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EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF WOMEN
IN THE UNITED STATES MILITARY:
A STUDY OF PRIMARY LEADERSHIP INSTITUTIONS

*In modern military mortal combat, the dying for one's country is easy ;
it is the willingness to kill that evades us.*

JAY W. GOULD III

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PROLOGUE:

When I co-authored the design criteria for the underground Command Center for the Titan I ICBM, my partner and I had problematical discussions. Our principle concerns were nuclear "fail safe" and willingness of the Launch Control Officers to turn the launch key. The Command Capsule that holds the Command Center is buried beneath tons of earth and cement. In this small deep underground capsule there is no perceivable threat -- no emotional anger to do the deed -- just a coded electronic command to launch total mass destruction -- mutual suicide. Tough very tough -- dying for one's country is easy -- it is the willingness to kill that evades us. The hardest work of the Soviet Intelligence Analyst was to determine "IF" the crew would or would not turn the key.

I was eager to be a part of that team that married an inertial guided intercontinental ballistic missile to a hydrogen bomb. I was eager because I firmly believed the combination would actually be an inoculant against war and bring World Peace. Humans are not so crazy as to mutually destroy their countries and the very vestiges of mankind. Our design of the Command Center was gender neutral. Our reasoning was "two fold." If Soviet intelligence knew mixed gender launch crews were trained to turn the key, they would have a greater understanding of our resolve. Second, the policy of the Woman's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 contained no provision prohibiting the assignment of woman to Control Centers. In 1948 no one had thought of an ICBM Command Center. Every Soviet Analyst knew in the event of nuclear war, the base for U.S. resistance was conceived to be every person over the age of 12. A stage for woman's ascendance to a combat role was set.

Congress has the power of appointment. As an Academy recruiter, I held the obligation to recruit and recommend. In 1975, I recruited a brave pioneer group of Minnesota women who accepted the challenge and entered West Point and The Air Force Academy. This paper is dedicated to those women in the Class of '80.

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RESEARCH NETWORKING

Dr. David Segal of the University of Maryland and Mady Segal are probably the most published authors in the U.S. on the subject of the education and training of women in the military and the Service academies. Dr. Segal has not been published recently, but he provided a few personal observations on the subject during a recent interview. Having been a visiting professor at West Point in 1988, he related:

West Point takes a very hard hit in the recent GAO report. From my observation, West Point is trying to do more about the sexual harassment problem than either Navy or the Air Force. West Point has more reported infractions because the female cadets are not only trained to report infractions but also are encouraged by seeing action taken against the offender. Cadet men are the major offender but I would agree that the Cadet women have not been properly socialized. Traditions are difficult to change and what has been customary does not die easily. As an example, in 1988 the Class of 1979 returned to teach. An Officer was to teach the Plebe Math class next to me. He entered the room and said, 'I am from the Class of 1979. You all know what that means.' The Cadet Women were immediately intimidated as the Cadet Men vocally responded, 'LCWB.' You see the class of 1979 describes itself in its year book as: *Last Class With Balls*. If the Officer's comment was intended or not, it was the wrong thing to do.(29)

Dr. Segal recommended the latest update to West Point's "*Athena Report*," to learn more about sexual harassment problems. Also, telephone interview with Col. (Dr.) Steven Hammond, Director of the Office of Leader Development Integration, provided much information specifically on sexual harassment and generally on the "Fourth Class" system. Making reference to a recent article, "Plebe Reprieve," in *Government Executive*, Col. Hammond stated, "The Fourth Class system is changing because of some basic needs for reform and not because of the presence of cadet women. In my revised *Athena Report*, prepared for DACOWITS (Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services), are the cultural changes the Academy is undergoing. I will mail you the latest report." He sent a report entitled, *Integration and Performance of Women at West Point*. On the subject of sexual harassment, Appendix B, Table B-5 of that report indicates 56 percent of the women cadets have experienced an unwanted sexual advance. Sixty-eight percent believed an incident report would be thoroughly

investigated. Seventy-one percent believed there would be appropriate discipline and the incident would not be "swept under the rug." (14) This concept of reinforcing trust in the reporting system and the belief that reports would not fall on deaf ears was further reinforced in another interview with Lt. Col. (Dr.) Carl Bryant, who served at the Air Force Academy and is now the Director of Research at the Defense Systems Management College:

The Discipline System must be managed in a manner that instills trust with no advantage given to either gender. If this is not done the opportunity for equal treatment of diversity has been lost. Unfortunately, there were cases at the Air Force Academy that did not provide a positive learning experience. Since I served on the Corbin Committee, may I suggest you contact the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS). They are the best source for a bibliography on your subject area. (27)

LITERATURE SOURCES

The DACOWITS selected bibliography was extensive, encompassing a wide body of literature. I also found the Women's Research and Educational Institute (WREI) bibliography to be equally extensive. From these lists, a number of books, articles and reports were selected. Policies regarding difficulties of women serving in the military seem to be concerned with:

1. Unequal treatment under the law . It is legally lawful to exclude women from certain military tasks.
2. Women not receiving the education or training required for career and personal advancement or promotion.
3. The treatment of women in the Service by their male peers, subordinates and superiors as related to their gender.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review sought to choose materials significantly relevant to the policy question of the role of women in the military services and their degree of integration. The research focused on the Service academies, being the educational starting point for many of our Nation's military leaders. This well-documented policy

provides a data base on the attitudes and behaviors of both genders in the evolution of gender integration and identifies the enabling actions as well as the constraints. The emotional issues surrounding this nationally debated policy have produced unrestrained outbursts of vehemence and accusation from all quarters. To some, the woman soldier is a fierce amazon whose severed left breast allows for the better stringing of the bow. To others, she is an upgraded camp follower -- whore: only worthy of scorn and contempt for her upper-body weakness and dependence on "real" men. Or maybe she is an Athena, a warrior goddess of wisdom and truth. The purpose of this paper is to point out that the time has come for the woman in the military.

OBSERVERS, CRITIQUERS and REPORTERS

Cynthia Enloe's contention in her book, *Does Khaki Become You?*, is that military policy-makers (past and present) use women inappropriately. (4ppi) In tracing the history of women's association with the English and American military, Enloe insists angrily that women should be allowed access to the power and privileges that flow from weapons industry jobs and combat experiences. (4pp16) She traces America's tainted past from the days of women following General Joe Hooker's troops to the American base at Long Binh, Vietnam, populated with prostitutes. (4pp33) A quote from General Robert H. Barrow, U.S. Marine Corps, follows:

War is man's work. Biological convergence on the battle field would not only be dissatisfying in terms of what women could do, but it would be an enormous psychological distraction for the male who wants to think that he's fighting for that woman somewhere behind, not up there in the same fox hole with him. It tramples the male ego. When you get right down to it, you've got to protect the manliness of war. (4pp154)

Enloe believes this explains the disproportionate amount of debate concerning when and why women soldiers should be trained in the use of guns. She continues, "A women sitting at the control panel of a nuclear warhead missile, but who doesn't directly control or physically wield that missile in her hands, isn't in 'combat'." (4pp155) It is her belief:

In each country military strategists need women. They need women who will act and think as patriarchy expects women to act and think. And they need women whose use can be disguised, so that the military can remain the quintessentially 'masculine' institution, the bastion of 'manliness.' Perhaps more than any other previous era, we are living at a time when women can draw on their own experiences with the military to expose the military for the contradictory and vulnerable institution it is and always has been. (4pp220)

Sexual harassment becomes an issue only when it seems to jeopardize the 'attrition-morale-readiness' trinity that modern military officers hallow. (4pp147)

Brian Mitchell is at the opposite end of the pole from Enloe. In *Weak Link: The Feminization of the American Military*, he states:

There are two kinds of cadets and midshipman at today's federal service academies. One is male: aggressive, strong, daring and destined for combat; the other is female: none of the above. Both are resigned to live with what they cannot change. The men accept women individually as women but reject them collectively as cadets. The women cannot assimilate into the corps of cadets because they cannot become men. (7pp86)

Mitchell views feminism as pacifistic, contemptuous of *machismo*, incapable of understanding the "warrior spirit." He further contends that the American military has become embarrassed by the brutal business of war leading to a "warrior spirit" definition that says nothing about combativeness, aggressiveness, an eagerness to fight, a willingness to die, or the courage to kill. His contention is that female officers lack these primary qualifications and as such are upgraded camp followers who have caused the feminization of the American military perpetrating the greatest of all peacetime deceptions. (7pp10) His view is that the military is not a rehabilitation center for "society's outcasts" but is a team of male-bonded comrades in arms enabled to perform acts of extreme self sacrifice that is corrupted by the mere presence of women. (7pp190) This view brings into sharp focus the danger of a "separate military ethos" discussed by Jerald Bachman and John Blair in their study, "*Citizen Force or Career Force? Implications for Ideology in the All Volunteer Force.*" This aspect of cultivating an imbalance "promilitary," centered on the philosophy of "killer/hunters" has some rather worrisome considerations. (5pp237)

These argumentative views from Mitchell and Enloe from opposite ends of the spectrum, coupled with the societal pressures (Tail Hook episode) and the experiences of the Gulf War, combined to create a public policy issue favorable to women being assigned to combat roles. In the debate of the 1992 Defense Authorization Act, Congresswoman Pat Schroeder of Colorado offered an amendment to repeal restrictions on women flying combat aircraft. The House passed this legislation. In the Senate, Senators Edward Kennedy and William Roth introduced a similar amendment but, before the vote Senators Sam Nunn and John Warner; chairman and ranking minority member of the Senate Arms Services Committee respectively, and others offered an amendment to study policy issues of the legal, military and societal implications of amending exclusionary laws. Both amendments passed; one to repeal the combat exclusion and the other to establish a presidential commission to "assess the laws and policies restricting the assessment of female service members." (21ppiii)

This report, *The Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Services*, was delivered to the President on November 15, 1992. The recommendation on the assignment of women to combat aircraft was negative by a vote of 8 to 7 with 0 abstentions. The basis given for the rejection of women as combat pilots was:

- a. The additional morale problems for male prisoners of war by the presence of female prisoner. Survival training has indicated men try to protect female POWs.
- b. Introduction of women into air combat squadrons would disrupt the cohesion of the units, resulting in a lower quality force.
- c. Found no evidence in the review of scientific literature that defines a psychological basis to categorically restrict women.
- d. The potential of pregnancy was a consideration. Here the Commission recommended suitable provisions to restrict pregnant pilots. (21pp29)

The seven dissenting commission members rendered a minority report citing their opinion that the majority report is an unjustified step backward. Further, the assignment of personnel to combat aircraft should be gender neutral:

- a. There is no physical strength evidence and endurance differences between men and women.
- b. Empirical data and overwhelming testimony supported the conclusion the supposed physical barriers simply do not exist.
- c. The risks of pregnancy during the first nine days is no greater than can be expected when undergoing a wide range of other occupation and recreational activities.
- d. The flight performance characteristics of the B1, B2 and B52 are more similar to that of the tankers and transports women are flying.
- e. Cohesion in aviation units is not a gender specific issue, rather is a function of leadership.
- f. Evidence demonstrates that women perform as well as men in POW Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape Training (SERE).
- g. That the protective tendencies are not gender specific nor are they limited to only one gender.
- h. The Truman Executive Order 9981 stated, "it is essential that there be maintained in the Armed Services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with equality of treatment and opportunity for all those who serve in our country's defense."
- j. Qualified women should be able to compete on an equal basis with men for assignment to combat aviation positions based on performance as aviators. (21pp83)

An examination of each reason cited by voters against women combat pilots tended to be of a religious nature or associated with the POW question. Dr. M. C. Devilbliss in *Women and Military Service: A Historical, and Overview of Key Issues* makes some startling points: "In the image slander campaign, Military women are either "sexual mascots" (prostitutes) for military men or they are "unnatural" women (lesbians) who persist in performing men's roles." Secondly, "Women remain the victim of sexual harassment because the armed forces have treated the symptom, but have not addressed the cause (sexism)." (3pp59) She continues, "The critical and even more difficult of policy analysis is required to root out the hidden causes." (3pp39)

One reason for the absence of women in key military positions is that promotions are often tied to experience in combat roles and women cannot be assigned to combat roles. Another reason maybe women "act" in leadership "ways" that are fundamentally different from the way men act in leadership roles. (3pp49)

Another reason for lack of promotion is the male dominance at all Service school, starting with Service academies. The service academies initial argument centered on a Supreme Court ruling that, since women were forbidden by law from assuming combat duties, it was inappropriate for them to receive training at the military academies. However, a GAO survey revealed many graduates of all Service academies had never had

a combat assignment. The stonewalling by Service academies (exceptions being the Coast Guard Academy and Merchant Marine Academy) was not successful. Public Law 94 - 106 ordering integration of women into Service academies was signed by President Gerald Ford in 1975 to be effective for the 1976 entrance. (3pp20)

I am very familiar with portion of the history associated with the academies because of my attendance and involvement as a recruiter. However, beyond this, there were other factors. My son, Richard Gould, was a member of the West Point class of 1979 until his resignation in 1977. I recruited for Congressmen Bill Frenzel (R.) and Don Fraser (D.), who helped whip the Public Law 94 - 106 for passage. In the fall of 1975, I received invitation travel orders to a West Point conference centered on discussions of necessary changes to integrate women into the corps and establishing guidelines on the women candidates to be recruited. The commandant of cadets at the Air Force Academy (Stanley Beck) and West Point (John Bard, an Oxford scholar) were my 1954 West Point classmates. The commandant of cadets "owns" the cadets especially in establishing policy regarding how they are to be "brought into the corps/wing." From personal knowledge, Maj. Gen. Beck would tend to conduct himself as the parent of the entering women (*in loco parentis*), while Maj. Gen. Bard would treat the diversity of cadets equally.

Richard Gould in his interview said that "yearlings" were ordered not to haze the women entering the corps. The hazing was to be conducted only by senior cadets who had received special training. The concept of hazing plebes of 4th class was an outgrowth of the Civil War. By this method, the relatively inexperienced upperclassmen gained control of the returning battle veteran. The theory later developed that a leader needs to demand high standards of discipline and responsibility without becoming familiar or fraternizing. Likewise, plebes are not to be too friendly with upperclassman; this was called being BJ (Friendly Before June).

Historically, there have been serious errors at West Point and the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, in hazing underclassmen. The most recent GAO report, DOD Service Academies: More Changes Needed to Eliminate Hazing, by its title identifies a need. I believe the 4th Class hazing that the class of '54 endured during the Korean "war" under the leadership of the classes of '51, '52 and '53 affected decisions made about training of the cadet women in 1976. At the Air Force Academy, cadet women were not integrated into the same living areas as the cadet men; instead, they were housed separately. This created a resentment in the cadet male population because of the cadet women's special treatment. At night, cadet women would have a safe haven to retreat to, wherein cadet men would continue to be involved in the hazing until lights out. This continued into the 1976 academy' year and, in retrospect, is believed by many a serious error on the part of General Beck.

CADET WOMEN AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Entering West Point as an "80's Lady" was 17-year-old Carol Barkalow. She has written about her experiences in a book titled In The Men's House. Written as a first person narrative, it was take primarily from her handwritten dairies and further researched, with countless hours interviewing other cadet women to document a faithful record of the pioneering women at West Point. Captain Barkalow's book took its title from the writings of Kate Millet. (1ppAuthor's Note)

Ms. Millet writes: "In anthropology the men's house [institution] is a fortress of patriarchal association and emotion.... While hunting, politics, religion, and commerce may play a role, sport and warfare are consistently the chief cement of men's house comradery."

This particular bit of prose does bring to our attention the cultural and socialization problem to be faced by all women entering Service academy. From 1976 to this day, a large percentage of cadets, midshipmen, and respective officers are unable to separate fourth-class indoctrination from hazing. The situation is exacerbated by the tendency of many upperclassmen to impose their own ideas about the purpose of the fourth class

system, such as weeding out the weak or those who cannot function well under stress. (17pp46) Many of these "self generated training concepts" are handed down by the oral tradition. The way a new plebe is hazed is most often the same way the upperclassman was hazed when she/he was a new plebe. As the GAO report states, "There may be a tendency for academy officials to see the recipients [plebes] of such [hazing-type] treatment as those [poor or marginal performers] who did not belong at the academy." (17pp75)

The sexual harassment picture is then colored with the same dark, dank, dismal shade of gray. In 1976 to a large measure, all cadet women would have been considered as marginal performers because of customs and traditions in play. This goes back to the regrettable concept voiced by Brain Mitchell, who likens cadet women to "whores" or "lesbians." This was coupled with another concept that has not been touched on. That concept is, men are coerced to kill in combat by the training methods that challenge their manhood to counteract a lack of aggression or "being like a woman, a weak sister." The fourth-class hazing of Carol Barkalow and her female classmates take on a new and different meaning.

The Fourth Class System is a painstaking process by which leaders at West Point are not born but made. From this lowly position (beneath the superintendent's dog and the commandant's cat) they are subjected to a host of physical, mental, and emotional stresses designed either eliminate them from the Corps or to make them worthy of further ascent....If plebes can manage to raise themselves from the debts of the Fourth Class Year, they are rewarded for their efforts with the privilege of entering the Third Class Year....Nobody liked the Fourth Class System in the beginning but most cadets will admit 'it build you up'. The ones that suffered were the ones who didn't know how to play the game. (1pp34)

West Point is not a compassionate place. When the individual doesn't understand the game, the rules by which it is played or how to win by keeping a sense of humor, they are "encouraged" to leave. In one new cadet company, there were three plebes failing to measure up to the expectations of the upperclassman. The plebes were "encouraged" by fourth-class hazing to leave but "encouragement" failed. As Barkalow

relates: "It then became the mission of all the plebes in the company to force out their three classmates. In other words, to make them quit." (1pp35)

She goes on:

Hazing was constant, emotional and mental....It was like a form of terrorism, because we never knew when it was coming and where it was coming from, whether the upperclassman walking behind us would leave us in peace or start making foul remarks about our mothers.... We were completely defenseless, and there was no place to turn..... If a female new cadet passed an upperclassman in the hall and said, "Good morning, Sir," she might be greeted in return ...or hear back, "Good morning bitch," or "It was a good morning till you got here, whore."

It did not end at the end of plebe year or 'til thereafter. Some wanted any "80's lady" to fail by any possible means. The cadet women would meet with harassment and chauvinism on a daily basis in an attempt to demoralize them. (1pp56) A cadet woman received a grade of "C" in tactics, where their male counterpart received an "A-" for work of equal quality. (1pp65) Males of the 1980 class emerged from their "humiliating" fourth-class ordeal of being the "First Class Without Balls (FCWB)" by reasserting their masculinity. At summer training in Camp Buckner, they made juvenile boasts of sexual prowess, sang dirty cadences and conducted physical strength contest. (1pp85) When her female classmate was raped by a graduating senior in their yearling (sophomore) year, the cadet males didn't think it was a "big deal" because there was no pregnancy. What infuriated the cadet women more was the only punishment the first classman (senior) received was the lost of his regular Army commission and a cancellation of his 5-year obligation to serve. The protest that General Bard received established a turning point for cadet women. Finally, the officers were beginning to see and understand their situation. (1pp103)

The question of the ultimate function of the Army became a class discussion in Barkalow's yearling year. Her history professor claimed the Army's function was to kill. Barkalow said it was "to keep world peace." It was then she realized she was being trained to lead "killers," to command what they would kill and when. This realization made her feel cold. (1pp104) This concept reverts to an earlier discussion concerning

development of a "killer warrior ethos of the all volunteer army." Could it be that some consider estrogen is an antidote for our country's testosterone poisoning? The class of 1980 lost approximately 48 percent of their cadet women before graduation. Women cadet candidates who entered the academies during the period 1976 - 1990 would continue (according to the GAO report) to face the same harassment, less severe, but tough -- very tough indeed.

Lt. Col. Bryant was the USAF representative to the Corbin Seminar. Named after Captain Margaret "Molley" Corbin of the Revolutionary War, the group was to provide an outlet to discuss women's issues. It is Lt. Col. Bryant's opinion that three distinct types of females developed as a result of the environment and socialization at each of the service academies. He defined each as follows:

- Type 1: The Tough as Nails, foul mouthed, unfeminine and rude.
- Type 2: The "Scarlet O'Hara," a victim waiting for her rescue.
- Type 3: The High Roader, certain in herself and confident in her role.

This consideration is further defined by Donna Peterson, author of *Dress Gray: A Woman at West Point*. Capt. Peterson graduated in the class of 1982 but when she was a plebe, an "80's lady" would come to her room:

I remember vividly the nightly visits of one particularly rude and unfeminine woman who would enter my room in the barracks, without knocking, then stand my roommates and me at attention while she referred to us as "sluts", "whores" and "bitches."....Though we were threatened severely to keep quiet about these visits....I told my squad leader...who assured us her behavior was in direct violation of the fourth class system...The next time she entered our room....asked her to leave.(8pp149)

As a pioneer, Donna Peterson testifies the pain and disappointment that only those who, on faith alone change the paradigm. The cadet women at West Point suffered as a group mass amenorrhea, a complete cessation of menstrual cycle due to extreme stress and physical conditioning. (8pp2) There were other stresses like blatant verbal abuse by old graduates in front of her mother at the Thayer Hotel. (8pp69) Peterson gives every indication in her first-person autobiography that she was the high roader -- confident of

herself and role referred to by Lt. Col. Bryant. She found ways to make the system work for her despite problems of sexual harassment. During her yearling year, she was assigned charge of quarters (CQ). The CQ does many things, answer the company phone, collecting and gathering the mails, "chase" plebes and perform the "all-right" inspections. While making the "all-right" rounds to every room in the company, she entered a room after being given permission only to find male occupants nude. Peterson put them on report for indecent exposure. The company tactical officer, a regular Army officer, threw out the report without awarding punishment but "nudes were nuked." It never happened again. (8pp142)

Peterson learned to use the "system" to beat the system that; a lesson every cadet who successfully makes it to graduation must understand. Unfortunately, she learned to play the system too well and became the target of envy of her roommate and others of her class. New cadets are first "welcomed" into the Corps for an intense training period of 8 weeks, called beast barracks. The cadet captain in charge of the detail of cadets responsible for this training is called "king of the beast." Peterson was nominated and would have been the first "queen of the beast" except her roommate joined with others to petition against her appointment. Feeling betrayed, Peterson learned the real issue was a male cadet from the company "everyone" wanted to be promoted. An imposed quota allowed only one regimental officer per cadet company. (8pp200)

The attitudinal and behavioral change of Donna Peterson during 4 years is fairly easy to track. What is most striking is her self admissions as a first class cadet (senior) concerning her relationship with the plebes. On one occasion, she denied her instinct to place her arm around a sobbing male plebe threatening to commit suicide. On another occasion in response to an urgent call, she meets with a female plebe in a state of catatonic shock--unable to take the stress. Peterson blamed both of these plebe "failings" on a too lenient society. "Are young people getting so weak that they can't adjust to some discipline and regimentation?" (8pp221) Sexual harassment tactics shifted during her 4

years from the deposit in female cadet rooms of male sperm filled condoms on their bed sheets when they were absent. to putting trash in an empty basket during "no trash" inspection hours. At her graduation, Peterson had no feeling of elation, feeling she chose the West Point way, "the harder right" moving into the future. (8pp242)

CHAMPIONS AND ENTREPRENEURS

Any person entering a Service academy will change. Following Kurt Levin's theory, all the ingredients for change are present. (10pp627) The simulation (unfreezing) under the fourth-class system is so powerful that to some it means survival and not allowing one's self to be beaten down. The academies are quick to define the "change" required and to measure not compliance and a degree of attainment. The "refreezing" of new attitudes, skills, knowledge and behavioral patterns are primarily reinforced during fourth-class (plebe) year but actually continues during the remaining 3 years. It was this perspective that Judith Hicks Stiehm identified in her study of the Air Force Academy, documented in *Bring Me Men & Women: Mandated Change at the U.S. Air Force Academy*. For 16 months, she was allowed free, frequent and repeated access to interview all persons concerned with planning and implementing women's admission. She noted:

That as a general class, women have used weapons on occasions but have generally been forbidden to participate in the planned, publicly financed, collective, legal use of violence. Further, that if women, being the *de facto* pacifists of the world, come to participate directly in decisions concerning war and peace.... a real change will have to be made. A change so radical that one must turn to fiction rather than military history to find a parallel.(9pp2)

During this time frame, Stiehm monitored West Point and Annapolis to determine their approaches in implementing the new Public Law, which makes it possible for women to obtain the best education available. It would appear that she selected the Air Force Academy to study because the essence of the killer warrior (Rambo) is the Army Ranger, Navy Seal or the Air Force fighter pilot. Of these three, the pilot is the most susceptible to being integrated because a modern aircraft is flown by wire (servo hydraulics) and not

by brute strength. Recognizing this fact, the superintendent of the Air Force Academy, Gen. A. P. Clark publicly testified prior to the passing of the Public Law that integration of women into the service academies would "inevitably weaken our national resolve in war." The counter to this position was taken by Representative Bill Frenzel (R.) who said words to the effect: during his lifetime military service for men and women, "would be approximately equal and the public would not tolerate silly rules designed to keep women out." (9pp35)

The Basic Cadet Training (BCT) at the Air Force Academy is the same as West Point "beast barracks." The former is patterned after the latter. During this time, cadet women at the Air Force Academy became "fish" in the media bowl. Clustered in their special dormitory and required to wear skirts, they were highly visible and more difficult to overlook. This situation was the unfortunate product of "expert" planning by the Air Force Academy staff attempting to be proactive in guarding against error. The risk analysis was accomplished to protect the institution and officers in charge as opposed to identification of an innovative concept. The result was an over-protective environment for the cadet women that exacerbated the situation. An example of this was selecting members of the Cadet Wing to march in the inauguration parade of President Jimmy Carter. Women had never been a part of the competition that won the honor to represent the Air Force Academy. Not only were they added to the group, but were on the right flank where their physical presence could be exploited by the media. The deep resentment generated by male cadets was misdirected toward the women and not toward the commandant's office. (9pp91) To this was added the use of Air training officers (ATOs), ROTC commissioned women officers who served as surrogate upperclassman instead of the male cadets in the Wing. This move was in part designed to provide a "friendlier" face during BCT. As Stiehm observes, "Chivalry may well be more pervasive and an intractable form of sexism than chauvinism." (9pp182)

Stiehm keenly identifies and defines the specific attribute tending to separate men from women and, about which men have rallied their "anti combat flag," the woman's lack of upper body strength. The Air Force Academy chose to adopt a policy position on what was known about women's physiology as opposed to being open to new information and prepared to adjust policy. (9pp151) However, Stiehm believes:

lack of upper body strength" may render that phrase a virtual code word that suggests women are inferior, just as "law and order" has been said to mean "anti-black and poor"....repeated references to women's "lack of upper body strength" implies a female deficiency in something officers *do*, even though that *doing* maybe totally apart from the demands of duty. (9pp152)

Further, the unfounded belief that team sports fostered lesbianism became an item of official study in the planning for women's admittance. Even though women's instructors like Micki King, 1976 Olympic diving gold medal winner, were recruited to coach men and women, there was a general feeling that 'with their broader experience' men could coach women. An example of the male coaches' lack of understanding of women's "competitiveness" vs. their "combativeness" occurred at a cross-country meet. The women found they were so far ahead of the opposition, they engaged in a brief snowball fight rather than running to exhaustion and then crossed the finish line "hand-in-hand." For this, they were reprovved (fried) and removed from the team. (9pp170)

In her study, Stiehm points out the Catch 22 in which women in the Air Force (academy graduates or not) are placed. Access to promotion is gained by "square filling," doing the right thing in proper sequence. Pilots and other rated officers receive preference for master's degree schooling over non-rated officers. Slots in the educational program are reserved for academy graduates but there were no female alumni to lobby for women to be assigned. (9pp221) Further, "warrior ship" gained from a combat crew assignment is a mandatory prerequisite "square to be filled" for promotional consideration. (9pp276)

The Air Force Academy lacked the understanding that a shift in motivational base required the institution to incorporate the changes that would allow it to "think like a

woman.' (9pp283) Instead, women found that men were permitted to express, even flaunt their sexism, while similarly racist behavior or language would have been taboo. (9pp237) Stiehm believes the "warrior role" should become a mark of one's entrance to adulthood for both males and females. She holds that the real root of the opposition of women in combat stems from men's subconscious belief that women's presence would ultimately lead to the abolition of arms as a profession. (9pp301)

A true pioneer in the Air Force, Maj. Gen. Jeanne Holm, firmly believes that "Academy man [West Point, Annapolis and Air Force have all provided men for the Air Forces regular officers' corps, sic] has always been a member of the 'elite,' the favored few 'ring knockers' who are traditionally singled out for the choice opportunities: faster promotions, attendance at senior schools, and command assignments." In her recently revised book, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution*, she states that since the commissioning of ROTC officers are different, lack of admission of women to the Air Force Academy denied them the same opportunity for a successful career available to the [regular] officer. Gen. Holm found a strong ally in Representative Don Fraser (D.) of Minnesota, who appointed women to the Air Force Academy only to have the appointment returned unconsidered. Fraser became particularly vehement as he firmly believed by denying equal access to the best education available, the nation was squandering its human resources. (6pp308)

Having a full understanding of the importance of filling the "combat" square in an officer's personnel file, Gen. Holm's concern is that the term "combat" means whatever the Services choose. "The definitions of "combat," "combat exclusion," and "combat support" are revised from time to time, even reversed, in response to political pressure, changing missions, and changes in service leadership." (6pp399) The performances of women in Granada, Panama, Desert Shield and Desert Storm have demonstrated that women are an integral part of the armed forces. "We couldn't do the job without them" according to Lawrence Korb, former assistant secretary of defense. (6pp441) The old

myths that hindered women serving in the military that were demolished and replaced with new realities during Desert Storm are:

MYTHS

Military women are protected from exposure to combat.

During mobilization for war the women could not be counted upon to deploy.

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

American women would not be prepared to cope with primitive, rough living conditions and physical demands in a combat zone.

The pressure of women in the combat zone would destroy "male bonding."

Men and women could not work together in a combat theater without sex getting in the way.

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

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

REALITY

Modern weapons of war did not discriminate by gender, job, or location in the combat theater.

After the war, DOD reported to the Congress that deployment of women was "highly successful."

Women did the jobs they had been trained to do and did them well.

Women lived like "grunts" in the field. They endured blistering heat and the lack of privacy. They had to deal with sexual harassment.

When the action started, every soldier does what they are trained to do. Nobody cares whether you're male or female. It's just: can you do the job?

Men and women serving side by side in the Gulf demonstrated they were capable of working together as teams...without sharing beds.

The Iraqis were not hostile to the women nor did they resist taking orders from them.

Even though the press focused on the female POWs and casualties, the public generally took the news in stride. (6pp462)

Women and the Military , a 1977 Brookings Institute study, authored by Martin Binkin and Shirley J. Bach found that the most physically demanding tasks in the armed services are those involved in the direct labor of war. It was their belief the tasks seemed to be too arduous for the vast majority of American women.

The "straight-legged" infantrymen, whose principal means of mobility on the battle field is by foot, are required to lift and carry equipment exceeding one-quarter of their own weight over long distances. Artillery crews are similarly called upon to lift heavy ammunition rounds, and ship crews are expected to perform a wide range of physically demanding tasks.(2pp100)

very perceptively they pointed out then that the major method employed by the armed services in the classification of recruits was education and aptitude data. They strongly recommended that the determination of the standards and predictors of selection, classification, and assignment for individuals and groups be determined by the conduct of an experimental program. (2pp110) To this day, DACOWITS is recommending the same experimental study.

METHODS OF INQUIRY

There are two contrasting authors whose books are at opposite ends of the poles. Cynthia Enloe believes the military exploits women in all aspects of life; Brian Mitchell considers women in the armed services an ever-present danger to national security. Controversy between the two covers a wide area of subjects from behavior, upper-body strength, sexual harassment, mobility and others. Enloe's style is more interpretative than critical while Mitchell is more critical than interpretive.

Enloe attempts to provide to women the knowledge needed to have a full understanding of how "military men" dominate society. She says:

To demystify the military and to uncover all the ways it resembles the rest of society in which being male carries power and privilege makes it possible for women, normally excluded from military affairs, to shed light on aspects of the military normally overlooked. (4pp6)

with this knowledge it is her belief:

Perhaps more than in any previous era, we are living at a time when women can draw on their own experiences with the military to expose the military for the contradictory and vulnerable patriarchal institution it has always been. (4pp220)

Enloe's primary consideration is studying the relationship of women and the military reflects on its human relation value. By doing so, she paints a clear picture of what she considers good and bad. She points to Britain's "Contagious Diseases Act of 1864, 1866, and 1869," establishing a state policing action system for compulsory genital examination of any woman suspected of being a prostitute. (4pp24) Finally, after

a long battle by the women's suffragist, this act designed to control women was repealed. In an explanatory manner, Enloe points out that U.S. official studies of pregnancy, menstruation and "upper body strength" are in some measure like the "Contagious Disease Act." She says, "For, it is almost a desperate search for some fundamental, intrinsic difference between female and male soldiers." (4pp138) Her reflection on the social situation exposes what she frames as defense officials deliberate technocratic and bureaucratic obfuscation used to intimidate women in a material and ideological sense. She deplores the military drill sergeant, a master of military socialization and psychological manipulation, who devastates young men by contemptuously shouting, "Woman" into their faces.(4pp14) Ms. Enloe communicates an understanding of how, in her belief, the military:

Makes a women dependent on it--directly or indirectly-- for her pay-check, her physical security, her education, her reputation and her own self esteem. (4pp219) Women may serve in the military but they can never be permitted to be the military. They remain camp followers (4pp15)

Mr. Mitchell's primary consideration in his study of the relationship of women and the military is to reveal "damage" done to the U.S. fighting forces. His definition of bad vs. good is personified by a military woman who he believes is:

Less aggressive, less daring, less likely to suppress minor personal hurts, less aware of world affairs, less interested in military history, less respective of military tradition and less inclined to make the military a career. (7pp7)

Mitchell's writings are an attempt at interpretive research designed to communicate to the American public an understanding of the nature of civilized militaries. He explains military organizations are necessarily hierarchical, anti-egalitarian, and altruistic in their service to the state. (7pp9) It is his evaluation that, "The feminization of the American military is perhaps the greatest peacetime military deception ever perpetrated." (7pp10) His explanatory analysis of the fourth class customs at the Air Force Academy defines they are a right of passage and a form of male bonding

between graduated classes, having been through the same furnace at different times. The point he attempts to explain is that cadet women did not experience the same pain as their male counter parts. As such, women would be barred from acceptance.

He indicates that the anger of cadet men in the class of 1980, which should have been directed at the commandant's or dean's office, actually was felt as scorn for the cadet women of their class. On a comparative basis, it would seem that Mitchell believes each gender went to the same school at the same time but in totally different environments. The incoming males were hazed as "doolies" by real cadets, while females were treated with "positive motivation" by female ROTC commissioned Air Training Officers (TAO) in a separated facility. Mitchell's prescription to remedy the situation is to place trust in the cadet men in the Wing and have them conduct the initial conditioning training of all new cadets. His analysis of the social situation is :

The academies are no longer the strange conclaves of unsentimental militarism, where young men first learn the pain of separation... where alienation made plebes on leave feel like strangers at home, where cadets could prepare for lives of sacrificial hardship and deprivation, where they could learn leadership and gain confidence without the fearful disruption of suddenly running into someone with whom they are falling in or out of love with. (7pp81)

Mitchell continues this thought with a statement on the two kinds of cadets and midshipmen attending the nation's three academies: "One is male, aggressive, strong, daring and destined for combat; the other is female: none of the above." (7pp86) As to the armed services, Mitchell supports the DACOWITS charge that the chain of command sometimes supports or encourages lesbianism. He reflects there is merit in this view because "Lesbians thrive in the military not only because it provides them the society of other lesbians, but also because it allows and encourages them to act like men....they never become pregnant."(7pp181)

In summary, Mitchell's critical analysis seems to know no bounds wherein Enloe's appraisal seems to have been generated from a more factual basis. Mitchell

seems to be striking out in anger with provocative highly charged statements. Enloe is as equally provocative but develops a logic to support her contention.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

The transfer of allegiance from one paradigm to another is a conversion, if not a religious experience that cannot be forced. The question is: After nearly 100 years of warfare and a changed world environment, how do you change the behavior and attitudes of all the young men and women that have been socialized or acculturated to respect militarism and Rambo type warriors to suddenly view the military with a different set of ideals and new values of equity? Additionally, how do you accomplish a behavioral change in military warriors who have been serving so dutifully and well all these years? Of course, the response would be: "Not very easily and over a length of time." To achieve the goal of equity for women in the military services and at the Service academies, there must be a plan and an implementation that achieves optimum continual gains with a minimum expenditure of force. The DACOWITS underlying goal to achieve equal treatment under law seems to be:

- Access to education and training previously reserved for others
- Assignment to units and duty stations without severe restriction
- Career advancement on the best-qualified basis
- Fair and equitable treatment of all genders and between genders.

In all military planning the first question is: "What is the mission?" The definition of the mission allows for the determination of what are needs for personnel, weapons, transportation and logistical support. As pointed out by Binkin and Bach, if the mission requires personnel to do the manual (grunt) labor of war, women are unsuited. This question concerning how a unit is formulated has a great deal to do with the gender of those required to accomplish the mission; i.e., if the military mission is to destroy a target, the destructive forces could be a missile or aircraft that in and of themselves are gender neutral; field artillery, naval gun fire or planted explosives which in and of

themselves, are not gender neutral. The specific reason why these last three methods are not gender neutral is because they require combat skills and physical capabilities more often found in men and not in women like the infantry, tank crews, artillery and "fighting ships."

To make a difference in this policy issue, my first task would be appointment as a White House Fellow to gain access to the President. It would be necessary to obtain consensus of the Congress. Behaviorally, the Congress has been at cross/dual purposes on the policy of women flying in combat as indicated in the Presidential Commission Report (21ppiii). *TIME* magazine in its December 15, 1992 issue (pp15) reported, "four million dollars later, the commission resolved nothing--it concluded that women volunteering for combat roles maybe killed....the commissions cockpit ban may be reversed." It would seem that the Congress (Senate) might not want further embarrassment on this issue.

As life imitates art, the Navy or Air Force fighter pilot (Top Gun) personifies the killer/hunter of the air, as the Army Ranger or Navy Seal is the killer/hunter of the ground and sea, respectively. In recognition of the behaviors, attitudes and the changed world environment, and in recognition of the military hierarchical structure, as a White House Fellow, I would recommend the following things.

1. The President exercise his executive privilege and direct the Secretary of Defense to implement that portion of the Public Law 102 -190 repealing restriction on women flying combat aircraft.

2. The DoD to conduct an immediate study into the weapons and deployment of the British Gurkha Light Infantry Units. The Gurkas, because of their small body stature on a comparative basis to Americans, would lack upper-body strength. The Gurkha's military history and heritage do not have any reference to their inability to perform assigned combat mission.

3. The Deputy Secretary of Defense for Acquisition to be directed to immediately require that all future procurements implement a set of standards incorporating new technologies that retain strength and functionality, but reduce weight. Weapons and tools are heavy because they were designed without consideration of the user's strength. In World War II the Browning Automatic Rifle (BAR) and the so-called light machine gun would test the mettle of male soldier in army today'. As a result of their mettle experience, the Army deliberately set about to design newer, light-weight weapons for use in the 1960s and 1970s. With newer technology there is no reason why these weapons cannot again be redesigned.

4. The Army be directed to form an all-volunteer integrated Light Infantry Brigade patterned after the Gurkas and having a ratio of not less than one woman for every three men. The DACOWITSs and Brookings correctly pointed out there was no factual data on which to base a combat ban against women. An experiment is required to gather data. The brigade would be trained and tested to obtain the necessary "combat" data concerning gender related issues. (2pp110)

5. Personnel managers of the Armed Services and Service academies be directed to place the question of gender acceptance on all officer, cadet and midshipman fitness reports. Further, these ratings would be taken into primary consideration by promotion selection boards. This technique to obtain behavior modification has a precedent, the Truman Integration Order of 1948.

CONSTRAINTS

Unfortunately, constraints for achievement of equity goals for women in the military service can be summarized into one phrase: *The Traditions and Customs of the Service*. Rather than invent a conceptual framework, the research on this report has already found a method that has every appearance of being valid. As a guidepost, the

DACOWITS Inquiry Reports contained within the biannual conference reports are the best framework found. It would not seem correct to develop another instrument that would require testing and time to prove its validity. The DACOWITS conferences authorize asking of a well-framed question on constraints of equity implementation. These questions are not answered with ease and require significant research. The writing of a sound answer requires the DoD Armed Service or Department to take a hard look at the policy being questioned and nature of the information sought. For example, the updated Athena Report from West Point, Integration And Performance of Women At West Point: For The Defense Advisory Committee On Women In The Services (DACOWITS), cited herein was written in response to a DACOWITS request. At the beginning of this paper, a situation of a professor from the Class of 1979 was discussed by Dr. Segal. The West Point DACOWITS report addresses this issue of an instructor's inhibiting the learning environment. This phenomenon described as the "Chill of the Classroom" has become a great concern to the academy leadership. As such, the entire staff and faculty including athletic coaches have undergone training with reinforcement training being conducted this year.(19pp26)

Using a cadet attitudinal survey, the success of women integration has been measured for the classes of 1988, 1989 and 1990. Although individual statistics of each class vary, average results for men in agreement that "integration has been a success" is less than 50 percent, while the women's rating were greater than 55 percent. Clearly, the constraint is that the other half of the Corps believed things are not going well. (19pp64) However, West Point has structured a cadet-mentor program wherein a fourth class cadet is sponsored by a third class cadet. This new program of military leadership is directed to develop a "Common Military Experience." (19pp32) The GAO report on the academies pointed out that West Point and Annapolis, "Through recent changes appear to have had some success in reducing hazing type treatment." (17pp80)

Another example of DACOWITS implemented framework is contained within their 1991 spring conference proceedings: "Women Midshipmen Study Group 90" a report presented by Captain David W. Davis, USN director of candidate guidance, Admissions Office. It is a comprehensive study of issues causing lack of assimilation of women into the brigade. Under each major heading area are many sub issues and the corrective action taken by the Naval Academy. A key issue was the misperception of the mission of the Naval Academy. Findings indicated a general belief that the mission was to "produce warriors and warriors only." The corrective actions taken by USNA leadership were:

1. Link the Academy's mission to the defense needs of the nation
2. Discourage statements limiting Academy's mission to training warriors
3. Relieve officers who foster discouraging statements toward women
4. Commence the academic year with an "Awareness Day."

These two samples of DACOWITS successes indicate the power of an honest question, asked in the right forum, where a studied response from the recipient is required.

CHANGES

The institutional arrangements that constrain the full integration of women into the Armed Services are, for the most part, traditionally and culturally defined. In the Western World using women in combat has never been tested successfully. Until the advent of modern technology, weapons of war and conduct of war makes it a physical fitness strength game where it was not only legal, but also expected to kill your opponent. However, it should be noted that in the Far East where the weapons of war are not so sophisticated, women serve along with men as do young adults and children. In the outer provinces of China with its state controlled television, the featured serial program is the battle between the gender integrated People's Republic of China and the Nationalist. Without question the Chinese Communist women are perceived as being combat soldiers.

A number of years ago I interviewed Yoong Tan, a widowed Laotian from the secret wars in Laos. She said: "It was my duty as the younger wife to go to battle with

man. I would prepare all our food and carry the ammunition. In a fire fight, I would spot targets for him and if he was wounded I would take the firing position for him. Most often, if a man was wounded, the woman assumed the firing position. She would continue firing 'til it quit or they were both dead."

By 2003, I fully expect to see:

1. An Army umpire's test report of an experimental, gender integrated combat simulation incorporating infantry, field artillery, combat engineers and combat helicopters.
2. Fighters and attack fighter/bombers being flown and lead by female pilots.
3. An aircraft carrier battle group commanded by a female naval officer with several years of combat fighter time to her credit.

These changes will occur because the paradigm of war has changed. The world has changed. All nations know there cannot be a nuclear war between super powers. The wars to be fought in the first half of the 21st Century will be economic and trade wars. The role of the military will undergo dramatic changes with a significant shift away from the hunter/killer, Rambo image, of yesteryear toward bringing peace in a peaceful manner, controlling Third country gangsterism, and providing leadership to our nation's youth in rebuilding of U.S. intercities. To express it symbolically, formally the United States crest bore the head of the eagle pointed toward arrows of war. After World War I, it was changed so that the head pointed toward the laurel leaves of peace. As a Nation, the past 45 years have been predicated on peace while we waged a limited cold war. In the future, I expect the Nation to be dedicated to waging peace. These changes will occur because there is a vacuum in the decisions of policy governing the financial justification supporting a military force. That force must become something other than a killer/hunter group. As stated previously, female estrogen will be required to overcome the testosterone poisoning in the shift toward a more neutral position.

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