concern in relation to the numbers of women being recruited to the PDF. The figures supplied in chapter five by the military authorities show that women comprise 15.3% of all candidates for recruitment with women comprising only 12.4% of those who are successful. The figures supplied by the military authorities also show that women comprise 22.7% of all applicants for cadetships and comprise only 13.7% of those who are successful. These figures, taken in tandem with the data obtained in participant observation and at interview, indicate very strongly the presence of a quota system for the recruitment of women to the Defence Forces. The data suggests that the Defence Forces is not proactive in terms of positive or affirmative action as advocated in the theory chapter in terms of recruiting women to the organisation. The Defence Forces would appear to act in a manner which is anti equality, contrary to the law and inimical to the interests of women.

On analysing the data gathered in chapter five, I would conclude that the PDF is not committed to equality of opportunity in terms of recruitment policies and practice. I would draw the conclusion from the data gathered that the Defence Forces has evolved practices in the area of recruitment which are discriminatory towards women and have denied many women legitimate access to paid employment on the basis of their sex. In terms of the

interview data gathered, the vast majority of female personnel interviewed expressed serious misgivings about the recruitment of women to the PDF in terms of numbers and fairness in selection procedures. Women's accounts of an alleged quota system in operation allied with a simple analysis of the numbers of women recruited since 1982 would suggest that women are under-represented within the PDF. All of the female officers interviewed stated that a quota system for female recruitment was in operation. Thirty of the sixty women or 50% of the sample stated that in their experience, a quota system was in operation which functioned to cap the numbers of women entering the Defence Forces. Eighty percent of the total sample of women interviewed stated that the entry system for women was unfair. Given these statements, the under-representation of women would appear to be construed by female personnel as being the result of deliberate action on the part of the military authorities.

The various justifications offered by the military authorities for limiting the numbers of women given access to paid employment within the PDF bear further scrutiny within the theoretical framework as articulated in chapter three. The citing of a lack of accommodation or other such infrastructural deficits as a justification for capping the numbers of women entering the PDF is listed as a form of discrimination by the Employment Equality Agency (EEA, 1998: Equality at Work – A Model Equal Opportunities Policy). The requirement for employers to redress infrastructural deficits in such cases is emphasised in a number of EEA and public service guidelines. (EEA, Guidelines on Positive (Affirmative) Action in Employment, 1999; EEA, Guidelines on Equal Opportunity in Vocational Training, 1999; Equality of Opportunity in the Civil Service, 1997; Eighth Annual Report on the Implementation of the Equal Opportunity Policy and Guidelines for the Civil Service, March 1997) The EEA and the relevant public service guidelines send a very comprehensive message in this regard. This has been further emphasised in the recently enacted Equal Status and Employment Equality Acts.

The military authorities, by instituting arbitrary height requirements, quotas and ceilings, could be said to be co-operating with and extending patriarchal discourses about women. Under these circumstances, the basic precondition for critical mass, to achieve a "women's effect", (Howes and Stevenson, 1993: 51), through numbers and representation, is negated by army recruitment policy. The military authorities leave themselves open to the charge of lacking "commitment" (Reskin and Padavic, 1994) to EO policies in terms of the numbers of women recruited to the PDF. Resistance on the part of the military to such full integration as advocated in the theory chapter has been noted:

As in the past, women's roles in the armed services have not been fully institutionalised and women have not caused any fundamental change in the masculine culture of the organisations.
(Ibid: 92)

The data would seem to suggest that the military authorities are manipulating entry criteria and the conditions of employment for women, under a veil of confidentiality to maintain the power balance and status quo of the male dominated workplace. This patriarchal orientation as discussed in chapter three operates to protect "jobs for the boys":

A dominant group inevitably has the greatest influence in determining a culture's overall outlook - its philosophy, morality, social theory and even its science. The dominant group, thus, legitimises the unequal relationship and incorporates it into society's guiding concepts (...) inevitably the dominant group is the model for 'normal' human relationships. It then becomes 'normal' to treat others destructively, to derogate them, to obscure the truth of what you are doing by creating false explanations and to oppose actions towards equality.
(Roberts, 1981: 39)

The military authorities, the dominant group in this instance, seem happy to preserve this status quo:

The dominants are usually convinced that the way things are is right and good, not only for them but especially for the subordinates. All morality confirms (their) view, and all structure sustains it.

(Roberts, 1981: 40)

According to the equal opportunity policy and guidelines for the Civil (Public) Service, (July 1986) in the matter of recruitment:

In accordance with and subject to the provisions of the Employment Equality Act, all recruitment posts in the Civil (Public) Service are open to male and female applicants irrespective of marital status. Recruitment methods and publicity material should encourage applications from suitable candidates of both sexes and should not discriminate on grounds of sex or marital status.

(Para 12, Recruitment: 6)

The military authorities are, since the enactment of the Employment Equality Act (1998), subject to such recommendations and guidelines. They would appear on the basis of the data gathered to be in breach of such guidelines. Despite the fact that the number of women in the PDF has almost trebled from 123 in 1996 to 306 in 1999, by comparison with an Garda Síochána, the RUC, the British army and the U.S. women are seriously under-represented within the PDF. With evidence of a quota system in operation for the recruitment of women and a height requirement above the average set by the international military, it is unlikely that women will enter the PDF in sufficient numbers in the short term to 'catch up' in terms of

their proportional representation in other armies. Neither in the short term will there be sufficient numbers to create the 'women's effect' deemed healthy for both male and female workers as described by Rees (1998) and by Jacobsen (1998). (See also Howes and Stevenson, 1993:51)

The policies and practices outlined in this regard prevent women from 'competing' on a fair basis for jobs in the PDF. Quotas, arbitrary height requirements and all-male recruit intakes prevent the 'enjoyment of individual rights' and deny women the right to compete as equals as defined by Friedan and Richards (Brown, 1993:83). These practices assist in ensuring the 'inevitability of male dominance' in the workplace and are evidence of the 'collective organisation of men to discriminate against women' as discussed in chapter three (Hakim, 1996:4). Hakim (1996:10-11) identifies this denial of access to paid employment for women as evidence of a patriarchal dynamic. The PDF in this regard leaves itself open to the multiple charges of active and passive, and direct and indirect discrimination as defined by the EEA. (1998:37-8) Such policies and practices contrast sharply with the stated aspirations of the British Army, the US Army, the RUC, and an Garda Síochána in aiming to specifically target women for recruitment as discussed in chapter nine.

From the point of view of EEA guidelines, the law and equality of opportunity aspirations, the manner in which women are recruited into the PDF could only be scrutinised by an external agency or ombudsman, if the secrecy and confidentiality of these competitions were revoked. I would strongly recommend that the recruitment of personnel to the PDF be organised by an independent agency in consultation with the military authorities and in accordance with the guidelines on recruitment as laid down by the EEA (1998). A precedent for this type of recruitment exists with an Garda Síochána who recruit under the provisions of the local Appointments Commission and in conjunction with an independent third party.

To redress the imbalance in numbers however, I would recommend in the short-term an increase in the numbers of women recruited to the PDF under the auspices of positive action as espoused by the EEA (1998: 25-9) and discussed in chapter three. (See also Rees, 1998: 193; Neal, 1998:52; Shaw, 1995:55; Brown, 1993:84; Jacobsen, 1998:230). There is a lack of any explicit policies on the recruitment of women to the PDF. There is a lack of any aspirations for a redress of the imbalance of numbers of women in the PDF in board reports. There is a lack of any coherent or consistent mission statement in the area of equality of opportunity. These combined leave the military authorities open to the charge of being anti equality of opportunity in outlook.

In drawing up such a mission statement or policy, it behoves the military authorities to consult with female personnel to negotiate such policies and effect a 'bottom-up' climate of change, and 'change-ownership'. (EEA 1998:11-12; Neal 1998:122; Shaw 1995)

10.4 The training environment of the PDF

The assessment of the training environment of the PDF contained in this study draws on a Liberal feminist framework for examining the equality environment of the workplace in assessing the manner in which education and training are manipulated to either enable or disable women in the workplace. The examination of training carried out for the study was designed to assess if the training environment of the PDF empowered or disempowered women. It was designed to assess if inequality was pre-programmed at the level of training.

In relation to training, chapter six outlined trends for training in the international military community. The section on international trends in military training showed that studies in the US and Britain had indicated that integrated training raised the training standards achieved in battle simulations (Holm, 1993; DACOWITS, 1992; Brower, 1996). These findings and the performance of women in combat in conflicts such as the Gulf War have led in the US to the enactment of the National Defence Authorisation Act of 1993 which repeals the 1948 statutory limitations on the assignment of women to combat appointments. The trend in the international military has been traced from its beginnings in the single-sex segregated training environment associated with separate 'women's corps' to the fully integrated training environment in existence today.

This section of chapter six drew on accounts of trends in training in the international military for the purposes of comparison. When compared to the documentary and interview data, contained in the remainder of chapter six, a qualitative insight into the training environment of the PDF as experienced by women was provided. The trend in recent years to train women in an integrated environment is to be welcomed. It represents an acknowledgement on the part of the military authorities of what is considered best practice in international military circles. The trend from single sex training in the eighties to fully integrated training in the nineties shows some commitment on the part of the PDF to an equality of opportunity agenda in the workplace. The trend towards integrated training in the PDF also mirrors the trend towards integrated training, which evolved over time in the international military. It is evidence perhaps, of a work culture in transition.

Prior to 1992, female soldiers were trained separately from their male peers in single-sex recruit intakes. These single-sex intakes took place in 1982 and 1990. In terms of the PDF training regime at this time, the study uncovered documentary evidence of a segregated regime of training, which operated until 1992. This ensured a gender division of labour along the lines of a skills deficit experienced by women. What is significant is that this skills deficit was prescribed for women through separate syllabi of training. A gender division of labour was pre-programmed into these training syllabi. Women's place in this division was bound up in notions of femininity and propriety, finding the 'proper' place for these women. This 'proper' place was to be defined as a lower paid caste within the organisation, confined to the monotonous and 'feminine' work of administration and accounting.

In 1992, the military authorities on the basis of the Chief of Staff's 1992 memorandum on equality of opportunity decreed that recruit training would be integrated for all personnel at all levels of entry to the organisation. This is a decision which was acted upon by the Director of Training. As yet however, no policy statement or policy document on integrated training is in existence within the PDF. The trend towards integrated training which is charted in chapter six is certainly a positive indicator in terms of the diagnostic tool which is the equality audit as advocated by the liberal feminist agenda and the equality of opportunity literature. Despite the fact that female troops are no longer recruited in single-sex recruit intakes, there is still the phenomenon of single-sex male recruit intakes. The latest single-sex intake of male recruits took place in 1995. For this intake of recruits the individuals concerned were called up for service on the basis of the order of merit determined for the 1994 recruit competition. No female personnel were offered employment in this intake. I believe that while there is evidence of a move towards integration, such moves ought to be made official policy and explicitly stated in policy documents and therefore guarantee their promulgation and render such statements enforceable.

The data obtained at interview in relation to segregated and integrated training make for interesting reading. The interview responses of the women confirm their satisfaction with the system of integrated training. All of the women interviewed were in favour of integrated training. Of the eight women in the sample who were trained in the single sex segregated training regime in force prior to 1990, all eight expressed dissatisfaction with segregated training. Of the fifty women who were trained in an integrated regime, all fifty expressed satisfaction with the training and stated that they were every bit as well trained as their male colleagues. The Defence Forces in adopting an integrated training regime for male and female personnel are providing the "education" previously denied female personnel in the segregated training regime. The denial of "education" for women in a segregated training

environment is defined by Reskin and Padavic (1994) in chapter three as characteristic of a work environment ill disposed to equality and operating a system of "Human Capital Inequities". The training environment, which existed prior to 1992, operating separate syllabi of training for male and female personnel featured a "training deficit" for women as described by Jacobsen (1998:227-9). Jacobsen listed such a training deficit as a criterion for assessing the equality environment of the setting under study. Jacobsen argues that such a deficit is characteristic of an anti-equality work environment which disempowers women and as such fits in with the definition of patriarchy offered in chapter three. The fact that training at entry level for soldiers has become fully integrated is to be welcomed as tangible evidence of a commitment to equality.

I would conclude that prior to 1992, the military authorities operated a system of training that featured many of the negative characteristics and outcomes (for women) of a patriarchal or anti equality work environment as described by Reskin and Padavic, (1994), Jacobsen (1998) and Barron and Norris (1976). I would also conclude on the basis of the data gathered and in light of the liberal feminist agenda espoused in the theory chapter that the move to integrated training for all ranks at entry level has played a significant role in removing some of the negative effects of the anti-equality work environment as hypothesised and described.

The data gathered by interview suggests, however, that women are discriminated against after basic training in their attempts to get on career courses at unit level. For officers this phenomenon extends to career courses abroad. To date, no female officer has been selected to attend a command and staff course abroad. These barriers to education which are encountered after recruit training serve to deny women empowerment within the organisation and as stated previously deny them access to promotion and renders them less mobile within the organisation. There is a requirement for an open and transparent competition for places on such courses. At present, places are awarded on courses solely at the discretion of the unit commander. Without a consistent and clear policy in this regard women may find themselves "frozen out". This appears to be the case from the data. As outlined by Reskin and Padavic (1994:98-9) and discussed in chapter three, when an organisation adopts an ad hoc policy in this regard and disavows explicit policies, marginalised groups suffer.

The consequences of a lack of a training and educational investment for a section of the workforce are discussed in chapter three (Reskin and Padavic, 1994, Barron and Norris, 1976). The rationale used by the military authorities in denying women a comprehensive military training or "experience" are bound up with what Rees (1998: 40) and Shaw (1995: 55) describe as the "difference as deficit" ideology in a classic gender discriminatory work

environment. In order to counter the negative effects of such a deficiency in training the EEA (1998: 26) recommend positive action in the provision of extra training for de-skilled groups. A token gesture in this area was made by the military authorities in the form of the 'women's tactical courses' run in 1992 and 1993. This, however, falls far short of the type of positive action and positive intervention envisaged by the EEA.

At a minimum, the PDF should put in place specific training policies which will redress the balance of past deficiencies, and rule out the possibility of future imbalances. The Director of training should also ensure that a system of compensatory training measures be put in place to enable women to avail of those appointments identified by the IPMS system as crucial for promotion. The denial of such training or education to a particular group within an organisation is described by Reskin and Padavic (1994:87) as a feature of human capital inequities. In terms of training and education, the women of the PDF are denied the "education" (Ibid:87) to realise their full potential to compete for "autonomy" and "strategic power" within the organisation. (Adler, 1994:40) The situation for women in the PDF, despite the advent of integrated training, is characteristic of a work environment as defined by Jacobsen (1998:227-9) as being discriminatory and having typically a training deficit for women.

The data gathered at interview from the women interviewed in chapter six in relation to training also gave rise to a discussion on bullying and harassment within the organisation. The majority of women interviewed expressed satisfaction with the principle of integrated training for all personnel. Seventeen of the women however were very critical of the emphasis within this training citing specifically a tendency for physical training to have a 'punitive' or negative reinforcement function. Twenty-five of the women interviewed felt that there was a general emphasis within the training on negative reinforcement and negative measures for the reinforcement of training aims. These twenty-five women linked this negative emphasis to bullying and harassment.

This discussion of bullying gave rise to accounts of incidents and experiences, which were common to the women interviewed. These accounts generated the categories of experiences as listed in chapter six. These categories of experience ranged in seriousness from inappropriate remarks about dress and appearance to accounts of sexual assault and rape within the workplace. Of the 60 women interviewed, 59 complained of some form of sexual harassment or bullying within the workplace. These accounts speak of the ubiquity of such harassment and bullying within the PDF workplace. These experiences were common to women of all ranks within the organisation and it became apparent over a number of

interviews that harassment, bullying, and outright sexual harassment are a common feature of female personnel's day to day working life.

Women of all ranks, and over the full range of seniority, had experiences of harassment. This phenomenon is noted by the EEA:

Although gender based or sexual harassment is frequently misunderstood as some form of sexual attraction, more generally it occurs as an abuse of power in the employment context when a person's gender is used to undermine or humiliate her/him. It is predominantly women who experience harassment since they are mainly in the lower paid and graded positions while men occupy positions of relative power. There are no stereotypical victims, even women in senior positions in organisations have experienced this problem.

(EEA, Guidelines on Sexual Harassment and dignity at Work, 1999:31)

The presence of such abuses of organisational power, especially when directed towards female personnel, could be said to be products of a patriarchal mindset in the workplace. Since patriarchy has been shown to be an unequal power relation between the sexes, such an unequal power relation, if reinforced by the organisation in the status and roles assigned female personnel, may be exacerbated by some, by taking the process one step further in harassing, bullying and sexually harassing female employees.

The data however indicated that the more junior the victim, in terms of rank or length of service, the more serious the bullying and harassment experienced. This qualitative insight gained at interview is a very worrying aspect of the work environment of the PDF. Having contacted the Anti Bullying Unit in Trinity College Dublin in July of 2000, I am informed that workplace bullying and assault is a feature of many workplaces in both the public and private sector. The Anti Bullying Unit has just completed the first national study in workplace bullying in Ireland also made the point that such bullying and harassment though ubiquitous and commonplace are often unreported and unrecognised by the inhabitants of the setting. This is one of the characteristics of bullying – the fact that it is unspoken and unseen, borne by the victim in silence lest complaining lead to victim blaming, a very common feature of adult and workplace bullying. This is referred to in the literature as the insidious nature of workplace bullying.

Another feature of workplace bullying as outlined in the literature is that in a work environment where there are no policies in the area of bullying there is generally a higher level of incidence than in a workplace where there is a low tolerance for such behaviour. I would conclude that the Defence Forces is a work environment where bullying and

harassment are commonplace for female personnel and that such bullying and harassment are facilitated by a lack of comprehensive policies and reporting procedures in this area. They also further compounded by the constructed masculinity of military service and the 'machistic' workplace culture found in the PDF. This culture stigmatises the reporting of workplace bullying in that the reporting of bullying with the attendant 'victim' status would be seen as inconsistent with ideas of 'soldierliness'. This is a very serious situation for the Defence Forces in that it is provided for in law and taken as a given that workers have the right to work in an atmosphere that is not contaminated by such negative practices and without fear of bullying or harassment.

The data gathered in relation to those issues raised at interview, in terms of bullying and harassment, make for disturbing reading. A parallel documentary analysis of the setting provides no clear comprehensive or explicit policies in these areas. In light of the data gathered here, it behoves the military authorities to address these issues in consultation with female personnel.

In conclusion, a number of key points emerge from the women's accounts of what they allege happened to them in the context of bullying harassment and assault in the workplace. Of the sixty women interviewed, only one, (a direct entry captain with no overseas service, and no tactical or command relationship with the troops) did not complain of some form of harassment, bullying or assault.

Given that the random sample of the control group in Lebanon confirmed the snowball sample obtained at home, there would appear to be cause for serious concern in this area. There is certainly a requirement for the formulation of a comprehensive and explicit anti-harassment and anti-bullying guideline. The liberal feminist agenda of the equality of opportunity literature is reflected in the supposition that such policies and guidelines exist in a modern institution or organisation. The fact that such policies and guidelines are absent, allied with such widespread reporting of alleged abuses, leaves the military authorities open to the charge of being anti-woman/misogynist or patriarchal.

The vast majority of women interviewed (59 out of 60) reported some incidence of bullying and/or harassment. On foot of this, the PDF should be urged, without delay, to adopt policies on bullying and harassment in the workplace which are comprehensive, explicit, and victim-friendly. Such policies are required by law and presupposed to exist in the literature (Neal, 1998:55; Rees, 1998). I would recommend as a starting point the military authorities adopt as policy the guidelines on bullying and harassment in the workplace as published by the EEA

(1998), and the Health and Safety Authority (1998). (Also the Irish Code of Practice on measures to protect the dignity of men and women at work, EEA, 1998).

What is interesting from the data is the variation over units in the reaction of local commanders to allegations of harassment. Some were sympathetic, others were hostile. Without explicit and comprehensive policies in this regard, the PDF will remain a permissive environment in which women may continue to experience harassment. Also of note is the fact that the more 'junior' the victim, in terms of status (by rank or length of service), the sharper the experience of harassment and bullying tended to be. The sharpest experiences reported seem to have occurred in training. This is surely an unhealthy indicator for the PDF in terms of its learning environment. PDF training and education centres should undergo a health and safety audit in light of this. The data indicates that the majority of women in the PDF have little or no faith in its grievance system and redress procedures particularly as they relate to the issues of bullying, harassment and assault. Many of the women interviewed report being threatened and sanctioned for complaints made by them. This does not speak of a woman-friendly, or equality driven environment. It is significant to note, that not one of these women have ever been asked their view on these matters previously.

The complaints or grievance procedures currently in use by the PDF were shown to be considered inadequate in the documentary and interview data analysis in this chapter. The vast majority of women interviewed expressed misgivings in this area. The PDF should re-assess its grievance and complaints procedures as discussed in chapter six (EEA, 1998: 13). The problem of bullying and harassment within an Garda Síochána is being addressed in liaison with Dr. Mona O'Moore in TCD and a special task force has been set up in the Garda Síochána to formulate explicit and comprehensive policies to tackle an insidious problem within the workplace (Needham, 1999:4-10). I would consider the issues raised in this chapter in relation to bullying and harassment to be the most pressing for the purposes of remedial action on the part of the military authorities.

10.5 The deployment of female personnel within the PDF

A comprehensive analysis of the setting of the PDF was conducted for this study in order to determine the deployment policies and practices of the organisation. The former was researched by employing an exhaustive documentary and archival analysis of the setting for any indicators of PDF policy in this area. The latter was researched by the unit audits as described in detail in chapter seven of the thesis. This examination revealed a number of

issues in relation to deployment. No comprehensive body of equality of opportunity policy was detected within the setting relating to the deployment of female personnel. No up to date policy on the deployment of female personnel was found within the setting. The documentary analysis did reveal a memorandum from the Chief of Staff dating from 1992, which gave a one paragraph direction that women in the Defence Forces would enjoy “equality of opportunity in all areas of Defence Forces activity”. There is no trace of a comprehensive equality of opportunity policy as defined by the Equality Authority, the law or the equality of opportunity literature within the setting. The only policy documents originating from Defence Forces Headquarters on the deployment of female personnel are those board reports and implementation board reports on the deployment of female personnel from 1992 and the Adjutant General’s memorandum of 1994 on the question of overseas service for female personnel.

The 1992 documents contain a recommendation that a policy on the deployment of female personnel be drawn up to replace the 1990 policy. They also contain a number of provisions and qualifications that question the bona fides of female troops, implying a negative link between female soldiers and the operational effectiveness of units. The 1994 memorandum from the Adjutant General reiterates the restrictive provisions of the 1990 policy on the deployment of female personnel in relation to overseas service. Therefore, in relation to the deployment of female personnel, there is an absence of the equality apparatus, presupposed to be in existence as advocated in the liberal feminist literature and described in the equality of opportunity literature. The analysis of the PDF’s deployment practices focuses on the ad hoc practices on deployment as examined in the unit audits carried out for the study. The impact of these ad hoc policies on female personnel is revealed in the data obtained at interview.

The equality of opportunity literature examined in chapter three advocates an equality audit of the workplace beginning with an examination of the organisation’s equality statements and policies. This examination should then be followed by a thorough examination of the organisation’s equality ‘apparatus’ (Jacobsen, 1998:313; Shaw and Perrons, 1995:119,122; Collins, 1995: 11; EEA, 1998; Neal, 1998). In the absence of such statements and policies, the PDF leaves itself open to the charge of having no aspirations for equality in relation to the deployment of female personnel and certainly no framework of provisions for equality which is enforceable and has the force of orders.

There is considerable evidence in chapter seven of discriminatory ad hoc practices in operation as they apply to female personnel of the PDF. The provisions of the 1990 policy on the deployment of female personnel are clearly discriminatory and are contrary to both the

letter and spirit of the law, current employment equality guidelines and conform with patriarchy as defined in chapter three, finding expression through a gender division of labour. The 1990 policy has not been replaced by an up to date policy nor does an equality of opportunity policy in this area exist. The interview data suggests women are not satisfied with PDF deployment policies, have not been consulted on them, and have aspirations in this area which are inconsistent with current PDF policy and practice. PDF practice in this area is shown not only to be inconsistent with the law but also with accepted standard military practice elsewhere.

The conclusions of the 1992 implementation board report on the deployment of female personnel reveal a number of things about the mind set of the military authorities. The implementation board report recommends the rescinding of the 1990 policy with a replacement policy to be drawn up. The replacement policy would contain a number of qualifications to the Chief of Staff's 1992 aspiration for equality of opportunity for female personnel in all areas of Defence Forces activity. The qualifications contained at paragraph 28, (a) and (b) detail as reasons for not granting full access to female personnel to the full range of PDF activities, "non acceptance by male comrades that females are capable of doing the job" and that "there is a risk to the completion of the mission due to male personnel being over protective of their female colleagues". These qualifications reveal the biases of the board and show they are not cognisant of or are ignoring international trends in the deployment of female personnel, unaware of the de facto performance of women in combat and inclined to reinforce and not challenge negative assumptions about female personnel. As pointed out in chapter seven, such assertions are a classic example of victim-blaming and the reinforcement of stereotyped notions about female personnel as espoused in patriarchal discourses about women.

The findings of the various board reports listed in chapter seven on the deployment of female personnel are disturbing in the context of employment equality legislation and confirm the hypothesis in chapter three demonstrating the link between patriarchy and sex role stereotyping particularly within the military setting. Statements to the effect that the deployment of female personnel 'would be in line with European, American and Australian cultural norms' reveal a number of things. The military authorities are either not au fait, or are ignoring the deployment trends now in existence for women in these cultures. The military authorities in studying the issue of the deployment of female personnel, have failed to "re-negotiate self-concepts, occupational identities and social relations" (Hakim, 1996: 113). As discussed in chapter three, this failure is said in the literature to be symptomatic of an employer with no commitment to an equality agenda. Some commentators link this resistance

to women's access to positions perceived as powerful, to the patriarchal concept of power being masculine.

Changes in the organisation of work frequently provoke anxiety in men about the loss of power or the gaining of power by women to which they are not entitled. Power and sexuality are integral to work relations.

(Game and Pringle, 1983: 16)

Examples of this reluctance to accept women workers as equals, to deny them access to positions perceived as powerful abound in this study.

The section on legal aspects in chapter seven shows the Defence Forces to be subject to the provisions of the Employment Equality Act of 1998 which applies all equality legislation and guidelines for employment as laid down by the Equality Authority to the Defence Forces. The 1998 Act compels the military authorities to implement the full range of measures outlined by the Equality Authority in relation to training, vocational training, access to work experience and promotion including positive and affirmative action. The Defence Forces have not instituted any board or committee to investigate the implications of this legislation and have no plans to do so. Based on the data gathered in chapter seven, although there is some evidence over the period of the study towards a fuller integration for female personnel, there is overwhelming evidence that the military authorities are in contravention of international law, statute law and Equality Authority guidelines in terms of the deployment of female personnel. This would appear to be confirmed by the data obtained at interview where 59 of the 60 women interviewed for the study felt they were discriminated against in terms of access to jobs at home and overseas.

In denying women "experience" (Reskin and Padavic, 1994:87) within the setting through the mechanism of arbitrary bars on deployment for women, women are denied the opportunity to compete on an equal footing for promotion with their male peers. This is particularly so when the "experience" of command of troops overseas is identified by the PDF IPMS as a necessary criterion for promotion. This obstacle to the achievement of status and "autonomy" or "strategic power" within the organisation (Adler:1994:40) as discussed in chapter three, is symptomatic of what the literature refers to as a gender discriminatory workplace. (Jacobsen, 1998: 227-229) Such a workplace is described in the literature as typically having a deficit for women in the areas of wages, training, consultation and promotion (Ibid.:227-9). An examination of the data in chapters five to eight reveals such deficits for women within the setting of the PDF.

In the absence of a deployment policy as recommended by the 1992 implementation board to replace the 1990 policy it was necessary to conduct unit audits to assess the ad hoc practices in relation to the deployment of female personnel which have evolved in the PDF since 1992. The unit audits carried out for the study allow for a longitudinal analysis of those appointments being assigned female personnel in order to establish if a gender division of labour exists within the organisation. In 1997 the unit audit revealed that 17.1% of female personnel were employed in combat appointments with 82.95% confined to support roles. This compares with 66.7% of male personnel employed in combat appointments and 33.3% in support roles. By 1999, the unit audit shows that 25.8% of female personnel are employed in combat roles and 74.2% in support roles. The figures for officers for 1999 showed 73.8% employed in support appointments and 26.2% in combat appointments. The audits also showed that over the period of the study, women for the first time were appointed to the Naval Service and Air Corps.

Whilst these figures show a trend towards the greater integration of women over the period of the study, they also show a marked gender division of labour with a disproportionate percentage and majority of women in the PDF working in lower paid support roles within the setting. These ad hoc practices deny female personnel many of the workplace experiences deemed necessary for promotion under the IPMS. This fact, allied to the restrictive policies in relation to overseas service, a key criterion for promotion, demonstrates a clear link between the roles and status assigned female personnel in the Defence Forces. This link is shown in the data to be expressed in a lowering of female personnel's potential for promotion. This is due to a combination of ad hoc deployment practices at home and policy statements such as the Adjutant General's 1994 memo reiterating the bar on female personnel serving in operational appointments overseas, that have led to a gender division of labour which have handicapped women's chances of promotion. This is confirmed by the data obtained at interview which shows that there is an unanimous feeling amongst female personnel that they are the victims of routine and officially sanctioned discriminatory practices in relation to deployment. This is a situation at bald variance with the Equality Guidelines for the Civil (Public) Service, (July 1986) which state:

Departments should encourage women to pursue career paths which will rectify under representation, encounter the more demanding jobs, and maintain them on an equal footing with men when promotions are considered.

The unit audits carried out for this study in 1996 and 1999 show some improvement in the numbers of women in the higher-paid 'operational' appointments of the PDF in attracting

border, flying and seagoing allowances. There is still, however, evidence of a gender division of labour. The situation with regard to overseas appointments requires specific attention. An almost unanimous response on the part of those women interviewed, (59 out of 60) indicating support for a lifting of those restrictions on overseas service along with a rejection of the 'local culture' argument for such restrictions is at variance with PDF policy in this area. The gender division of labour replicated within the battalion in Lebanon particularly with regard to the exclusive use of female personnel as 'waitresses' in the officer's mess, requires immediate action. The imbalance in the gender division of labour as evidenced in the unit audits suggests the PDF work environment to be in accord with the stereotyped vision for employment as practised in a gender discriminatory environment (Barrett, 1979:42; Hakim, 1996:118, Nicholson, 1990:157). Game and Pringle (1983) hypothesise that such a work environment where the exaggeration of sex-difference is used to prescribe occupational roles reinforces a hierarchy at work, which sees women assigned lower status and role. Delphy (1992:2) states that this gender division of labour is often replicated by the military. The PDF fits all of these descriptions and paradigms and leaves itself open to the charge of promulgating deployment policies that are discriminatory and illegal.

At the level of the unit audits, there is shown to be from the period of April 1997 to October 1999 a drop of 8.7% in the numbers of women working in lower paid secondary or support roles within the organisation. There is also evident an increase in the percentage of women serving in operational appointments. This trend is to be welcomed and demonstrates a commitment to equality on the part of individual commanders on the ground. What is still lacking however is a coherent, explicit and consistent policy in this regard. A policy is required which would empower women, enabling them to avail of the "experience" identified as required for promotion. There is a requirement for positive action in this area to redress the deficiencies caused by discriminatory practices in the deployment of women as evidenced in the imbalance, which persists in this area.

The attitudes of the women interviewed reveal that in the area of domestic and overseas deployment, their aspirations are at variance with PDF policy and practice. This needs to be addressed through a consultative process. There is also a need to dispense with the separate numbering system for female personnel which has created an administrative mirror to the class within a class of female workers given effect by the discriminatory deployment practices identified in the setting.

Despite the aspiration expressed by the Chief of Staff in his memo of 16th November 1992 that female personnel would have 'equality of opportunity' on the 'same basis as their male

counterparts', there would appear in October 1999, eight years later, to be a disproportionate number of female personnel employed in non-combat roles. Their employment in peripheral appointments such as air-hostesses, orderly room clerks and cookhouse 'operatives' is high by comparison to their male colleagues.

In October 1999, from the figures obtained in the unit audits, it would appear that while the men go on border patrols, cash escorts and prison duties and fly strike aircraft and crew patrol vessels, at least three out of every four female soldiers can expect to be confined to the orderly room, cookhouse or clothing stores. The Defence Forces, in October 1999, would appear to have encapsulated the marked gender division of labour of a discriminatory subculture as theorised by Barron and Norris (1976) and discussed in chapter three. There is evidence within the setting of an "ideology of a sexual division of labour" driven it would seem by "an ideology of sex difference" (Hakim, 1996:202) (See also Delphy, 1984; Jacobsen, 1998; Adler, 1994; Reskin and Padavic, 1994).

The ad hoc deployment practices as they apply to female personnel appear to have impacted on their experience of service in the PDF. At interview, fifty five of the sixty women interviewed stated that they experienced as a matter of routine resentment from male subordinates, peers and superiors for being female. The pattern of their deployment within the setting confining them in the main to support roles has a dual effect. On the one hand it handicaps them in competing for promotion and on the other they are resented by male colleagues who see the jobs assigned them as evidence of favouritism. As one officer stated in exasperation, as a female in the PDF "you're damned if you do and damned if you don't". The pattern of deployment for female personnel as devised in an ad hoc pattern by the military authorities has had the effect of marginalising them within the setting, alienating them in terms of promotion and the 'Kameradschaft' that binds soldiers as a group.

As has been stated earlier, despite the stated aspirations of the Chief of Staff in December 1992, a cursory look at the actual employment of women in the army reveals a division of labour and a pattern of assignments consistent with an outmoded vision of a 'Women's Service Corps'. It is as though the W.S.C., while not in existence on paper, exists as a reality on the ground. The PDF urgently requires an explicit and comprehensive policy document on the deployment of female personnel with a commitment to equality of opportunity.

10.6 The promotion of women within the PDF

The documentary analysis of the IPMS system as promulgated by the military authorities reveals a number of key areas of experience identified by the PDF as vital for promotion. The examination of the PDF setting carried out in chapters six and seven reveal policies and practices in relation to the training and deployment of women, which leave female personnel at a distinct disadvantage in terms of the promotion competition. This finding is borne out through the interview responses of the women interviewed. The vast majority those women interviewed expressed misgivings about their prospects for promotion. Fifty three of the sixty women interviewed felt that they were disadvantaged when it came to promotion. The areas of concern highlighted in these chapters, combined with an absence of any clear or consistent policies in this regard, indicate a requirement for consultation with female troops in order to remedy the situation.

The data provided by Enlisted Personnel Section and Officers Records at DFHQ show that 85% of female personnel hold the most junior rank of private with 88.7% of officers holding junior officer rank. In the case of the former it is difficult to assess the progress of female personnel (other ranks) in terms of promotion given the large numbers recently recruited. Sufficient time in service has not elapsed for any meaningful assessment of their progress through the ranks to take place. In the case of the latter, for officers, having entered the PDF in 1980, these women have not yet entered the promotion competition for advancement to senior rank. The conclusions reached in the chapter on promotion are based primarily on the criteria for promotion as laid down by the IPMS. The deployment practices as identified in chapter seven along with the ban on women serving in overseas operational appointments certainly handicap women's potential for promotion. Thus, women in the PDF are denied access to 'autonomy' and 'strategic power' as defined in chapter three. This is the invidious situation that female personnel of the PDF find themselves in at present. An awareness of this invidious position is revealed in the data obtained at interview where female personnel express the fear that in light of Defence Forces deployment practices and the IPMS criteria any promotion for female personnel will be subject to hostile scrutiny from male colleagues. (It is interesting to note that none of the female personnel interviewed have ever been consulted in any way by the military authorities on the matter of promotion.)

Promotion is an area which is highlighted in the liberal feminist and EO literature, as it is central to the issue of status for women within the workplace. The EO position, as discussed in chapter three, advocates positive action to remedy imbalances in promotion for women in

the workplace. The examination of the setting in chapters five to eight show the PDF to be ill disposed to such positive action. The PDF is, on the contrary, shown to be an environment within which training and deployment policies have been manipulated to disadvantage women. I would recommend the immediate provision of positive action in this area as recommended by the EEA and in the literature (Neal 1998, Shaw 1995; Brown 1993; Rees 1998; Jacobsen 1998; EEA 1998). Such positive action (as discussed in chapter nine) is carried out in other armies to counter imbalances in the promotion of women and other minority groups within the organisation. Such action would help to redress the balance as it applies to the PDF and would provide female role models with “autonomy” and access to “strategic power” within the organisation.

As in all other areas relating to female personnel, the PDF ought to be au fait with and cognisant of equality guidelines as they apply to women and promotion. They should at the very least be compliant with the law in this area. They should not deny women the “experience” necessary for promotion and access to “strategic power” or “autonomy” (Reskin and Padavic, 1994; Adler 1994; Jacobsen 1998). The training and deployment practices in the PDF ought to be replaced with ones that provide women with the requisite experiences for promotion. The PDF should also publish promotion policies which are explicit, transparent and with an equality of opportunity agenda. These promotion policies should be negotiated in consultation with female personnel.

10.7 Representation issues within the military setting

The comparative examination in chapter ten of the equality agenda in the Garda Siochana, RUC, British Army, US Army, throughout the public service and in the trade union movement shows the PDF to be lacking in commitment to equality of opportunity. The PDF is also shown to be lacking in terms of application of accepted best practice in this regard and as practised by the international military. An examination of RACO and PDFORRA policy shows it to mirror the organisation in terms of their having no explicitly stated policy or practices in pursuing an equality of opportunity agenda. I would recommend that the military representative associations without delay be subject to an equality audit similar to that which I would propose for the PDF. They should be at a minimum be brought into line with the general trade union movement’s aspirations. It puzzles me as to why this lack of commitment to equality has not been noted by other members of the trade union and public services union groups to whose broad church both PDFORRA and RACO belong. Newspaper reports in the Irish Independent of February and April 1999 feature the efforts and legal challenges of

women in the Public Services Unions and the Association of Garda Sergeants and Inspectors to ensure equality of representation within their respective unions. (11th February 1999:70; 1st April 1999:4). It also disappoints me to note that civil servants enjoying the full protection of the legislative and equality agenda as outlined in chapter nine should preside over and endorse policies and practices that discriminate against fellow workers, albeit in uniform.

In terms of the examination of the setting of the Garda Siochana, the RUC, the British and US armies, there is ample evidence in chapter nine of proactive policies and practices as they apply to the equality of opportunity agenda. It is interesting to note that with these policies and statements in place – the ‘equality apparatus’ as advocated by the liberal feminist literature and the equality of opportunity agenda – the conditions of service of female personnel, their representation in terms of numbers, the quality of the training open to them, the range of appointments open to them and their advancement in terms of promotion are far better than those for their counterparts in the PDF. This finding confirms the view hypothesised in liberal feminism that legal and educational measures would result in an improvement in conditions of employment or the empowerment of women. When one compares the lot of female workers in organisations with an ‘equality apparatus’ as advocated in the theoretical perspective with female workers in the PDF where no such apparatus exists, I would conclude that the case for such an apparatus is strengthened by the findings of this study. In this way, the study contributes to the literature on the equality of opportunity agenda. It provides an example of the work environment without an equality apparatus with all of the hypothesised negative effects for women present in what the literature terms an anti-equality or patriarchal work environment. I would recommend that the military authorities establish contact with the organisations with whom they are compared here to evolve a code of best practice in the area of equality of opportunity. I would also recommend that the PDF send personnel to the British Army’s TSEOTC for an introduction to the concepts and organising principles of an equality of opportunity agenda within the military setting.

This group of personnel might then form a core group, which in consultation with personnel and the representative associations could formulate equality of opportunity policies for the PDF. These policies would have to be explicit, have the force of orders (that is to say be enforceable) and as is the case in the other organisations studied, be properly funded, supported, regularly audited, monitored and updated in a consultative process. The PDF ought also to include among its conditions of service, job sharing and part time working arrangements. These conditions of employment are to be found in the British Army, an Garda Siochana and the RUC. I believe that the experiences outlined in this study as they apply to Irish female soldiers differ from the experiences of female personnel in other armies simply

because the equality apparatus advocated in the literature does not exist in the PDF. This lack of the basic pre requisites for equality, the equality apparatus advocated by liberal feminism is precisely what makes it so difficult for Irish women to succeed in the PDF. It has been stated in the literature that where ad hoc policies evolve, they 'freeze women out'. I would advocate the immediate installation in policy of such an equality apparatus with its implementation through positive action in all areas of Defence Forces activity.

10.8 Recommendations for further study

Chapter two of the thesis gives a full and exhaustive account of the research method employed in conducting this research. I believe the thesis contributes to knowledge on two levels. On the one hand it provides a detailed look at the working lives of a section of the population previously unstudied (with the exception of Carroll, 1995; Clonan 1995). The thesis also contributes to knowledge at the level of providing a description of the methodological and practical problems encountered by a researcher working and residing in a secretive setting, examining a sensitive topic, and subject to a powerful gatekeeper. The method chapter also provides a description of research conducted in a military setting with the researcher subject to military law and the impact these conditions have on the researcher's ability to conduct research and report on findings. The methodology chapter provides a practical and ethical guide for the would-be researcher working in such a setting.

For future research I would strongly urge members of the military working within the setting to use their access in order to carry out research. For the military authorities I would strongly urge support for such research. Furthermore, I believe the military authorities should follow the example of the international military and foster formal links with third level institutions for the purposes of research. I would recommend that the military college establish links with other third level establishments and that it begin publishing research projects undertaken on career courses. This is standard practice in other armies. In other countries the military are often the primary producers of data on security issues in academic and military journals. The PDF currently does not engage in or actively encourage research within the setting. I would suggest that such research would lead to the professionalisation by research recommended in the literature by such writers such as Schon (1983).

Such a research friendly environment would help to counter the homogeneity and isolation of the PDF setting. The inward looking and isolated homogeneity of the organisation contrast

with attempts on the part of the US and British military in seeking out links with other organisations and institutions in order to manage the change environment. The treatment of female personnel within the setting of the PDF is, I believe, a result of an inability on the part of the military authorities to react to wider societal change and drive or manage the change environment within the PDF. This is probably due in part to the relationship between the PDF and the Department of Defence, which has traditionally been characterised by the subordination of the military to the civilian side of the Department and the consequent enfeeblement of the military authorities (O'Halpin, 1996:407-430).

There is a requirement for a process of 'glasnost' and 'perestroika' in terms of the PDF setting. I believe the precedent of ongoing research in the setting would have the effect of challenging the inward looking isolation and homogeneity of the PDF which have contributed to its being in breach of the law and equality guidelines in relation to many of its workplace practices and policies. In order to achieve this, the routine secrecy and restrictions of access which apply to the setting of the PDF ought to be reviewed insofar as this does not compromise operational or intelligence security. I would recommend that the Department of Defence, in tandem with the military authorities, review those DFRs and aspects of the Defence Acts which prohibit an open and transparent conduct of business.

The above mentioned recommendations form the major part of my proposals for the role of research within the PDF. Other research proposals arising from the issues raised in this study might include the following:

An ongoing examination of the numbers of women recruited to the PDF in the next five years with regard to the achievement of critical mass.

An examination of the impact of a career in the PDF on child-rearing practices for women.

An examination of the promotion of women in the PDF. This will be particularly interesting for study in the coming years given that female officers are now entering the promotion competition for senior rank.

A detailed examination of the issues raised in the chapter on training on harassment and bullying issues within the PDF.

10.9 Conclusion and Post Script

This study into the roles and status assigned women in the PDF affords the reader a qualitative glimpse at the working lives of women within today's army. The data speaks to us of their collective experience of life within the PDF. I am very grateful for the opportunity my access afforded me in conducting this research. I am very grateful to the women and men

of the PDF, my colleagues whose goodwill made this research possible. The research has given me insights into life in the PDF which challenge some of the assumptions and accepted wisdom that previously I had not questioned. The study has enriched my service in the PDF, has strengthened my management and communication skills and has enhanced my understanding of soldiers and soldiering.

The liberal feminist equality of opportunity agenda as discussed in chapter three lists at length the measurable negative effects in the workplace of a gender discriminatory or 'patriarchal' regime (Jacobsen, 1998: 227-9; Shaw, 1995: 114-5; EEA, 1998: 5-6). These negative effects were very much in evidence in the data examined in chapters five to eight. I am cognisant of the fact that by virtue of the research design and the theoretical position I have adopted that the thesis may seem resoundingly negative or condemnatory of the military authorities. This was not the intention. I am aware that the permission required to conduct the study was obtained from the military authorities and endorsed by the Chief of Staff. I also acknowledge the many officers NCOs and other ranks of both sexes that supported me in my researches. There is a great deal of evidence within chapters five to eight of members of the PDF with a commitment to equality of opportunity. I hope that this research might form a basis for remedial action aimed at ensuring legal, fair and ethical personnel practices might prevail within the organisation. To this end I would hope to make the findings of the study known to the general staff and the adjutant general (Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations).

As a Defence Forces Spokesperson during a period of unprecedented turbulence for the organisation, during which time the very existence of the organisation has been called into question, I have a first-hand understanding of how the secrecy, isolation and communications apprehension within the PDF have damaged its public profile. I have a first hand understanding of the threat posed to the welfare of the organisation by the existence of such practices and policies as outlined in the research. They represent practices, policies and an airless atmosphere of secrecy, which the PDF can ill afford. As I write, the future of the PDF is yet again in the balance with the publication of the State's first ever White Paper on Defence. Yet again, the PDF suffered further cutbacks and a loss of personnel. On an optimistic note however, in the Defence Force's submission to the White Paper on Defence (2000: 7-3, 7.4; RESTRICTED) the military authorities give a public and explicit commitment to equality within the PDF:

Equality. All personnel will be able to advance their respective careers according to their abilities and legitimate aspirations. The Defence Forces are fully committed to providing maximum opportunity for women in the Army, Naval Service and Air Corps, consistent with

the need to maintain combat effectiveness. Personnel of the Defence Forces have the right to perform their duties without fear of discrimination, harassment or bullying.

The statement, despite the qualification "consistent with the need to maintain combat effectiveness" which implies once again that women are inimical to the combat effectiveness of the military is to be welcomed. Perhaps the statement represents the beginning of a move toward equality for all personnel and a healthier working environment for the soldiers, sailors and aircrew of the PDF.

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Section 4

Defence Forces, Garda, Legal, Public Service Documents and Memoranda

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- (7) Para 33 Personal Publicity

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- (2) Para 30 Censorship.

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(In chronological order)

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4.10. Garda Síochána Regulations/Code

(In numerical order, as per chapters of the Garda Code)

CHAPTER 6 - DISCIPLINE AND APPEALS

- 6.39 to 6.47** Sexual Harassment,
- 6.48** Equal Opportunities,
- 6.49 to 6.58** Grievance Procedures,
- 6.59 to 6.60** Link between Grievance Procedure and Discipline,
- 6.61** Role of Equality Officer,
- 6.62** Role of Contact Person,
- 6.63** Guidelines for Safety and Health of Pregnant Members,
- 6.6** Recommendations of Second Commission on the Status of Women.

CHAPTER 8 - ABSENCE AND ILLNESS

- 8.23** Maternity Leave

4.11. Garda HQ Circulars

(In chronological order as circularised)

- 3/93** Equal Opportunities in the Garda Síochána.
- 102/93** Guidelines in relation to the Safety and Health of Pregnant Members of An Garda Síochána.
- 103/93** Equal Opportunities in An Garda Síochána.
- 142/93** Freedom from Sexual Harassment - Guidelines for An Garda Síochána.
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Appendix 1: Letter of permission from Director of Training.



*Per file
Sent 24/7/96*

DA/CS3/2

*Headquarters,
Curragh Command,
Cennal Barracks,
Curragh Camp,
Co. Kildare.*

22 July 1996

CC/A/CS3/8

Officer Commanding
Depot & School of Artillery

DOCTORAL THESIS: LT CLONAN, T.

- 1 Previous correspondence on the a/m subject refers
- 2 I am directed to inform you that D Trg approves Lt Clonan's request to produce a Doctoral Thesis on the subject outlined provided that
 - a The work is not published
 - b The exercise is funded by himself (para 2 of his application)
 - c Any time off necessary is sanctioned
- 3 For your consideration and necessary action

D E O'KEEFFE
LT COL
ADJUTANT CURRAGH COMMAND

/AC



Appendix 2: Letter of clarification from Chief of Staff.

Office of the Chief of Staff,
Defence Forces Headquarters,
Parkgate,
Dublin 8.

Phone: 01 - 8042600

Fax: 01 - 8367818

25 JUNE 98

The Registrar,
Dublin City University

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AND PRODUCE PhD THESIS
0.9721 CAPTAIN T CLONAN

Previous correspondence refers.

- 1 In June of 1996 Captain Clonan sought and received permission to produce a PhD Thesis on female personnel within the PDF
- 2 This permission was confirmed in writing in our letter CC/A/CS3/8 of 22 July 1996
- 3 The letter states at para 2 a that permission was granted provided 'the work is not published'
- 4 This is to confirm that the Defence Forces have no objections to the publication of the Thesis for academic purposes.
- 5 The Thesis may be circulated to officers of the University and any internal and external examiners for the purposes of evaluation and examination.
- 6 The Thesis may also be held in the library of the University for reference purposes

For clarification as requested

Lt Gen

Gerry McMahon
Chief of Staff

PROFILE OF PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED

Appendix 3: Profile of Personnel Interviewed

No	Date	Age	Rank	Service Years	Appointments (Home)	Overseas Experience	Education	Marital Status	Children	Brigade
1	12/4/99	25	Pte	7	Clerk	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Single	0	C
2	13/4/99	40	Sgt	18	Instructor 'R'	Clerk	Leaving Cert	Married	2	C
3	13/4/99	30	Capt	13	Adjutant	Assistant Adjutant	Third Level	Married	2	E
4	14/4/99	28	Capt	9	Signals (A)	Assistant Adjutant	Third level	Single	0	E
5	14/4/99	40	Cpl	18	Instructor (A)	Clerk	Leaving Cert	Single	1	E
6	14/4/99	22	Pte	5	Clerk	Nil	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
7	15/4/99	25	Lt	5	Assistant Adjutant	Assistant Adjutant	Third Level	Single	0	C
8	15/4/99	37	Capt	19	Staff Officer Q	Signals	Third Level	Married	1	C
9	16/4/99	30	Capt	12	Adjutant	Assistant Adjutant	Third Level	Single	0	C
10	16/4/99	37	Cpl	18	Signals Technician	Signals	Leaving Cert	Single	0	C
11	19/4/99	33	Capt	8	Technical Direct Entry	Nil	Third Level	Married	0	S
12	19/4/99	25	Lt	7	Line Infantry	Nil	Third Level	Single	0	S

No	Date	Age	Rank	Service Years	Appointments (Home)	Overseas Experience	Education	Marital Status	Children	Brigade
13	19/4/99	21	Lt	2	Line Artillery	Nil	Leaving Cert	Single	0	W
14	20/4/99	22	Pte	2	Clerk	Nil	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
15	20/4/99	22	Pte	3	Clerk	Nil	Leaving Cert	Single	1	E
16	21/4/99	27	Lt	8	Line Infantry	Assistant Adjutant	Third Level	Single	0	C
17	22/7/99	25	Lt	6	Admin Officer Logistics	Nil	Third Level	Married	0	W
18	23/7/99	28	Capt	10	Admin Officer Logistics	Assistant Signals	Leaving Cert	Single	0	S
19	27/7/99	38	Sgt	18	Clerk	Clerk	Leaving Cert	Married	1	S
20	28/7/99	18	Pte	1	Line Infantry	Nil	Inter Cert	Single	0	E
21	28/7/99	30	Pte	4	Clerk	Signals	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
22	9/8/99	46	Comdt	18	Medical Officer	Medical Officer	Third Level	Married	3	C
23	10/8/99	29	Capt	10	Admin Officer Logistics	Assistant Signals	Third Level	Married	1	E
24	11/8/99	38	Capt	18	Admin Officer 'A'	Assistant Adjutant	Third Level	Single	0	W

No	Date	Age	Rank	Service Years	Appointments (Home)	Overseas Experience	Education	Marital Status	Children	Brigade
25	12/8/99	28	Cpl	5	Clerk	MP	Leaving Cert	Married	1	S
26	24/8/99	29	Lt	9	Instructor (School)	Artillery Line	Third Level	Single	0	S
27	24/8/99	18	Pte	1	Clerk	Nil	Leaving Cert	Single	1	C
28	25/8/99	22	Pte	5	Clerk	Nil	Inter Cert.	Single	1	W
29	26/8/99	25	2/Lt	3	Infantry Line	Nil	Third Level	Single	0	C
30	29/8/99	23	Pte	5	Clerk	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
31	31/8/99	22	Pte	2	Clerk	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
32	1/9/99	26	Pte	5	Clerk	Clerk	Leaving Cert	Single	0	W
33	31/8/99	34	Capt	17	Admin Staff Officer	Assistant Adjutant	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
*34	6/9/99	19	Pte	2	Medical Orderly	Medical Orderly	Third Level	Single	0	W
*35	7/9/99	20	Cpl	2	Line Infantry	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
*36	8/9/99	27	Pte	2	Line Infantry	Signals	Junior Cert.	Single	0	C

No	Date	Age	Rank	Service Years	Appointments (Home)	Overseas Experience	Education	Marital Status	Children	Brigade
37*	8/9/99	23	Pte	2	Clerk	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
38*	8/9/99	22	Cpl	5	Signals	Signals	Leaving Cert	Single	0	C
39*	10/9/99	24	Pte	3	Signals	Signals	Leaving Cert	Single	0	C
40*	11/9/99	20	Pte	3	Driver	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Single	0	W
41*	11/9/99	24	Pte	8	Signals	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
42*	11/9/99	20	Pte	2	Clerk	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
43*	11/9/99	24	Cpl	5	Medical Orderly	Medical Orderly	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
44*	11/9/99	23	Pte	2	Clerk	Clerk	Leaving Cert	Single	0	S
45*	12/9/99	23	Pte	2	Clerk	Signals	Leaving Cert	Single	0	S
46*	12/9/99	25	Cpl	5	Clerk	Clerk	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
47*	12/9/99	24	Pte	4	Clerk	Signals	Leaving Cert	Single	0	W
48*	12/9/99	40	Cpl	18	Clerk	Clerk	Inter Cert.	Single	0	W

No	Date	Age	Rank	Service Years	Appointments (Home)	Overseas Experience	Education	Marital Status	Children	Brigade
49*	12/9/99	21	Pte	2	Signals	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
50*	12/9/99	25	Cpl	6	Line Infantry	Driver	Leaving Cert	Single	0	S
51	20/9/99	25	Pte	5	Clerk	Clerk	Leaving Cert	Single	0	C
52	20/9/99	26	Cpl	5	Signals	Signals	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
53	21/9/99	25	Pte	5	Cook	Nil	Leaving Cert	Single	0	E
54	22/9/99	29	Capt	12	Adjutant	Assistant Adjutant	Third Level	Married	1	C
55	22/9/99	33	Cpl	9	Medical Orderly	Medical Orderly	Leaving Cert	Married	1	E
56	22/9/99	30	Cpl	9	Clerk	Waitress	Leaving Cert	Married	0	E
57	23/9/99	27	Pte	5	Line Infantry	Clerk	Leaving Cert	Married	0	W
58	6/10/99	22	Lt	4	Assistant Adjutant	Nil	Third Level	Single	0	E
59	7/10/99	29	Pte	9	Clerk	Clerk	Leaving Cert	Single	0	S
60	7/10/99	23	Pte	3	Line Infantry	Nil	Leaving Cert	Single	0	W

E=East S=South
W=West C=Curragh

Appendix 4: STATISTICS IN RELATION TO PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED

RANK	TOTAL
Private	27
Corporal	12
Sergeant	2
2/Lieutenant	1
Lieutenant	7
Captain	10
Commandant	1
Total	60

Length of Service (Years)	Total
1	2
2	11
3	5
4	3
5	13
6	2
7	2
8	4
9	4
10	2
12	2
13	1
17	1
18	7
19	1
TOTAL	60

Marital Status	
Married	13
Single	47
Total	60

Children	Number
No Children	47
1 Child	10
2 Children	2
3 Children	1
Total	60

Brigade Area	
Eastern Brigade	24
Southern Brigade	10
Western Brigade	11
Curragh (DFTC)	15
Total	60

Education	
Inter/Junior Cert	4
Leaving Cert.	39
Third Level	17
Total	60

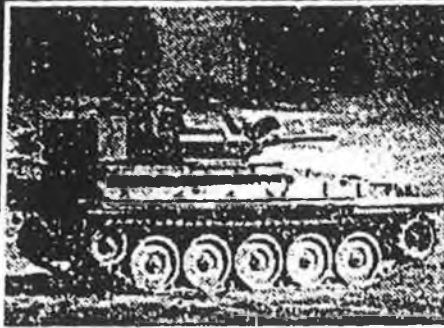
Appointments Held Overseas	
Waitress	8
Clerk	9
Assistant Adjutant	9
Signals	12
Medical Officer	1
Military Police	1
Artillery Line	1
Medical Orderly	3
Driver	2
Nil (no overseas experience)	14
TOTAL	60

Appointments held at Home	
Clerk	22
Instructor	3
Adjutant	3
Signals	7
Staff Officer Logistics	4
Technical Direct Entry	1
Line Infantry	9
Line Artillery	1
Staff Officer Admin	3
Medical Officer	1
Driver	1
Medical Orderly	3
Cook	1
Assistant Adjutant	1
TOTAL	60



DEPARTMENT OF

DEFENCE



Recruitment to the Permanent Defence Force

Applications are invited from persons who wish to enlist for general service in the Permanent Defence Force for a fixed period of 5 years with a Reserve Force commitment of 7 years. Successful candidates will be placed, in order of merit, on a panel from which they will be called for enlistment in 1996 or 1997.

Age Limits: Not less than 17 and under 22 years of age on 1 October, 1996.

Height: minimum 165 centimetres (5 feet 5 inches)

Pay:

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| Private Grade 1 (Recruit) | - £169.89 per week. |
| Private 2 Star (on satisfactory completion of recruit training - about 15 weeks) | - £225.86 per week. |
| Private 3 Star (After about 6 months' service) | - £234.77 per week. |

Additional allowances are payable for certain duties.

Selection: Selection will be by interview. Prior to being enlisted, suitable candidates will be required to pass a medical examination and physical fitness test.

Recruitment is open to both males and females.

How To Apply:

Applicants should write, telephone or call in person to one of the following military barracks between 09.30 and 16.00 hours - Mondays to Fridays. Applicants will need to provide two passport-sized photographs.

EASTERN COMMAND AREA

Cathal Brugha Bks, Rathmines, Dublin 6.
Phone (01) 8046452/3
Military Bks, Monaghan.
Phone (047) 81222 Ext. 3256.
Aiken Barracks, Dundalk.
Phone (042) 32295 Ext 3559.

WESTERN COMMAND AREA

Customs Bks, Athlone.
Phone (0902) 21197.
Finner Camp, Co. Donegal.
Phone (072) 41488.
Dun Ui Mhaoliosá, Galway.
Phone (091) 751156.
Columb Bks, Mullingar.
Phone (044) 48391.

SOUTHERN COMMAND AREA

Collins Bks, Cork.
Phone (021) 514108.
Sarsfield Bks, Limerick.
Phone (051) 314233.
Kickham Bks, Clonmel.
Phone (052) 21222.

CURRAGH COMMAND AREA

Command HQ, Curragh Camp.
Phone (045) 445349/445351
Stephens Bks, Kilkenny
Phone (056) 21174.

PERSONS WHO HAVE APPLIED PREVIOUSLY MUST NOW RE-APPLY IF THEY STILL WISH TO BE CONSIDERED FOR ENLISTMENT.

Closing date: The latest date for the receipt of completed application forms is - Friday, 1 November, 1996.

CANVASSING WILL DISQUALIFY.

Appendix 6 : Cumann na mBan Archival Material

The Military Archives in Cathal Brugha Barracks, in Rathmines, the National Archive, and Kilmainham Jail all contain documents attesting to the military and paramilitary roles of women. The "Captured Documents" collection in Rathmines contain the papers and articles confiscated from these women by the Free State Army during the twenties. These documents and letters speak eloquently of the ingenuity and determination of these activists. The following examples give insights about them:

(a) Lot No. 31 A/1022:

Contains Cumann na mBan papers captured on 7th February 1923 in what the Free State Officer describes as a "baby club" on 21 Werburgh Street in Dublin. (Obviously the women organised crèche facilities in order to release the women for work or other activities)

(b) Lot No 63:

This lot contained papers and letters captured on Miss Mary Comerford at 9 Merrion Row. The following letter appeared in same:

*Bridge Ho.
Uppr Baggot St
Dublin April 14 1922*

*Chicago
Dear Sir,*

Seeing your advertisement in Science + Invention for April about a pocket penknife and pistol I would be obliged very much if you would send one by return of post.

I encl postal order for the sum of one pound eight shillings for one of no. 467 pattern. Kindly send by return of post to the above address and send ammunition instead of change if any.

*Yours truly
B. Parsons*

(c) Lot No. 62:

This lot contained amongst other things a handwritten map of Mountjoy Prison adjacent Glengariff Parade.

The following letter authorising the bearer to collect funds for the IRA was also enclosed:

*HQ 2nd Battn
Dublin 1 Bde IRA
16 11 22*

Tá cead ag an ta seo airgead a bhailiú ar son arm poblachta na h'Eireann.

Bearer is authorised to collect funds for the Irish Republican Army.

Signed O/C Batt II

A list of residents and contributions on Clonliffe Road is also included.

(d) Lot No. 34:

This lot contained a letter from General Headquarters of the IRA dated 15, Dec 1922, to the Hon Secretary of Cumann na mBan about the death of a female informer:

Para 2b

It is not our policy to expose women and children to danger. The McGarry case was most unfortunate and regrettable.

3.

The enemy has outraged all Rules of Warfare in murdering our prisoners. Those who stand for this policy must be prepared to meet the fate of traitors.

The letter is signed by the Assistant Adjutant General of the IRA.

(e) Lot 34, No. 21:

This lot contains documents which show a Miss Lily O'Connor to be proficient in the use of

- (1) Webley Revolver
- (2) Colt Revolver
- (3) Smith and Wesson Revolver

(f) Lot No. 79, A/1068:

Miss Coyle Papers.

(Captured on Miss Coyle when arrested July 1922)

Letter from Intelligence Dept.
(Comms Branch)
1st Northern Division
IRA 25 July 1922

From Div Intelligence Officer

To Miss Coyle "No 23" from Intelligence Officer. Urging caution in intelligence gathering:

"Don't talk about what you have done or are going to do like ourselves - the Enemy has ears everywhere".

Para C

(2)

"Girls can get any amount of information from most men. Get them going. Don't think there is anything ignoble about Army Intelligence work. There is not - decidedly not. No army can move an inch or win the slightest victory without it. Help us move miles. Help us win

victories. The work is as necessary - and as noble - as the regular scrapping. But - be careful! MOUTHS SHUT - EARS OPEN

- Realise your own importance - we realise it and rely on you

(g) Lot No. 227:

This lot contained papers captured on Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington in her residence at 9, Belgrave Place on 30th December 1922.

The papers included condemned men's last letters smuggled out of prison to be used for propaganda purposes, and also poignantly, undertakers' receipts for pitch pine coffins for these men.

The lots listed show a number of things. The women networked sufficiently to operate crèches in the straitened Civil War Years and obviously operated in a mutually supportive fashion. The women were active in planning escapes from prison and in procuring weapons and ammunition by whatever means available. The women were evidently fully trained in the use of weapons and therefore prepared to use maximum force if required. The sample shows women were subject to the same use of force and were liable to "meet the fate of traitors" if necessary. The papers suggest women were active in fund-raising for the IRA, and in the dissemination of propaganda. Their importance as intelligence operatives is very clearly stated in the letter from the IRA's (Northern Division) Intelligence Officer. (This importance was obviously realised by both sides as the women were all arrested and documents confiscated). All members of Cumann na mBan were liable to arrest and imprisonment without charge throughout the 1920's. The State obviously took these "hysterical young women" very seriously.

In De Valera's Constitution of the 1930's, (the Commander who refused to have women in his garrison) he appended to Article 45 the following:

4-2: The State shall endeavour to ensure that the inadequate strength of women, and the tender age of children shall not be abused and that women and children shall not be forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their sex, age or strength.
(Ward, 1995: 238)

The once "hysterical young women" who were now mostly middle-aged, mounted a campaign of protest against De Valera's misogyny. (The clause denied women access to many areas of paid labour). The veterans of 1916 and the War of Independence registered their disappointment with "the way that the State cherished its women citizens". (McCurtain, 1991: 81) With the advent of World War Two, the "Emergency", De Valera interned many middle aged women, all former members of Cumann na mBan, without charge.

Mrs. Patsy O Hagan recalls:

I was never arrested myself even in the period that I am speaking of. It was left to Frank Aiken and Gerald Boland to intern me one evening in 1941. It was they way they did it that made me despise them. I was in the house with the two children when they arrived. "We want you for a few moments at the barracks", they said (...) I left the children and stepped into the car. It never stopped until we passed through the double gateway of Mountjoy (...) (F)inally in 1943 I was released.
(MacEoin, 1980: 171)

This is a classic example of the patriarchal double standard. De Valera attempted to codify into the constitution the myth of female frailty or "the weaker sex". On the other hand, the fact that he saw fit to intern these middle-aged women betrayed the knowledge he had of their real strength, their potential and power. They were a threat to the state and yet had to be labelled 'weak' and 'vulnerable'. It is a thought process that implies women are some way inferior or less deserving of full citizenship. They can contribute to society, even die for it, suffer its sanctions and imprisonment - but may not share all of the rewards and status of their male counterparts.

The apparent negation of these women's contribution in most historical accounts is consistent with the pattern outlined in Chapter Four. During periods of conflict, women are enlisted into the fight against the enemy. However, once the crisis has passed, society reverts to its traditional role definition and women are re-assigned the kitchen sink.

This in effect has denied Irish women these dynamic role models.

It is not only the achievements and struggles themselves which are omitted, but the presence of women in history, and as a result of such omissions there is nothing by which she (women) can orient herself to bring her personal experience into continuity with the past.
(Tanton, M., 1994: 12-3)

The systematic exclusion of women from history and discourses around conflict and affairs of State may have had an influence on the roles and status assigned women in today's army. I took the army as the focus of my study, but I believe parallels can be drawn and applied to politics, the legal profession - in fact all walks of life and society as a whole. It reveals the patriarchal dynamic identified in Chapter three which uses the sex difference ideology perceiving difference as deficit to underpin a gender division of labour which subordinates women. In the military setting or in time of conflict and crisis, the preferred 'ideological' view of women is abandoned for a more pragmatic reality based utilisation of the female asset. Once the conflict has passed however, the sex role stereotyping which defines conflict and the military setting a masculine one is once more embraced. It is a mechanism which functions to restrict women's fullest participation in many walks of life. Even in the most liberal and learned of institutions such as universities restrictive and prohibitive policies apply to the advancement of female professionals. ("Academic Women are Angry at Being Kept Out", U.C.D. - The Irish Times, 27th June 1998: 8)

I would contend this mechanism is very much at work in one of our most conservative of institutions, the Permanent Defence Forces.

Appendix 7: ICTU Women's Charter.

Women's Charter

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions recognises and demands the right of everyone, irrespective of race, ethnic origin, creed, political opinion, age, sex, marital status or sexual orientation to have the means to pursue their economic independence and to full participation in the social, cultural and political life of the community in conditions of freedom, dignity and equal opportunity. Congress further recognises that the elimination of past and present sex discrimination requires positive action and therefore resolves to pursue a programme of positive action to achieve full equality for women in society.

The ICTU will therefore campaign for the following Charter of Rights for Women and calls on all trade unionists to do their utmost to further the principles set out in this Charter.

- ① The Right of Women to Work regardless of marital status, including the right to return to work after a period of absence.
- ② Equal pay for work of equal value and the introduction of a national statutory minimum wage to alleviate the real problem of low pay.
- ③ Equality in conditions of employment and the elimination of all forms of direct and indirect discrimination with regard to sick pay and pension schemes.
- ④ Equal access to job opportunities, promotion and work experience.
- ⑤ Full statutory protection and pro-rata pay and benefits for part-time workers.
- ⑥ Elimination of discriminatory age-limits in the public and private sectors.
- ⑦ Equal access to all levels of education, the elimination of all forms of sexism and a positive programme aimed at promoting equality and ensuring equal opportunities for both sexes.
- ⑧ Special training programmes to encourage more women into higher skilled jobs and non-traditional occupations.
- ⑨ The working environment to be adapted to ensure the health, safety and welfare of women workers.
- ⑩ The re-organisation of working time through the introduction of more flexible working arrangements and an overall reduction in working hours.
- ⑪ 26 weeks maternity leave on full pay, the latter 12 weeks to be taken by either parent. A minimum period of 15-20 days leave for family reasons.
- ⑫ Eradication of sexual harassment in all its forms.
- ⑬ Protection of women's health by dealing with the major issues affecting it, including stress, domestic violence, pre-menstrual tension and menopause. The provision of a comprehensive service for women's health to be made available on a local basis, this service to incorporate contraception, ante-natal and post-natal care, comprehensive screening facilities for cancer and other diseases and a health education service.
- ⑭ Recognition of divorce as a basic civil right. An end to the constitutional ban on divorce and the introduction of divorce legislation.
- ⑮ An end to the portrayal of women by the media in a sexist and stereotyped manner.
- ⑯ The provision of comprehensive canteen facilities to be provided free and controlled by the State including after-school and holiday care facilities and school meals.
- ⑰ The elimination of all forms of direct and indirect discrimination against women in the social welfare code. A fundamental review of the concept of dependency which would recognise the independent status of each individual.
- ⑱ Provision of comprehensive contraception freely available and accessible to all. All necessary measures should be adopted to ensure women have access to the necessary information and means to exercise their basic right to control their fertility.
- ⑲ That all appropriate measures should be taken to ensure that civil and criminal law protects and supports the rights of women.

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