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The adventures of GI Jane: Women in the military

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**THE ADVENTURES OF GI JANE:
WOMEN IN THE MILITARY**

by

Jennifer Schneider

**Bachelor of Arts
California State University Bakersfield
1996**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

in

Sociology

**Department of Sociology
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
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ABSTRACT

The Adventures of GI Jane: Women in the Military

by

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Many women in the United States are living in a paradox. While changes in the American culture have led to significant improvements in women's lives, they still are frequently exposed to discriminatory policies and actions. This study examines the United States military, which is a specific institution that embodies this paradox. While the military offers women certain opportunities, such as a college education, travel and adventure, it is still steeped in male domination and gender discrimination. Using a review of secondary sources, this study explores the discourses relating to power, gender and sexuality in the military, which form the basis for the discrimination of servicewomen. This study also explores the persistence of discrimination and patterns of resistance by conducting in-depth focus group interviews to examine the dominant ideologies and discourses that frame women's

experiences and the ways in which women reproduce, resist, or construct alternative discourses.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Many contemporary American women are living in a paradox. Since the second wave of feminism there have been a variety of changes in the American culture which have led to significant improvements in women's lives; however, women still are frequently exposed to discriminatory policies and actions. This study will examine the United States military, a specific institution that embodies this paradox. The military offers women many opportunities, but at the same time it is steeped in male domination and gender discrimination. While women in the military are often the victims of sexual harassment and assault, restricted from combat duty, and discriminated against due to pregnancy and motherhood (Francke, 1997), they are also given more benefits and more money than women with similar educational backgrounds in the civilian world. In addition to these advantages, the military also pays for college and offers women travel and adventure (DeFleur 1992). Some women are also given training in fields that are usually restricted to men, although this opportunity may lead to sexual harassment because women in male dominated occupations are often the victims of harassment (Weinstein and White 1997).

This study will attempt to understand the paradox of women in social institutions by examining the experiences of women in the military. This study will

also explore the persistence of discrimination and patterns of resistance by conducting in-depth focus group interviews to examine the dominant ideologies and discourses that frame women's experiences and the ways in which women reproduce, resist or construct alternative discourses. Previous research on women and the military has found that harassment and discrimination still exist (Harrell and Miller 1997; Decew 1997; Firestone and Harris 1994 Rosenfeld 1994; Francke 1997; Stiehm 1989), that discrimination affects women's attitudes, the integration of recruits and attrition rates (Bendekgey 1990;, Francke 1997; Lessner 1996; Brooks 1997). The existing literature has also focused on the patriarchal organizational culture as the cause for women's discrimination (Francke 1997, Rustad 1982, Firestone and Harris 1994; Gruber and Bjorn 1986).

Despite the contributions of this research, it is inadequate for two main reasons. First it has not achieved a complete understanding of women's experiences in the service. Modern feminist perspectives often consider (1) gender to be a single binary system, (2) fail to recognize differences across groups of women (3) fail to recognize similar experiences across genders (4) fail to recognize differences across groups of women (5) do not recognize multiple subjectivities (6) do not deal with resistance by women and (7) do not deal with the social construction of meaning, ideology or discourse.

Second, the methods used in past research have either (1) not allowed for an in-depth analysis of women's experiences in the military or (2) are too difficult to implement for this study. Past research includes quantitative methods such as the

implementation of surveys and secondary analysis of surveys (Firestone and Harris 1994), qualitative methods like interviews and ethnographies (Miller 1997; Davis 1997; Rustad 1982) and a combination of both (Harrell and Miller 1997; Miller 1997). Surveys, for example, do not lend themselves to an in-depth analysis of women's experiences because they impose the beliefs of the researcher on the respondents and as such silence the women from framing and interpreting their own experiences. Interviews and focus groups can be useful, but when they are used alone it is difficult to obtain the full range of women's experiences. Ethnographies are difficult to implement because the military tends to be closed off to researchers and military personnel does not want to cooperate for fear of punishment.

This research will address the theoretical problems by using feminist postmodern and critical theories to examine ideology and discourse and the ways women may reproduce or construct alternative discourses. Feminist postmodernism, for example, maintains that meanings and knowledge attached to masculinity and femininity shift and change throughout history and across cultures. Because of this it recognizes that gender is a social construction and not a biological or natural manifestation. Although feminist postmodernists recognize the purely social nature of gender and sexism they continue to study large societal institution where these are imbedded. One theoretical tool that is utilized by these researchers is to identify the dominant discourses and resistance to the discourses. Also because postmodernists do not use an essentialist argument and attach specific categories to the genders, they do not reduce women's oppression to a single cause cross culturally. Further, the

oppression of women is viewed as one type of oppression because of the acknowledgement of multiple subjectivities. As such, this theoretical view recognizes differences among groups of women and similarities across genders.

In addition, this research will utilize both interviews and focus groups to try and address the shortcomings of past research. These methods were useful because unlike surveys they do not impose the researcher's view on the subjects. In addition, they allow the researcher to obtain as many stories as possible from the women regarding their experiences, which provide for the richest understanding of women and the military.

Using these methods and theoretical perspectives I will identify the dominant discourses in the military as gleaned from secondary sources. I will also analyze the interviews with the women to determine how they reproduce, resist or construct alternative discourses by asking (1) what are the ways that women have access to power in the service? (2) Under what conditions do women experience this access? (3) How are women restricted from power in the service? (4) To what extent do women support the discourse on gender in the military? (5) To what extent do women promote alternative discourses on gender in the military? (6) What issues do women raise regarding the difficulties they have faced in the military? and (7) What do women think of the laws regarding the control of sexual behaviors in the service? Based on the responses to the above questions, I identified three themes (power, gender, and sexuality) which seem most useful to exploring the experiences of women in the military.

History of Women in the Military

Although women have always played an integral part in the military, the roles assigned to them have shifted and changed throughout their years in the service. This historical analysis of women in the service underlines two basic points: (1) women have increasingly been integrated into the service and (2) women have continuously faced gender discrimination at every stage in their military career.

During the Revolutionary, Civil, and Spanish American Wars women were officially prohibited from joining the military. Because of their exclusion women were made to be powerless in the institution. Since they were prohibited from joining they performed many nonmilitary tasks, including boycotting products manufactured by the enemy, making clothing and other necessities for the Army, collecting scrap metal to make bullets and raising funds. Women also offered their homes for the military personnel to use as headquarters and provided the soldiers with food and drinks. In addition, women took over many jobs in the home that were normally performed by the males once they went to war. Some women, known as camp followers, also followed the troops and cared for the sick, cooked the meals, brought the troops water, and sewed and washed their clothing. During this war, the military hired civilian nurses as its first female employees, marking the entrance of women in the military (Sherrow 1996).

Although the majority of women were excluded from service, a few women were allowed to cross over the line into combat and serve as spies or messengers delivering correspondence across enemy lines, but these women were never officially

recognized for their role by the service. Other women resisted their exclusion by disguising themselves as men so they could fight in battle. They bound their breasts, wore fake mustaches and cross-dressed in order to serve with male soldiers. These women cross-dressed in an effort to resist (1) the current power structure which officially restricted women from combat and (2) the current gender constructions which designated women to domestic responsibilities. Among the most famous of the gender bending soldiers are Deborah Sampson in the American Revolution; Lucy Brewer in the War of 1812 and Loretta Velasquez in the Civil War (Sherrow 1996: Rustad 1982).

Women's roles in the military began to expand after the Spanish American War. During this war, the military became dependent on the Red Cross to help care for the sick and wounded soldiers dying from a severe influenza epidemic. Military officials soon realized that they needed a permanent core of nurses and created the Army Nurses Corps (1901) and the Navy Nurses Core (1908) in the early 1900s.

Although female nurses could now be an official part of the military, they faced enormous obstacles upon joining the service. For example, women in the nurse's cores were subject to military regulations and authorities, but they were not given military rank. Even though women made inroads into the service, their power in the military was reduced because they were unrecognized within the military hierarchy. Because they had no rank, they did not receive the same status, benefits or pay as the men in the service. This continued for over twenty years. In addition, military officials often denied and downplayed female contributions to the military, for

example, representatives of the service maintained that very few women, if any at all, disguised themselves as men to fight in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars (Sherrow 1996).

During World War I, women continued their progress in the service when they were formally allowed to join the Navy and Marines and receive military rank. Females were accepted into these branches to perform a number of clerical jobs so the men could fight in the first World War. Despite the acceptance of women in the Navy and Marines, the Army refused to allow women to serve. However, the Army eventually granted the requests of a few commanders in the service and sent women to work on military posts as contract employees. These women faced a great deal of prejudice and hostility (Rustad 1982; Holm 1982; Sherrow 1996; Meyer 1996). For example, military policy at the time stated that, "With careful supervision, female employees may be permitted in the camps without moral injury either to themselves or other soldiers" (Treadwell 1954: 7-8). Policies like these attempted to control male sexuality by restricting female sexuality. At this particular time in the service women were labeled as sirens, meaning that their sexuality was so alluring that men could not control themselves. Therefore women had to be the site of control.

When the war ended women were forced out of both the military and their civilian jobs because the military only intended to use women as a temporary reserve force during the war. After the war ended, the General Staff of the War department issued a short memo taking away the military status and benefits awarded women who served (Rustad 1982). Like the previously mentioned example, this is another

illustration of the rejection and hostility women faced in the service. Military officials considered the service to be a masculine occupation and as such they never wanted women to be a permanent part of it. They only permitted women to join temporarily because they had a shortage of men. This instance again points to the exclusion of women and their powerlessness in the institution.

Women were again allowed to join the service during the 1940s to help their country in the Second World War. In March 1941, the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) was created so women could perform clerical responsibilities and the men would be free to fight. In September of 1943 women made significant gains when the WAAC (Women's Army Auxiliary Corps) was eliminated and the Women's Army Core (WAC) was formed, giving women full military status and benefits during the war and for six months afterward. At this time other branches of the service also formed women's cores, for example, the Navy created WAVES, or Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service. The Army Air Force created Air-WACS and the Coast Guard Created SPAR, named for its motto "Semper Parabus" or Always Ready. Female pilots flew with the Women's Air Force Service Pilots, or WASPs, although they too were segregated from the men (Sherrow 1996; Rustad 1982).

Although the increase of women's cores and the variety of roles women played during the war illustrates their continuing integration and increasing degree of power in the service, however, women were still discriminated against in a variety of ways. For example, the female pilots who flew planes such as the B-29 Superfortress, YP-59 and the P-51 Mustang fighter, sometimes participated in missions that male pilots

thought were too dangerous (Sherrow 1996; Rustad 1982). These women were so devalued by the service that they were openly discarded and given missions men would not take. The prejudice men in the service had toward women was again apparent in rumors concerning women in the WAAC. These rumors followed women when they joined the WAC. They included:

(1) WAAC solicited men and engaged in sex acts in public places (2) WAACs were issued prophylactics and required to carry them whenever they left the barracks; (3) WAACs were recruited to serve as sexual outlets for frustrated military males (4) many of the WAACs had gonorrhea; immoral WAACs infected many of the men (5) WAACs joined the service to meet other lesbians and to engage in homosexual orgies; (6) WAACs were drunk and brawled in bars (7) WAAC's who were not sexually active were rejected by Army physicians (8) WAACs had to have large breasts and other anatomical specifications; (9) WAACs were immoral in conduct and appearance; (10) WAACs impeded the combat readiness of the Army (Rustad 1982: 30).

These rumors depicted women in one of two ways. First, they portrayed women as whores or sluts who could not control their sexual urges, for example "WAACs were immoral in conduct and appearance" and "WAACs were issued prophylactics and required to carry them whenever they left the barracks". Female sexuality was seen as "bad" because it presented a "danger" to men, as evident in the quote "immoral WAACs infected many of the men". When women joined this masculine institution their femininity was immediately put into question, which lead to accusations of prostitution. Because of the threat that women presented to the male soldiers, Army officials and national health agencies, including, the Office of Community War Services (OCWS), the American Social Hygiene Association

(ASHA), and the US Public Health Service (USPHS), organized a national campaign designed to "legislate women's sexual behavior in the guise of social protection" (Meyer 1996: 101) The two primary pieces of legislation were the "8 points agreement" (1939) and the "May Act" (1941). As in WWI, the goal was to control female sexuality because male sexuality cannot be controlled.

Although the "May Act" made prostitution illegal in specific zones around military or naval establishments, most individuals in military and civilian establishments supported regulation of prostitution. In order to regulate prostitution, they wanted the military to establish, "segregated" houses of prostitution' which would be regularly inspected by medical officials to ensure that women within them remained free from venereal disease" (Meyer 1996: 102). When the control of prostitution did not stop the spread of venereal disease, the service began to focus on the sexuality of victory girls. This was the name given to women who had sex with male soldiers in an effort to boost morale and aid the war effort. These women "became the focus of an intense social purity campaign aimed at controlling their sexuality and behavior" (Meyer 1996: 104). Besides civilian women, the military dismissed many servicewomen who contracted the disease under the Code of Conduct and a clause in the WAC regulations which asked for the dismissal of women who bring discredit to the corps (Meyer 1996).

Although men were also dismissed from the service for a variety of infractions, only women appeared to be the victims of sex discrimination because women, as a group, were treated unequally and unfairly due to their gender. Although some men

might have been discriminated against because of their race or religion, they were not treated unfairly or unequally because of their status as men. The discrimination against women in the military has taken two distinct forms: overt and subtle. Overt discrimination refers to the discrimination that is immediately apparent, such as the rules and regulations prohibiting women from remaining a permanent part of the service. Subtle discrimination, refers to the discrimination that is not often noticed because the sexist behavior is seen as natural or normal. The unfair use of military laws against servicewomen is a good example of this. It appears as though the military is simply enforcing existing regulations, but they are actually selectively used against women to force them out of the service (Benokratis and Feagin 1986).

Second the rumors appeared to enforce traditional gender lines in two distinct ways. First these rumors depicted women who crossed over the gender lines and entered the service as non-women or deviations of real women, "WAACs were drunk and brawled in bars" or "WAACs joined the service to meet other lesbians and engage in homosexual orgies". The implication of the characterization is that real women, who represent acceptable notions of femininity [weak, passive, emotional] would never become servicewomen. Again, joining the military immediately put women's femininity into question. Second, these rumors enforced gender lines by depicting women as sex objects that men could use for their sexual pleasure. This supports the traditional masculine ideology, which states that "real men" are suppose to be sexually aggressive (Kraust 1990).

Once again women were dismissed from their jobs in the factory and their jobs

in the military at the end of the war because they were still seen by the military as a reserve force only to be utilized during a time of crisis. Nevertheless, in 1948 women achieved a giant step toward gender equality in the military with the passing of the Women's Service Integration Act. This Act made women a permanent and official part of the service. Despite this achievement, servicewomen still faced much discrimination. For example, in the 1950s and 1960s, a 2% ceiling was set on the number of women who could join the service. In addition pregnant women and mothers of small children were forbidden to serve in the military and women were excluded from several roles in the service including combat (Sherrow 1996; Meyer 1996). Although an effort was made to integrate women into the service, they were still being excluded, which reduced their power in the service.

In addition to these legal restrictions and despite the Women's Service Integration Act, the military still viewed women as a reserve force only to be utilized if there was a shortage of men. In 1951, during the Korean War, the military tried to increase the number of female soldiers in the event that they would be needed during the Korean War. Women were overwhelmed with radio, television, magazine and newspaper advertisements designed to encourage them to join the war effort. However, the military did not need to dip into this pool of female recruits and the deployment of women remained a contingency plan in case a total war developed (Rustad 1982).

In the 1960s, women's roles in the military were again debated when the United States became involved in the Vietnam War. Military officials argued over

whether women should be sent to Vietnam and exposed to the combat in that region. Nurses, however, had been in Vietnam and facing combat situations since the early 1960s. It seems that the military's policy of protecting women conflicted with their need for nurses. In fact, the only women sent to Vietnam (and Korea) were nurses. Again, this is because women were only used as a reserve force for the military and the Vietnam war did not result in a total war, where women would be needed in the case of manpower shortages (Sherrow 1996; Rustad 1982).

During the end of the 1960s and the 1970s, when the all-volunteer force was created, many of the restrictions against women in the service were eliminated. Officially, women began obtaining power in the military. In November of 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed Public Law 90-120, which expanded women's roles in the military. This law abolished the 2% ceiling on women in the military and permitted women to be promoted to the ranks of admiral and general. In 1970, the laws against pregnancy in the service were eliminated. In 1976, women were admitted into military service academies. In 1978, the women's core was integrated into the regular military with men. Male and female training also became integrated in some places. Many jobs in the service, such as naval aviation began to open up to women. In 1977 the Coast Guard became the first military branch to permanently sign women as crew members. In 1978, women began to be given limited sea duty in the Navy (Sherrow 1996; Steihm 1989).

One reason why women made so much progress in the late sixties and seventies could be that the civil rights movement and the women's movement

prompted women in the military to stand up for their rights. In addition, it might be that the democratic presidential administration that took office in 1976, which was known for its stance against all forms of oppression, encouraged the military to improve the status of women. When the Reagan administration came to power in 1981, the Army once again began to cut back on the recruitment of women. Military officials stated that they wanted to conduct studies to determine how pregnancy, single parenthood and other situations common to women would effect military readiness. As it turned out, the Military Manpower Task Force, chaired by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, recommended in 1982 that the numbers of women increase in the future and every branch of the service eliminate unfair discrimination. In 1988 the Department of Defense constructed the Risk Rule, which allowed each branch of the service to determine which jobs should be closed to women (Sherrow 1996). Although the combat exclusionary laws were not eliminated, this Rule could be used by commanders to further integrate women into the service.

Despite the progress women made in the service, they continued to face discrimination; for example, sexual harassment had been an ongoing problem for women ever since they joined the service; for example, since the Civil War, men in basic training have used rhymes depicting male sexual aggression for cadence calls. One song by the 32nd infantry in World War II began:

We're Colonel Heffner's raiders
And we'd raiders of the night
We're horny sonsabitches
We'd rather fuck than fight (Francke 1997: 162)

In Vietnam, the Army and Marines referred to these cadence counts as

"jodies", which indicated "a stud who's sleeping with everybody's girlfriend while they're working" (Francke 1997: 162). One jodie that's still being recited by men in the service today states:

I wish all the ladies were piled on a shelf, and I was a
baker- I'd eat 'em all myself (Francke 1997: 162).

This sexual harassment appears to be a reaction to the increasing power of women in the service. Because the structure of the military has changed and women can no longer be officially excluded, as they were in the past, men used informal means such as these to regain their power in the military.

Although rapes and sexual harassment have always existed in the service, many women have not reported their assaults because military policy dictates that they must complain to their supervisors who are often the ones doing the harassing. For example, although sexual assaults were a frequent occurrence in the 1970's there are no records of sexual harassment or sexual attacks in the military during the 1970s because every single one of these assaults was silenced by the male chain of command. Rapes and sexual attacks as well as sexual teasing and jokes continued into the 1980s and 1990s (Francke 1997). These sexual assaults subtly discriminate against women by defining them as outsiders and deviants in the service.

In 1991, females served in the Gulf War and continued to expand their roles and increase their power in the service. They engaged in a variety of tasks such as, "pilots, military police, repairmen, nurses and physicians, weapons controllers, communications specialists, and operations officers; they launched missiles, drove jeeps and heavy trucks, flew C-141 transports, refueled tanks, delivered supplies,

grounded harbors and served on ship that bought vital supplies and ammunition to the region" (Sherrow 1996: xxi). By the end of the war 13 women had died and two became prisoners of war (Sherrow 1996). Despite the presence of combat exclusionary laws, the noncombatant jobs that some women were assigned to frequently exposed them to combat situations. Finally, in 1993, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin ordered the Armed Forces to eliminate most restrictions on women in aerial and naval combat. Women could now fly in combat missions and serve on combat vessels (Sherrow 1996). However women are still restricted from other combat positions, such as those involving ground combat, which is a clear cut example of overt discrimination.

According to Armor (1996) the elimination of some combat exclusionary laws has resulted in the increasing presence of women in the service. For example, in 1983, female recruits only comprised 15% of the Air Force, but in 1995, after the combat exclusionary policies were lifted, the number of female recruits in the Air Force rose to 24 percent. In 1983, there were only 13% of female recruits in the Army, but in 1994/5 this number rose to 19%. Between 1985 and 1991 the percentage of enlisted women in the Navy fluctuated between 9 and 12 percent, but by 1995 this number rose to 20%. Because many jobs are still closed to women in the Marines, the number of enlisted women in the Marines has held steady at 5 or 6 percent from the late 1970s to 1995 (Armor 1996). In 1997, officers and enlisted women in all branches of the service, except the Coast Guard, which is part of the Department of Transportation, comprised 13.6% of the armed forces. This is a 2 percent increase from 1993 (U.S.

Department of Defense 1997). Despite the increase in the proportion of women serving, D'Amico (1997) argues that the actual numbers of women in the military have declined since the 1980s due to a drawdown, or reduction in troops. Findings from the Office of the Secretary of Defense (1997) support this argument. Their statistics show that the number of women in the Armed Forces dropped from 231,138 in 1991 to 196,116 in 1995. As of 1996, this number has begun to rise¹.

This history of women in the military illustrates two important points: (1) women have made significant gains in the service since the Revolutionary and Civil wars and (2) women have been subject to many types of discrimination, including laws forbidding pregnancy and parenthood, laws excluding them from combat, sexual harassment from their fellow soldiers and policies which have attempted to control and restrict their sexuality

Overview

In the remainder of this thesis I will explore women's experiences in the military regarding three themes, power, gender and sexuality. In Chapter 2, I will conduct a literature on the military, then I justify the feminist postmodern approach used in this research, and finally I will conduct a theoretical review of power, gender and sexuality, which will show that these concepts are useful in explaining the

¹ As of 1996, there were 12,047 female officers in the Air Force, 750 in the Marines, 10,825 in the Army and 7,825 in the Navy. There were also 52,079 enlisted women in the Air Force, 7,814 in the Marines, 59,039 in the Army, and 46,867 in the Navy (Office of the Secretary of Defense 1997).

problems women have experienced in the service. In this section, I will explain how power is defined in the military. I will also review women's access to power and women's resistance to the current power dynamics. In addition, I will explain how masculinity and femininity are each constructed and the consequences of these constructions for servicewomen. Lastly, I will discuss issues concerning sexuality for servicemembers, such as the control of sex, sexual orientation and sexual identity.

In Chapter 3, I will explain why I choose to use in-depth interviewing and focus groups and how these methods are useful. I will discuss the methodology I used in my research on servicewomen. I will discuss the procedure I went through to gain access to these women. Further I will discuss the grounded theory approach, which I utilize in my study.

In Chapter 4, I will discuss the power structures that restrict women's access to power. I will also detail the legitimate ways that women have access to power and the resistance techniques they utilize to gain access when the legitimate means are blocked.

In Chapter 5, I will review the dominant discourse on gender and how this relates to the discourse on power. I will also review whether or not the veterans supported this or alternative discourses. Lastly, I will review several problems currently facing women in the military including body issues and disciplinary practices, childcare and the separation of dual service couples.

Chapter 6. I will review the dominant discourses on sexuality and how this relates to the discourse on power. I will also review whether the women support

dominant or alternative discourses relating to sexuality. In addition, I will present an analysis of sexual harassment in the service and discuss how this incorporates the dominant discourses on gender and sexuality.

Lastly, in Chapter 7, I will present conclusions to this research. I will review the major theoretical arguments of the research in addition to the findings of this study. I will also describe implications for future research and policies regarding women in the military.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will explore the existing literature regarding the discrimination of women in the military. Specifically, I will review what the current literature says about the various types of discrimination that women experience in the service, the consequences of this discrimination and possible causes for this behavior. In this literature review, I will be using newspaper articles as well as sociological research on women in the military. In this chapter I will also explain the theoretical and methodological shortcomings of past research and how this study compensates for those inadequacies. Finally, I will examine the discourses in the military regarding three themes: power, gender, and sexuality.

Literature Review

Existing Discrimination

As the history of women in the military showed, women are more integrated in the service than ever before, but they are still the victims of discrimination. The extent of this discrimination, however, varies according to the branch of service. For example, after the combat exclusionary laws were revised the number of newly opened positions for women in the military differed among the branches. Specifically, in the

Air Force (99.4%) and Navy (91%) almost every occupation was made available to women. In the Army and the Marines, however, women were still restricted to certain occupations (60% Army and 33% Marines) because of the emphasis these branches place on ground combat, which is restricted from women (Harrell and Miller 1997).

Despite differences in levels of discrimination, women in the military often experience similar types of discrimination, including discrimination due to combat exclusion, sexual harassment, pregnancy and parenthood and the control of female sexuality.

It is especially important to look at the existing discrimination of women in the military because the common discourses regarding women in the service are found within the discriminatory practices. One type of discrimination, as mentioned above, is the exclusion of women from certain combat roles and positions. The seven major arguments used by the military to keep women out of combat are: 1) they might be killed, 2) they have physical limitations, 3) they are not psychologically strong enough to perform under the stress of combat 4) they may become pregnant or have small children 5) they will not bond with male soldiers in combat 6) sexual relationships may develop which could result in a loss of discipline and 7) the image of the United States military will suffer if women are allowed to fight (Decew 1995). Present within these arguments is the idea that women are emotionally and physically weak, sexual in nature and linked to their bodies and reproductive organs. These same exact reasons used by the military to exclude women from combat were cited by the military during the 1940s and 1950s to keep women from entering certain positions or roles in the service. As Sherrow explains (1996):

When challenged about the limitations placed on the positions women could hold in the military, officials said that women had limited physical strength and could not handle heavy equipment or weapons. The possibility of pregnancy was also cited as a problem in deploying women to various locations, as were other physical conditions....

Officials said it would be expensive to modify equipment, clothing, housing, and other facilities to accommodate women and that women and men needed privacy for sleeping and use of bathroom facilities.

In addition, it was said that women lacked the emotional stability, strength, and aggressiveness needed in many military jobs. Besides, the presence of women might disrupt the male bonding process that makes for efficient fighting units. Military officials warned that this could reduce men's motivation to fight since they have often been moved by the idea of fighting to defend women and children (xvi).

As discussed in the history of women in the military, the sexual harassment of women at the hands of their male counterparts has been an ongoing problem. For many women the sexual exploitation of females has become a normal and expected part of military life. One recent case of sexual harassment, brought to light by the media, occurred at one of the Army's training centers known as Aberdeen Proving Ground. Fifty-six female recruits who trained at Aberdeen Proving Ground between January 1995 and October 1996 accused 22 male superiors of numerous sexual related crimes, such as rape, assault and sodomy. Out of four soldiers officially charged with raping female trainees, Staff Sergeant Delmar Simpson was the only one who was found guilty. Simpson also pleaded guilty to having consensual sex with 11 female trainees including 5 out of 6 of his rape victims (Wilson 1997; Ex Drill Sergeant Convicted of Rape 1997).

Another recent case involves Sgt. Maj. Gene McKinney, the highest ranking enlisted soldiers in the Army. In March 1998, McKinney was acquitted of raping six female subordinates. He was found guilty of one count of obstruction of justice, after a tape-recording showed him coaching the testimony of one woman (Gearan 1998).

Firestone and Harris (1994) analyzed data from the "1988 DoD survey of Sex Roles in the Active Duty Military" to determine the extent of sexual harassment in the service. This survey was based on a stratified random sample of 20,249 respondents. The responses were weighted to "provide estimated numbers of respondents that approximate the total active force at the time of the survey" (30). There were 18,154 weighted male responses and 2,095 weighted female responses. Around two-thirds of female respondents (70.1%) and one-third of male respondents (36.9%) claimed that they experienced "sexual talk or behavior at work during the past year that, overall, created an offensive, hostile or intimidating environment" (32). While no one branch stands out above all others as the most prevalent, the highest incidences of sexual harassment occurred in the Marines. The lowest occurred in the Air Force. Women were most likely to state that they were harassed through sexual teasing/jokes (58.3%), sexual looks and gestures (49.1%) and sexual whistles, calls, and hoots (43.9%). Over 97% of the women claimed that they were harassed by males.

Firestone and Harris (1994) divided the behaviors identified as harassment into two groups: individual behaviors and environmental contexts. The behaviors that represent individual harassment, were those that, "focus[ed] on personal sexual issues (rape/assault, sexual favors, touching..., letters/phone calls, dates, sexual activities).

and those that might be considered environmental harassment (looks/gestures, teasing/jokes, whistles/calls)” (35). Environmental harassment is less focused on the individual and more a function of the work place. Data from the survey showed that environmental harassment was reported much more frequently than individual harassment. Data also found that female enlisted persons were more likely to report environmental and individual harassment than female officers. There also appears to be a very strong relationship between environmental and individual harassment. According to Firestone and Harris, “In those work situations in which respondents report no environmental harassment, over 98 percent also report no individual harassment” (37).

Additionally, even though the laws preventing pregnant women from staying in the service were repealed in 1970, pregnant women are still discriminated against from both their male and female co-workers. Fellow soldiers in the service frequently accuse pregnant women of using their pregnancy as an excuse to get out of work. In addition, some pregnant women have repeatedly been given lower job evaluations from their supervisors. Also, military officials still claim, like they did in the Reagan era, that pregnant women and women with small children lower the effectiveness of military readiness (The three biggest reasons for non-deployment during the Gulf War included dental problems, poor physical conditions and insufficient training.) (Francke 1997). This objection to pregnancy clearly illustrates that the military sees pregnancy and motherhood are unnecessary burdens to the service. Women in the

military are defined in terms of their reproductive functions, which are seen as lowering the effectiveness of the service.

Harrell and Miller (1997) conducted a study on the effects of gender integration and military readiness, which demonstrated that feelings toward pregnant women in the service depended on whether or not the pregnant woman was of a high rank. They found a general belief among military personnel that senior enlisted personnel and female officers try to plan their pregnancies so they will not affect the unit. However, there was also a feeling that single, pregnant, junior enlisted personnel are problematic to the unit because they are less likely to have planned their pregnancy and, "more likely to create other problems, such as financial and child-care problems that impacted the unit" (41).

Although the military seems to disapprove of pregnancy in the service, military regulations do not provide funding for an abortion. Further, military rules prohibit servicewomen who are overseas to get an abortion, even if they pay for it. The military does not even provide its servicemen and servicewomen sexual education, which might significantly prevent pregnancies from occurring (Franke 1997).

This contradiction between military attitude and military policy is nothing new. While women in the WAC core were forbidden to become pregnant during their time in the Army because they were, in part, "considered a drain on Army resources, as well as an embarrassment to the corps", WAC policies and Army directives prohibited servicewomen from obtaining contraceptive information. Sexual abstinence was the official approach used by the WAC core to control pregnancy (Meyer 1996).

The obstacles for women do not end once they have a child. Some branches of the military, such as the Army do not allow women to take an extended leave of absence after having a child, which has created some problems for women in the service. For example, Emma Cuevas, a Lieutenant in the United States Army, wanted to leave the service because her demanding schedule as a helicopter pilot in the Army made it impossible for her to properly breast-feed her daughter. Although she tried to leave the Army twice, she was not allowed to quit because Army officials insisted that when she became a cadet at West Point she agreed to stay in the service until May 2000. In exchange for her service, the United States taxpayers footed a \$500,000 bill to educate her at West Point and at a pilot training school. Because of the difficulties in raising children in the military, many military couples in demanding jobs use birth control until they are reassigned. Cuevas and her husband admit they did not. The military feared that if they granted her request they would undermine their system of military commitments. Cuevas' husband, Jeff Blaney, who is also a lieutenant in the Army, tried to sue the Army on his wife's behalf (Mom's in Uniform 1997; Emma's Choice 1997). This case also leads to several questions regarding the treatment of both mothers and fathers in the service; for example, Should fathers be treated differently than mothers? Should fathers and/or mothers be allowed to leave or quit the service? Should the rights of the parents outweigh the rights of the military?

Women must also decide what they will do for childcare. Although the bases have child care centers, these centers are usually inadequate for military schedules. While the parents might have to be at work at 5:30 in the morning, the centers

normally do not open until much later (Francke 1997). Women in the civilian world often face the same sorts of dilemmas. These women must rely on friends and/or family members, strangers, or expensive day care centers to care for their children at odd hours while they are at work. Again, this is another form of subtle discrimination because women who cannot find appropriate daycare for their children may be forced out of the service, or restricted from certain duties. Like motherhood and pregnancy, the military sees the need for childcare as one more unnecessary burden placed on the service.

In addition, some have recently argued that laws prohibiting fraternization and adultery, which appear to be gender neutral, are actually selectively enforced against female servicemembers as a way to control the sexual behavior and/or discriminate against servicewomen. This accusation is supported by the historical record of the military, which shows that in the past the military has openly tried to control the sexuality of female servicemembers and has openly discriminated against women. For example, earlier, I discussed military policies in WWII designed to regulate the sexuality of both civilian women and servicewomen because it was believed that this sexuality presented a danger to male soldiers.

This recent debate on the control of female sexuality was sparked, in part, by the case of Kelly Flinn. Flinn was a former Lieutenant in the Air Force who flew B-52 bombers and had affairs with the husband of an enlisted woman and an enlisted man. She was charged with disobedience, lying to an investigator and adultery. Representatives from the Air Force state that her commander found out about the

affair with the enlisted woman's husband, asked her to stop and she didn't. She also conspired with this man to lie to an investigator. Flinn's lawyer focused his arguments on the adultery charge, but the military insists that it is her lying that was the primary issue. They feel that because she lied to the Air Force she cannot be trusted in the case of an emergency. Flinn agreed to leave the military with a general discharge. While some feel that Flinn broke the rules and should be punished, others believe that men have been engaging in this type of behavior for several years without any reprimands. For example, no one involved in the Tailhook incident, which occurred in 1991 when the Tailhook Association had a convention in Las Vegas and many women were passed through the gauntlet and sexually assaulted, was prosecuted for this behavior. When asked why the men involved in Tailhook were not court-marshaled, one military representative stated that those men did not outright lie and there was not enough evidence to convict them. The other woman in the squadron serving with Flinn has also been court-marshaled for a similar offense. (Associated Press 1997; Beck, 1997; CNN Talkback Live 1997). This seems to be more than a coincidence. Military officials appear to feel that it is alright to discriminate against servicewomen with the use of fraternization and adultery laws.

Some women in the military must also cope with being married to a servicemember. Dual-service couples who would like to be assigned near each other overwhelm the military. The dual service marriage seems to affect wives more than husbands because when couples are not assigned near each other it is frequently the wife who leaves the service to be with her husband (Stiehm 1989). Again this is a

problem faced by both servicewomen and women in civilian jobs. If women in the service were allowed to advance at the same rate as men, they might be more willing to stay. Since it is still difficult for women to reach leadership positions, they have little to gain by remaining in the service.

Rosenfeld (1994) conducted a study to determine if Hispanic women in the service are discriminated against to a larger extent than white women. He surveyed the males and females in the Navy with the Navy Equal Opportunity/Sexual Harassment (NEOSH) survey, "which was designed to assess the equal opportunity (EO) climate and occurrence of sexual harassment among navy personnel" (350). This study was based on a stratified random sample of 10,070 active duty navy personnel, including both enlisted personnel and officers. Data was divided into officers and enlisted for analysis. For both groups on almost every section of the survey males scored significantly higher than females, meaning their perceptions of the service were higher, and it is the women who feel discriminated against. In addition, on every nearly every section of the survey whites scored significantly higher than blacks and Hispanics. When the scores were examined with respect to sex and race very little difference occurred between the groups. Regarding the assignment module for officers, white males had significantly higher scores than Hispanic males and the scores of white females equaled that of Hispanic females. For enlisted, the only differences appeared regarding the leadership module. On this module, white males had significantly higher scores than Hispanic males, white males had higher scores than white females, the scores of white females equaled that of Hispanic females, the

scores of Hispanic males equaled that of Hispanic females and the scores of black males equaled that of black females. It would appear from this data that Hispanics and blacks in the Navy are not doubly disadvantaged, however Rosenfeld did not use focus groups and interviews which may have provided richer data and led to a more informed analysis.

Since the military has increasingly integrated women into the service, overt forms of discrimination have decreased. As this overt discrimination has lessened, the subtle forms of discrimination against servicewomen have begun to rise. Because there are no longer pregnancy laws, or military regulations designed to control female sexuality in the service, some might argue that discrimination against women in the service has all but ceased. However, it is clear from the literature that women are still the victims of invisible sexist practices, which forces them to leave the service or restrict their access to certain occupations. These include the lack of adequate daycare on base, the lack of emphasis on pregnancy prevention, sexual harassment, and gender-neutral laws, which are selectively enforced to control the sexual behavior of female recruits.

Although it is women in the service who are discriminated against, men in the service often describe themselves as the weak and powerless group in the service. Miller (1997) conducted a study based on interviews, ethnographies and surveys of military personnel, which showed that men in the service engaged in resistance tactics, such as not cooperating with their female superiors, scrutinizing the women they come in contact with and using their mistakes to criticize the presence of all women and

engaging in gossip and rumors, sabotage and indirect threats against females in the service. Many men in the service believe that women hold the power because they are subject to less rigorous standards and they are promoted at a quicker rate due to their gender. For example, they state that women have easier physical training standards, use pregnancy as an excuse not to work hard, have better educational opportunities, and use the combat exclusionary laws to obtain better assignments and easier jobs. Further, it's the white male officers that are most likely to resist the presence of servicewomen (Miller 1997). These men clearly feel that the dominant discourse distributing power on the basis of masculinity is beginning to change so they are engaging in resistance tactics to try and retain some power.

Consequences of Discrimination

This discrimination has many negative consequences for the women. For example, the combat exclusionary laws prevent women from furthering their professional development because since promotion is based on combat experience. This probably contributes to women's high attrition rates (Bendekgey 1990). Laws such as these serve to ensure that women cannot obtain leadership positions in the service, which guarantees that the military will remain a masculine domain. Even with the changing laws, women are still excluded from roles and positions within the military that affects their chances of promotion.

Further the increasing number of sexual harassment cases have led to a debate in the military concerning gender integration in the service. Proponents of separating the genders state that this is one way to curb sex related crimes and fraternization.

They say that the natural attraction between the sexes often leads to rape and sexual harassment (Lessner 1996). These arguments appear to support the dominant discourse on gender. Critics of this view reply that gender integration is helpful and necessary because it leads to a sense of teamwork and camaraderie between the sexes. In addition, gender integrated training eliminates the artificially segregated environment that does not exist in the rest of the military (Brooks 1997). This debate raises several questions; such as: (1) Should women be trained only by female drill sergeants? (2) Do female drill sergeants treat women better than male drill sergeants? (3) Do female drill sergeants sexually harass their subordinates? (4) Should women and men be allowed to work together? (5) Should the military revert to a separate women's core for the female soldiers? I asked the women I interviewed similar questions to determine if they support the dominant discourse on gender.

Also, the unofficial military policy against pregnancy has affected the attitudes of women who serve. Since military regulation, in the 1940s, called for the immediate dismissal of both married and unmarried pregnant women, pregnant women were forced to leave the service. If women were given contraception and allowed to control their own sexuality, they may have avoided pregnancy and remained an active part of the military. Today pregnancy restricts women to certain support, or administrative positions in the service; for example, the military frequently removes women from flight duty and ship duty once their pregnancy is disclosed. Because of this, many women hide their pregnancy for as long as possible.

Davis (1997) found that the discrimination against women in the Canadian

military, is related to their attrition from the service. She interviewed 23 women who had previously served in the Canadian forces between January 1990 and August 1993. These women were randomly picked for the study and contacted by letter. Davis found that most of the women left due to specific gender issues. As she states, "The experiences which women described to me, as women in the organization, formed part of their overall experiences as servicemembers. These experiences were directly related to their decision to leave" (186). The gender issues these women faced included, lower job evaluations due to pregnancy, sexual harassment, and harassment, such as being humiliated in front of co-workers. Even though the circumstances under which the women left were not gender specific, women face continuous stress in the workplace due to their gender. Because women are the minority in the military they often have to harder than men to gain credibility and be socially accepted. The ongoing discrimination and stress experienced by the women in their workplace is what pushes them to leave the service.

Possible causes of discrimination

Francke (1997) claims that it is the organizational culture of the service that causes the discrimination of women, particularly sexual harassment. She states, "The military culture is driven by a group dynamic centered around male perceptions and sensibilities, male psychology and power, male anxieties and the affirmation of masculinity. Harassment is the inevitable byproduct" (152). Francke argues that in the military everything good is considered masculine and everything repulsive is considered to be feminine.

Like Francke, Rustad (1982) also illustrates the connection between the organizational culture of the service and the discrimination of women. He conducted an ethnography of Khaki town, which is a "large community in southern Germany in which women were integrated into previously all male jobs in the Army" xx). Before the women began their jobs, he found that the top command of the Army believed that they would have problems adjusting to these male jobs. For example, the Army Administration Center in 1978 put out a report entitled First Report, which identified certain characteristics common to women which would impede their ability to do their job, such as, "size, strength, grip, arm and leg length, endurance, coordination, aggressiveness, toughness, mechanical ability, pregnancy, and self-image" (193). The command did not foresee women performing well in these jobs even before women occupied them. Because the top command develops the norms, rules, values and attitudes of the military, they created an organizational culture opposed to women.

Firestone and Harris (1994) did not specifically focus on the relationship between discrimination and the organizational culture, but they did find that environmental harassment, or harassment that is tied to a male dominated workplace, is highly predictive of individualistic harassment. This seems to imply that when sexism has been institutionalized in the workplace and is apparent through sexual harassment in the form of looks, jokes and teasing, other forms of harassment, such as rape may occur.

Gruber and Bjorn (1986) also linked the organizational culture to sexual harassment in male dominated workplaces. They sampled 150 women who worked

mostly at blue-collar jobs in a final assembly auto plant. Female workers at the plant made up 10% of the workplace, which consisted of nearly 5,200 individuals. They drew their sample from four departments, which varied with response to sex ratio. They found that certain women in an organization are more subject to harassment, linking the harassment with the organizational culture. In their study, they found that women who are a highly visible minority are subject to frequent and severe harassment.

Theoretical and Methodological Inadequacies of Past Research

As explained in chapter 1, current research on women in the military is inadequate, in part, because of the theory that it has informed it. Past research is largely based on modern perspectives, such as feminist, interpretive and critical theories. These modern theories reproduce essentialist notions of gender by maintaining that women are inherently different than men. For example, Francke (1997) states that the military is built around 'masculine values', such as contests, courage, and male vanity. She does not, however, acknowledge that these values are socially constructed. Modern theories also do not focus on differences across groups of women and similarities across genders. Harrell and Miller (1997), for example, found that single parents of both genders are disliked by servicemembers because they are seen as burdening the unit; however, they did not conduct further analysis to compare similarities and differences regarding their coping strategies or the treatment

they received from fellow soldiers. Similarities and differences such as these are important to explore because they demonstrate that women and men are not essentially different from each other and therefore do not have essentially different experiences. Further, these perspectives do not recognize multiple subjectivities, such as race, class, age and gender. Because of this, they do not obtain a full understanding of power in the service. Multiple subjectivities provide servicemembers with different access to power at different points or contexts because power is distributed differently according to each subjectivity. Firestone and Harris (1994) and Rosenfeld (1994) looked at the extent of discrimination across different groups of women and men, but illustrating the extent of harassment among female officers compared to female enlisted personnel is not the same as illustrating the power these women may hold because of their rank or race or class or age. Modern perspectives also do not deal with resistance by women. Miller (1997) did conduct a study, which was influenced by postmodernism, but this study specifically focused on the resistance tactics of servicemen, not women. Because they do not focus on resistance, most of the studies on women in the military portray them as victims. While Davis (1997), for example, showed how women are forced out of the service because of gender specific instances, she did not describe how these women resisted their harassment and discrimination, even if they did eventually leave the military. These theoretical perspectives also do not deal with the social construction of meaning, ideology or discourse. Because of this, these perspectives cannot reveal how discrimination and other constructs such as power, gender and sexuality within the military has changed over the course of time.

As stated previously, the methods used in past research are also inadequate because they either do not provide for an in-depth analysis or they are too difficult to implement. Some researchers conducted their studies by surveying members of the service or conducting a secondary analysis of existing survey data (Firestone and Harris 1994; Rosenfeld 1994, D'Amico), others used qualitative methods, such as interviews (Davis 1997) and ethnographies (Rustad 1982). Still others used a combination (Miller 1997; Miller and Harrell 1997). The survey method is highly inappropriate for this study because it imposes the researcher's views on the women. As such they do not explore women's experiences in the service, but rather the researcher's perceptions of them. Instead of giving the women a voice, surveys only serve to silence them further. For example, Firestone and Harris (1994) recognize that perception is important in the construction of sexual harassment, but they survey the women asking them to respond to their definition of sexual harassment rather than studying how the women frame and interpret this behavior. In addition, interviews and focus groups can be useful, but when used alone, they do not provide enough data to fully comprehend women's experiences. Miller and Harrell (1997), for example, used interviews and focus groups, but they did not use them together on the same groups of people. Because of this they did not have as much data and did not gain as much of an understanding as they would have if they used both in conjunction with each other. Ethnographies of the military have also proven very useful, but this method is very difficult to implement because the service is a closed institution that does not like to reveal information about itself. Not only would it be difficult to get

the soldiers at the base to cooperate with the study, but it would also be difficult to gain access. Miller (1997) was able to gain access into a military base, but this is very difficult to achieve for an unknown researcher.

Theoretical and Methodological Contributions of This Study

This study attempts to avoid these shortcomings by using a feminist postmodern perspective, which according to Nicholson and Fraser (1990), is a combination of both postmodernism and feminism. Like feminists, these theorists utilize large theoretical tools, such as macro societal analysis and historical narratives in their study of sexism "since sexism has a long history and is deeply and pervasively embedded in contemporary societies" (Nicholson and Fraser 1990: 34). The theories, however, are always placed in a historical context because they are "attuned to the cultural specificity of different societies and periods and to that of different groups within societies and periods" (Nicholson and Fraser 1990: 34).

Some feminist postmodern theories are based in a historical framework so their focus is not universalistic. These theories are meant to compare different cultures or different periods within a society, rather than develop universalizing laws designed to explain and predict social phenomena. In addition, similar to postmodernists, postmodern-feminist theory also rejects the notion of a subject of history. As Nicholson and Fraser (1990), state, "It [postmodern feminist theory] would replace unitary notions of woman and feminine gender identity with plural and complexly

constructed conceptions of social identity, treating gender as one relevant strand among others, attending also to class, race, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation" (34-5).

These feminist postmodern theories easily lend themselves to an analysis of women in the military because (1) they focus on larger social institutions, (i.e. the military) where sexism is embedded and (2) they acknowledge that meanings are socially constructed and change with each historical context. Existing research doesn't do this because it acts as though these oppressive structures have always existed and have never changed. Because feminist postmodernists recognize that meanings and knowledge can change, they offer hope to women that their situation can improve. In addition, because of their emphasis on multiple subjectivities, they recognize a variety of power relations which exist in the service, not just those based on economics or gender. This is more realistic because power relations in the service are based on several discourses including race, sexual orientation, gender, age and rank.

In addition, I am using interviews and focus groups in an attempt to avoid the shortcomings of previous methods. These techniques are more relevant because they attempt to give the servicewomen, who have previously been silenced, a voice. Instead of imposing my views on the women, they will have the opportunity to explain to me their beliefs and experiences in the service. In addition focus groups tend to resemble feminist group interviews which have proven to be empowering. As a result, women may leave the group feeling as though they can change the military for the better, which is necessary if any change is to take place. Further, the focus groups

and interviews together will provide data rich with the women's stories and experiences which is particularly necessary for this study. Lastly, by speaking with women away from their base and women who are no longer associated with the military, which would not be possible with an ethnography, cooperation with the study should increase because the women would be less likely to fear punishment for participating in the study.

Overall Theoretical Perspective

The feminist postmodern emphasis on historical narratives is related to the work of Michael Foucault, who used a genealogical method to trace the dominant discourses on both sexuality and punishment through different historical periods in Western society. Foucault defined discourses as, "ways of constituting knowledge, together with social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and the relationships between them" (Weedon 1987: 108). Discourses are important because they provide the fullest understanding of power relations. Power is exercised according to the way discourses define or assign meaning to individuals. Each individual has multiple subjectivities or meanings attached to them (race, class, sexual orientation, gender, age, etc.). As a result, there are multiple discourses and changing power relations. For example, the discourses on power in the military are constructed on the basis of gender, age, rank, sexual orientation, class and race. Because discourses are historically specific, they shift and change throughout time. There are always competing discourses constantly challenging the dominant

ones, or the discourses with the greatest social acceptance. The powerful discourses have a basis in institutions, such as the law, medicine, education or the military. (Weedon 1987; Ramazanoglu 1993).

Foucault also argued that dominant discourses lead to resistance, which "takes the form of counter discourses which produce new knowledge, speak new truths and so constitute new powers" (Ramazanoglu 1993: 23). These alternative discourses provide individuals with space to resist the dominant or "natural" ways of viewing themselves and society. These competing discourses constitute a system of power relations, with each one challenging the others for power. Foucault's historical analysis of sexuality and punishment were attempts to create new discourses and give the disempowered a voice (Weedon 1987; Ramazanoglu 1993; Sawicki 1991).

In Discipline and Punish, for example, Foucault (1977) wanted to challenge the assumptions regarding penal practices. He traced the history of punishment and found that it has shifted from torture of the body to torture of the soul. Instead of being physically harmed, criminals in contemporary society are subjected to disciplinary practices designed to reform their soul. This reform of prisoners was aided by the panopticon, which is a prison that has a guard tower in the middle of a ring of jail cells, which allows the prison supervisors to watch the inmates. With the panopticon, prisoners did not ever know if they were being watched so they were forced to always follow the rules. Foucault showed that surveillance did not just occur in the prison. It is a continuous feature of the workplace and school yard. In contemporary society, cameras and surveillance are a daily part of life.

The military is another institution that uses surveillance to control its members. Women in the service are watched even more than men because of their status as women. One way that women fight this control is to develop techniques of resistance. These techniques lead to alternative discourses or alternative ways of viewing gender, sexuality and power in the military. The resistance tactics of servicewomen will be explored more in later chapters.

In this chapter, using a review of secondary sources, I will explore the dominant or taken for granted discourses regarding three themes: power, gender and sexuality. The general discourses on power, are transformed into discourses on gender and sexuality to control different populations in the service, such as women.

Discourses in the Service

The discourses on power, gender and sexuality are part of the common discourses regarding women in the military. It is important to discuss the discourses relating to power, gender and sexuality because they illustrate the taken for granted ways of viewing men and women in the service and as such, serve to explain the discrimination against women in the military.

Power

Critical theorists view domination and oppression as structural, meaning that, "people's everyday lives are affected by larger social institutions" (Aggar 1998: 4). They also, however, believe that knowledge of the structures can lead to social change. The military, for example, is based on a number of structures, such as gender, rank,

age, class, race and occupation, which are extremely oppressive for certain populations in the service.

Foucault argued that macro power relations embedded in these structures were produced at the micro level. Unlike the traditional model of power, this model defines power as (1) exercised, (2) productive and (3) flowing from the bottom up. Power relations are defined by the dominant discourses, which are continuously reproduced in everyday life through language. Because power relations are produced at the micro-level, resistance to power must be carried out at this level in the form of alternative discourses.

One dominant discourse regarding power in the military defines power as masculinity. For countless numbers of men the military has represented a journey into manhood, defining what it means to be a 'real man'. This equation of power with a masculine ideology so prevalent the service is based on the rejection of femininity and "the belief that power rightfully belongs to the masculine-that is those who display the traditional traits called masculine" (Karst 1991: 505). Power in the service is defined as synonymous with combat because combat experience is necessary to advance to leadership positions within the service. The military argues that women do not have masculine characteristics, such as emotional and physical strength, to successfully serve in combat, so women in the service have traditionally been delegated to support roles. Although combat exclusionary laws have recently changed, women are still prohibited from participating in certain types of combat (Thomas and Thomas 1996: Karst 1991). In addition, women are being integrated into the newly opened positions

at a very slow rate. This is due to a number of factors, such as , "the number of women in each service, their interest in newly opened occupations, the training or retraining times, whether facilities or systems had to be reconfigured, and the rate of movement (both male and female) into that occupation" (Harrell and Miller 1997: 12) Currently, females represent 5.7% of the newly opened positions in the Army, 2.0% in the Navy, 0.3% in the Air Force and 1.7% in the Marine Corps.

Even technologies used for combat are modeled after the masculine body, which (1) guarantees that women cannot engage in combat and obtain power in the service and (2) ensures that women will not enter and feminize the combat experience. Although the combat exclusionary laws were revised in 1993, women had to wait to fly combat planes or serve on combat ships until this technology was changed. The masculine weaponry restricted them from engaging in combat and obtaining power, even after they were legally allowed to fight (Richman-Loo and Weber 1996; Karst 1991).

Smaller men, who do not fit the typical image of a masculine body were also restricted from combat. These men had trouble comfortably reaching all of the pedals and buttons in the combat planes and they had "difficulty operating hatches, damage control equipment and scuttles on ships" (Richman-Loo and Weber 1996: 150). Like women, because these men were not considered masculine, they too were restricted from combat.

One consequence of this power hierarchy is sexual harassment. MacKinnon (1989) argues that recent work on pornography, prostitution, sexual abuse of children,

rape, sexual harassment and battery has shown that men in general view power or domination over women as sexual. Specifically regarding the military, it is clear that the male dominated organizational culture of the service provides men with a great deal of power over women. As such, it could be speculated that men in the service are particularly inclined to harass their female counterparts.

Besides this discourse, power is also related to sexual orientation. Because homosexuality is still defined by military policy as incompatible with military service, even with the Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy, power is distributed only to heterosexuals. The Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy states that, "personnel would not be asked about their sexual orientation and would not be discharged simply for being gay; engaging in sexual conduct with a member of the same sex, however, would still constitute grounds for discharge" (Herek 1996: 8) Since the policy was instituted many argue that it does not protect gay and lesbian servicemembers from harassment or witch-hunts and the number of discharges for homosexuality have actually increased (Herek 1996).

Like women, gay men are also restricted from power in the service because they do not represent traditional notions of masculinity. As such, they "call into question everything that manhood is suppose to mean" (Shilts 1993: 5). Since they are stereotypically thought of as feminine and believed to have feminine characteristics, (Sarbin 1996) it may be that they are excluded from combat because the military assumes that they are not tough enough to be successful in a combat situation.

Aside from gender and sexuality, power is based on a number of other

hierarchies such as," rank, job specialty, education, race, gender, age, marital and family status, and mission experience" (Miller, 1997: 34). Because of the numerous hierarchies, men and women in the service can be both powerful and powerless at the same time (Miller 1997; Harrell and Miller 1997b). For example, the dominant discourse within the service which distributes power on masculinity, provides women with little access to institutional power; however discourses which distribute power based on other characteristics provide women with opportunities to gain power in the military.

To sum, power is produced at the micro-level through discourses and is (re)produced on a daily basis. The power relations that occur at the micro level lead to top down power structures; however power always flows in numerous directions. Because power is produced at the micro level, resistance must also be produced at this level. Resistance leads to alternative discourses or alternative ways of viewing the world. Current dominant discourses in the military distribute power on the basis of masculinity, sexual orientation, position, age, race, and class. This general discourse of power leads to discourses on gender and sexuality, which are used to control certain populations in the service, such as women. In this paper, I will further explore these discourses to determine under what conditions women have access to power and under what conditions women are restricted from power.

Gender

This section presents a discussion on gender in the military. Gender refers to the socially constructed traits that are considered to be masculine or feminine. Sex

refers to the biological sexual organs belonging to men and women. Biological sex is used as the basis for the development of these traits (Renzetti and Curran 1989).

Research on gender construction in American culture has focused on disciplinary practices, which produce a body that is recognizable as particularly feminine or masculine. One way to produce an embodiment that is particularly feminine is to use disciplinary practices to create a body of a certain size and configuration. One practice used by women to discipline the body is dieting. Women in American society are obsessed with thinness and are constantly on diets because those who are overweight are often teased and ostracized. Since their body craves food, many women begin to see their body as the enemy, which often leads to eating disorders. Exercise is another discipline imposed on the body by women to try to maintain a certain weight or try to shape and mold various parts of their body. Women are also told that certain facial expressions, which might lead to wrinkles and destroy their bodily perfection, must be suppressed (Bartkey 1990).

Women also use disciplinary practices to generate certain gestures, mannerisms and postures; for example, women are reluctant to extend their body in a loose or care-free way. An analysis of over 2000 photographs by German photographer Marianne Wex has shown that:

Women sit waiting for trains with arms close to the body, hands folded together in their laps, toes pointing straight ahead or turned inward, and legs pressed together. The women in these photographs make themselves small and narrow, harmless; they seem tense, they take up little space. Men, on the other hand, expand into the available space; they sit with legs far apart and arms flung out at some distance from the body (Bartkey 1990: 68)

In addition, when women walk they are required to take small strides, hold their arms close to their sides, and their palms against their body. When accessorize with heeled shoes, women are thrown forward and off-balance, which shortens their stride even further. Women are also required to cast their eyes downward and look pleasant and smile at all times. Women must also display a degree of sexuality in their posture: for example, they are told to thrust their chest out and hold in their stomach when they stand and to move their hips from side to side when they walk. However, women are also warned about displaying too much sexuality. While they are trained to wear revealing low-cut dresses and blouses, they are also informed not to bend over and reveal too much. Finally, when a woman is walking with her mate (presumably a male), he may virtually direct or lead her everywhere they go (Bartkey 1990).

Other disciplinary practices are used by the women to display their body as decorative surfaces; for example, women are required to remove the hair from their face, legs, thighs, underarms and (with bikinis) vaginal area. To remove the hair from their face women use a variety of torturous methods such as ripping the hair out of its roots with tweezers, pouring hot wax on their face tearing it off when it cools and having their hair electronically removed with electrolysis treatments. Women are also required to keep their skin smooth and use a litany of cleansing products and lotions to do it. Even the application of these products follows precise rules; for example, eye cream is dabbed on and gently rubbed toward the nose. If women want really good skin, they must use a variety of devices besides skin products; for example, "...electric massagers; backbrushes; complexion brushes; loofahs; pumice stones; blackhead

removers" (Bartkey 1990: 70). Women must learn how to care for their skin in a many types of situations, such as extreme heat, extreme cold, pollution, chlorinated water, saunas and even stress. In addition to the cleansing regimens, women must use a variety of hair care and make-up products, such as, "...foundation, toner, covering stick, mascara, eye shadow, eye gloss, blusher, lipstick, rouge, lip gloss, hair dye, hair rinse, hair lightener, hair 'relaxer" (Bartkey 1990: 71). Women are also not suppose to be inventive with their cosmetics. They are expected to use the cosmetics in the same traditional way every day (Bartkey 1990).

Connel (1995) believes that this social constructionist theory, which states that gender is produced through disciplinary practices on the body, is problematic because agency is eliminated. "The body is a field on which culture determination runs riot" (50). Specifically looking at masculinity, he found that the embodiment of masculinity is located in bodily performances such as in sporting events or laboring jobs. He does not see these as disciplinary practice imposed on the body creating these performances. Instead he sees these performances as bodily reflexive practices. "With bodies both objects and agents of practice and the practice itself forming the structures within which bodies are appropriated and defined, we face a pattern beyond the formulae of current social theory. This pattern might be termed body reflexive practice" (61). In other words the body engages in a practice which is meant to define masculinity (or femininity) and the reflection on this practice affects conduct in a variety of ways. Bodily reflexive practices are not based purely on the individual, they involve social relations, social interaction and symbolism; for example a boy who

throws a ball around with his father might realize from his father's teasing that he is different than most men, which leads him to explore the possibility that he is gay.

In the military, masculinity and femininity are constructed in opposition to each other. Masculinity represents strength and aggression, while femininity signifies weakness. Because of this, femininity is seen as a fundamental flaw or failure. For example, men who don't perform well in basic training are referred to as "pussies, chickens, or girls". In addition cadence counts, or rhymes used in marching refer to male sexual aggression over women and female subordination (Karst 1991; Thomas and Thomas 1996).

When women join the military and enter a traditionally masculine domain they are forced to cross over gender lines. This is because they are leaving their traditionally feminine role in the family to join a traditionally masculine occupation. Women, who enter this masculine field, immediately present a challenge and a threat to the masculine ideology. Some researchers maintain that men respond to these challenges by degrading their female counterparts. For example, Francke (1997) argues that servicemen frequently use sexist jokes and comments to bond together and diffuse the threat that women pose to this all male culture. Pornography, rapes and sexual attacks are also a common occurrence on military bases and training camps (Francke 1997).

Women in the military who are performing traditionally masculine tasks also present a threat to masculinity. When women prove that they can successfully handle a masculine job, men can no longer use their jobs as affirmations of their masculinity.

In order to defuse the threat that women pose to their masculinity, men often label the women they work with as non-women or lesbians (Rustad 1982; Thomas and Thomas 1996).

This explanation of harassment is supported by organizational research which has shown that when the structure of the organization places men in positions of power, they use that opportunity to sexually harass their female subordinates, whom they believe represent a threatening minority (Gruber and Bjorn 1986). The organizational culture of the military appears to be intertwined with organizational opportunities; for example, because the dominant masculine ideology, that is characteristic of the military forbids women from serving in combat and reaching powerful positions in the service, they are not promoted to certain ranks and are especially susceptible to harassment. Although women in the military are much less likely than servicemen to reach positions of power, no studies that have explored how those female leaders treat their subordinates. This project will attempt to determine if women in leadership positions harass their subordinates or treat them with respect.

Women who enter the military academies, challenge the male ideology and are degraded in the service. In 1976, when women were first allowed to join the United States military academy, they were given a uniform with the acronym WUBA (Working Uniform Blue Alpha). Male midshipmen quickly transformed this acronym into a misogynist term for their female counterparts. They developed WUBA (Women Used By All) jokes, which describe the female recruits as promiscuous, overweight

and unfeminine. Even today each these jokes still exist in the academies. For example:

What's the difference between a WUBA and a warthog?
About 200 pounds, but the WUBA has more hair.

What's the difference between zebras and WUBAs?
WUBAs fuck for their stripes (Burke 1996: 208)

Challenges to the dominant masculine ideology are also responsible for the exclusion of women and gays from combat duty. These servicemembers, who stand in opposition to masculine values, are restricted from combat, which prevents them from obtaining leadership positions in the service. The restriction of combat duty appears to be based on the notion that only those who display masculine traits, such as aggression and toughness, should be allowed to fight in combat. Women and gays are thought to be physically and emotionally weak.

Many of the same arguments used to keep women out of combat are also applied to gay men; for example, the military states that the maintenance of good order, discipline and morale will be affected if gays and women are allowed to join. The military maintains that if women are allowed to fight men will compete for their attention and the unhappiness experienced by the losers will negatively affect morale. When used to exclude gay men, the argument states "... (1) homophobic men would aggress against gays (2) aggressive gay men would prey upon younger men who are insecure in their sexuality; (3) gay men without partners would act out their jealousy" (Thomas and Thomas, 1996: 74). Essentially these arguments state that if women and

gays are not excluded from combat, men will not behave in an appropriate fashion (Thomas and Thomas 1996)

Another argument states that if women and gays are not excluded from combat, the bonding and unit cohesion necessary for fighting will diminish. Again, it is believed that the inclusion of women will lead to a sexual competition between males. Some also think that gays would never bond with their unit because gay men would never be accepted by straight men. It also has been contended that women and gays are as weak and non-aggressive and will not be able to come to the aid of their fellow soldiers. (Thomas and Thomas 1996). This assumes that women have a much different physical body type than men, however; there is actually a lot of overlap between men and women.

Still another argument states that if women and gays are allowed to fight the integrity of the rank will suffer. This argument states that if females become leaders men will not be able to follow them because this is contrary to the dominant male ideology. Further, it is believed that leaders must embody the values of their followers and since women and gays do not embody traditional masculine values, they could not possibly make good leaders. In addition, some feel that gays and lesbians will use their rank to gain sexual favors if they are allowed to become leaders (Thomas and Thomas 1996). Critics of this argument point out that this is no different than heterosexual men who frequently harass and assault their female counterparts.

Other arguments against gays and women serving in combat include: (1) heterosexual men will have no privacy (2) the image of the military will suffer (3) the

reluctance of the public to see gays and women fighting for their country, and (4) the security risk that women and gay men might pose. This last argument is based on two assumptions: 1) that gay men would rather reveal government secrets than let the military discover they are gay and 2) that women would reveal secrets if they were being tortured or could use those secrets to gain favors. This argument depicts women and gays in typically feminine characteristics and heterosexual males in typically masculine characteristics. Women and gays are described as weak, emotional and manipulative, while heterosexual men are defined as strong, aggressive and patriotic (Thomas and Thomas 1996).

Many fear that if the military continues to become feminized, women may eventually be allowed to fight in combat, which would completely blur the gender lines between appropriate masculine and feminine behavior. If women were allowed to fight in combat they would take on the traditionally masculine role of protector. Since masculinity is constructed by its opposition to femininity, this is a huge threat to masculinity. If women are allowed to participate in masculine pursuits, men will no longer be able to affirm their masculinity (similar to the discussion of women in masculine occupations earlier). The gender lines in the service are maintained through a variety of techniques, including:

...the revised combat exclusion rule's 'preparedness' criterion used to limit the number of women entering the Army and the Marines. Formal and informal mechanisms encourage women's attrition. These mechanisms include the revised gay/lesbian exclusion rules, new occupational strength tests, and equipment configurations. Women in the military encounter a 'chilly climate in which men and masculinity are valorized and women and femininity are devalued or valued only for particular purposes/

in particular roles. The focus on soldier-mothers leaving children to go off to the Gulf, the military's complicity in prostitution around bases, and continued sexual harassment serve as reminders that women are 'outsiders' (D'Amico 1997: 220).

Women also have certain health care issues that are manipulated by the military to limit their career in the service. For example, many medical facilities on bases do not offer gynecological care or breast cancer treatment centers. In addition, the military's strict policies on abortions may also make it difficult for women to continue in certain jobs within the service. Aside from health care, women are still excluded from some combat positions, for example, they are not allowed to be infantrymen. Further, lesbians and heterosexual women are still labeled as lesbians and harassed despite the Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy (D'Amico 1997).

The language of war is also constructed around traditional notions masculinity. This discourse is an attempt to maintain the masculinity in the service. According to Davis (1996), "this masculinity has been called into question by the 'quagmire of Vietnam' by the failure to rescue US hostages in Iran or "disaster in the desert" and most recently, by the very public discussion of the sexuality of military personnel precipitated by Clinton's effort to end the gay/lesbian exclusion policy" (203). In addition, this remasculinization is needed to counter what some describe as the feminization of the service. This feminization is in part blamed on the increasing numbers of women in the service (D'Amico 1997).

The sexist language is used, for example, to describe peace-enforcement operations, which occur when the military uses force in order to achieve a political goal. These are referred to as "quick-fucks" or "spitting or pissing contests" and

resemble a gang bang/gang rape. During these enforcement missions, the military performs feats showing off its prowess, while their allies serve as both accomplices and audiences to these feats. The United States military uses these enforcement operations to reconfirm their political and power status, which they conceptualize as masculinity. In addition, the remasculinization which has occurred since the cold-war era, portrays the military in masculine terms, as active, powerful and in control, while its enemies are described in feminine terms, as weak, passive, and helpless (D'Amico 1997).

Similar to the United States military, Theweleit's (1987) writings on the Freikorps, who were the petty bourgeoisie men who fought the revolutionary working class in the years following World War I, showed that these men also constructed their identities in opposition to femininity. They had a hatred for women, especially women's bodies and sexuality that often appeared in their fantasies. Out of a pre-Oedipal struggle to develop the self came a fear that women would swallow, engulf or annihilate them.

Their fantasies involved three types of women. One is the absent woman, including wives and fiancées left behind by the soldiers. These women were ignored and left unnamed and unnoted in the Freikorpsmen's diaries. The second type of women is the white nurse who is described as good and courageous, but is already dead. The white nurse is often described as (1) a mother figure who is already with the angels protecting her wounded son and (2) the wounded man's sister, who follows her brother and shapes her life after his. In the fantasies, the mother/sister are the true

love objects for these men. The men depict the women as martyred angels who are husbandless because of their jealousy. These women are pale as death to show how they too are suffering because they cannot be with the man they love. The third type of women described in the fantasies are the red woman. These women are always described as a proletariats and a whores, armed and ready to kill and castrate the Freikorpsmen at any moment. The red woman uses her sexuality as a way to lure the soldiers into an ambush. Her sexuality presents a danger for the men.

The military (re)constructs masculinity around certain values, in the process also re(creating) femininity. Masculinity and femininity are created in opposition to each other. Women are defined as weak and sexual in nature and they are linked to their reproductive functions and their body. Men, on the other hand, are defined in terms of strength, heterosexuality, and are free from bodily constraints and reproductive functions. Because masculinity is a construction and not a fixed trait, I argue that some women in the military will be able to fulfill some of these masculine ideals better than men. I will also explore the discourses challenging the masculine ideal. In addition, I will discuss specific problems that women encounter in the military due to their gender, such as childbirth and childrearing issues.

Sexuality

Like gender, sexuality is also socially constructed, which means that, "sexuality is not a property of the body, nor a natural tendency, but is formed within and informed by the society in which one lives" (Bell 1993: 15). Although the social construction of gender and sexuality are both separate domains, they tend to be

intertwined. What is particularly interesting to social constructionists is, "the articulation between specific features of each system, namely how the configurations of the sexual system bear on the experience of being female and, conversely, how the definitions of gender resonate with and are reflected in sexuality" (Vance 1989: 9).

Contemporary and past beliefs about sexuality are shaped or constructed through a number of ideologies on sexuality. One of these ideologies is sexual essentialism, which is, "the idea that sex is a natural force that exists prior to social life and shapes institutions" (Rubin 1989: 275). Supporters of this perspective claim that sex is, "unchanging, asocial, and transhistorical" (Rubin 1989: 275). This essentialist thought has been reproduced in academic studies on sex particularly within the medical and psychiatric fields.

Another ideology is sex negativity. This perspective, which is rooted in the Christian tradition, defines sex as a, "dangerous, destructive and negative force" (Rubin 1989: 278). Historically, Christianity only allowed sex to be performed within the confines of marriage, as long as it is not enjoyed too much. Underneath the idea that sex is sinful is the assumption that the body is inherently inferior to the soul. This ideology has now taken on a life of its own and is no longer dependent on religion. In Western culture, for example, "virtually all erotic behavior is seen as bad unless a specific reason to exempt it has been established" (Rubin 1989: 278), such as love, marriage or reproduction (Rubin 1989).

Still another ideology expressed in the social construction of sexuality is the fallacy of the misplaced scale. This ideology states that because religion has

associated sexuality with virtue (as described in sex negativity), there is an enormous amount of significance attached to each sexual act: for example, Europe and America have historically regarded a single act of consensual anal sex as grounds for execution. In some areas in the United States today, sodomy is still considered illegal and carries a 20-year prison term (Rubin 1989).

Yet another ideology found among socially constructed ideas on sexuality in contemporary Western societies is the hierarchical system of sexual value. Western culture places marital, reproductive, heterosexuals at the top of this scale. Beneath them are unmarried, heterosexual couples in a monogamous relationship followed by almost all other heterosexuals. Masturbation has an ambiguous place on this scale. While it does not have the stigma that it did in the early 19th century, it is still considered an inferior sexual substitute to partnered encounters. Although stable, long-term homosexual relationships are beginning to be viewed as acceptable on this sexual scale, gays and lesbians who frequent the bars and act in a promiscuous manner are near the bottom of it. The groups at the bottom of the scale who are so hated in this culture include, "transsexuals, transvestites, fetishists, sadomasochists, sex workers, such as prostitutes and porn models, and the lowliest of all, those whose eroticism transgresses generational boundaries" (Rubin 1989: 279). These individuals at the bottom of the scale are often presumed to be mentally ill, disreputable, criminal, have low physical and social mobility and a low socioeconomic status. What is acceptable and unacceptable regarding sexual behavior is dictated by religious taboos, medicine, psychiatry and popular culture (Rubin 1989).

All of the discourses on sex, whether they are based in religion, medicine, psychiatry or popular culture, assume a domino model. This perspective states that there is a line, which distinguishes acceptable sexual behavior from that which is, "dangerous, psychopathological, infantile, or politically reprehensible"(Rubin 1989: 282). It is feared that, "if anything is permitted to cross this erotic DMZ, the barrier against scary sex will crumble and something unspeakable will skitter across" (Rubin 1989: 282). Some forms of sexuality which were once considered dangerous and bad are now crossing the border into acceptability, such as unmarried couples living together, masturbation, and certain forms of homosexuality that involve monogamous couples, for example (Rubin 1989).

Lastly the concept of benign sexual variation has also been used in the construction of sexuality. While variation is a fundamental property of life, sexuality is suppose to conform to one standard. The idea is that, "there is one best way to do it, and that everyone should do it that way" (Rubin 1986: 283). Although different discourses regarding sex dictate different standards, each one values one sexuality above all others. In religion it is procreative marriage, while in psychology it is mature heterosexuality (Rubin 1989)

Because certain ideologies regarding sexuality, such as those mentioned above, are often oppressive to women, many females have turned to feminism for guidance; however, feminist sexual ideologies have been criticized as well (Heise 1985; Rubin 1989). For example, Heise (1985) claims that the anti-violence stance depicts an essentialist notion of men and women by portraying men as aggressive by nature and

women as weak and powerlessness. However, there are many examples indicating that women are able to resist and gain some power for themselves. For instance, poor women in India are able to gain control over their sexual lives by engaging in a socially sanctioned religious fast, which is imbedded with taboos against sex that even violent men will not break. These essentialist notions are only used to provide justification for the status quo. These essentialist ideas regarding sexuality tend to also overlap into gender because men and women are assigned specific traits, which affect their sexuality. Rubin (1989), states that feminists, in general, do not have the tools to analyze sexual oppression. When issues become increasingly focused on sexuality and less on gender, feminist analysis becomes unclear and is often irrelevant.

In his book, *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault argued against the essentialist explanations of sexuality and sexual desires. Instead he maintained that sexuality was formed through specific historical practices. He highlighted discourses and power relations regarding sex to show that new forms of sexuality are constantly being produced. In the Victorian era, for example, the dominant discourse on sexuality dictated that sexuality should be repressed. While it has been argued that this repression was linked to capitalism because sex is incompatible with an intensive work ethic. Foucault believed that, "the essential thing is not this economic factor, but rather the existence in our era of a discourse in which sex, the revelation of truth, the overturning of global laws, the proclamation of a new day to come and the promise of a certain felicity are linked together" (7). Foucault's aim was to examine the discursive practices that lead to the production of power and knowledge and maintain

this discourse on sexuality. Since this time there have been a steady proliferation of discourses on sex. Christianity played a part in this by emphasizing that sex be confessed and verbalized. In the 18th century sex became a police matter and was regulated through public discourses. The discursive explosion of the 18th and 19th centuries lead to an emphasis on heterosexual monogamy and a scrutiny of unnatural forms of sexual behavior. These perversions are the product of power exercised on pleasures and bodies. Throughout the 19th century sex has been incorporated into two forms of knowledge: a biology of reproduction and a medicine of sex. Historically, the truth about sex has been drawn from two procedures. The first is *ars erotica*, in which "truth is drawn from pleasure itself" (57). The second, which is prevalent in Western society, is by mode of confession. This confession has been constituted in scientific terms through a number of tactics, such as, "through a clinical codification of the inducement to speak" and "through the postulate of a general and diffuse causality", among others.

In the military, the official discourse on sexuality appears to be a function of the sexual scale where laws, policies and regulations define certain sexual behaviors, such as sex harassment and rape, fraternization, adultery, and homosexual sex as unacceptable. Despite this, there are also many indications that a more powerful informal discourse, which states that men may use these laws and policies to discriminate against women, often contradicts this official discourse. For example, although the military claims to have a zero tolerance policy against sexual harassment, indicating that anyone who engages in such behavior will be punished, at this point

there no laws in the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) criminalizing sexual harassment. Men may use the absence of such laws as free reign to harass. As Francke states, "Though the UCMJ provides penalties of a bad conduct discharge and one year imprisonment for dueling (Article 114) and three months of confinement and forfeiture of pay for abusing a public animal (Article 134), there are no such safeguards for abusing women" (175). Although there are penalties for rape, there are no regulations criminalizing the subtler forms of harassment, such as catcalls, whistles or jokes. Because these actions are not considered to be illegal forms of sexual harassment, charges must be filed under other laws such as conduct unbecoming an officer or a gentleman (Francke 1997)

In addition, when women are harassed they are suppose to file an equal opportunity complaint through their chain of command so their claim can be investigated. This system seems to prevent women from reporting harassment because it is often their superiors that are doing the harassing. If their commander refused to investigate their complaint, they could file a complaint with the inspector general, but unlike their civilian counterparts serving alongside them in the service, they are not allowed to sue the military under the Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Further, commanders are encouraged to ignore or deny sexual harassment complaints because promotions and awards are granted on the basis of problem-free leadership (Francke 1997).

Other laws in the service designed to regulate sexual relationships include fraternization and adultery. Fraternization laws state that, "one should not date a

person whom one commands or who commands one, and that junior enlisted personnel should probably not date NCOs or officers" (Steihm 209). Regulations prohibiting fraternization were originally created because it was feared that an officer in a supervisory position would be unwilling to send a junior officer who, was their friend, into a life-threatening situation. Since the increase of women in the military, this law has been used to prevent supervisors from developing a sexual bond with their female subordinates. The Army, Navy and Air Force did not develop official policies against fraternization until the 1970s and 1980s. Recent cases, such as the one involving Kelly Flinn, have shown that these laws are used against women much more often than they're used against men. These laws are also used to discriminate against homosexuals. There is a fear that gay men and lesbians should not be made supervisors because they will demand sexual favors from their subordinates (Thomas and Thomas 1996; Kauth and Landis 1996; Steihm 1989).

As mentioned earlier, there are also many laws forbidding homosexuality in the service. While these laws used to dismiss homosexuals because of their sexual orientation, they now only dismiss gays if they are actually caught engaging in homosexual sex. However, these laws are based in stereotypes the military has regarding gay men. Stereotypes about gays are socially constructed in different ways at different historical points to meet political and social objectives (Foucault used the same premise in his writings on the history of sexuality and punishment.) Homosexuality has been constructed as a sin, a crime, an illness and a defining characteristic of a minority group. The recent debate concerning gays in the military

appears to revolve around two of these discourses: homosexuality as a sin and homosexuality as a characteristic of a minority group. The homosexuality as sin construction places a negative stigma on lesbians and gays men so their very presence in the service is seen as contaminating the military (Sarbin 1996).

The root of the stereotypes against gays comes from a crossing of the gender lines. Gay men are defined as feminized males and lesbians are defined as masculinized females. Stereotypes, such as this are one-dimensional. The individual differences and gay people are ignored and the stereotype becomes elaborated. One stereotype is that homosexuals cannot control their sexual desire. This is clear in many of the military's arguments against homosexuals in combat, such as they will prey on heterosexual men insecure in their sexuality (Sarbin 1996).

In the past sexual orientation was considered to be a crime. Before the Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy, homosexual men and women were dismissed from service merely because they admitted to being gay. At that time homosexual status was associated with homosexual conduct. Like the laws mentioned above, these were also used unfairly against heterosexual women to dismiss them from service after they successfully handled masculine jobs or rejected the sexual advances of men (Francke 1997; Thomas and Thomas 1996). Like the discourses on gender and power, this informal discourse also seems to define the military as a male domain.

Summary

From the formation of the United States women have played an integral part in

the military. Although they have basically been delegated to support positions, it seems that women have always wanted to take their place beside men fighting for their country. While their role in the military has expanded in recent years and they're now permitted to engage in certain types of combat, they still have a long way to go before they reach equality in the services. Currently, servicewomen face many obstacles to a career in the military, including: combat exclusionary laws, sexual harassment and assault from their fellow officers, discrimination due to pregnancy and motherhood, discrimination from laws used to control the sexuality of servicemembers and dilemmas that arise from being married to another servicemember.

I have studied three areas within the service currently affecting women: power, gender and sexuality. Most of the literature focuses on dominant discourse on power, which defines masculinity as powerful. This discourse on power is related to the strength and aggression as well as domination over others such as women. In this study I will explore several discourses relating to power, including the dominant discourses distributing power on the basis of rank and sexual orientation. Because of these numerous discourses, I believe that women can gain some institutional power in this military system. Women who are of high ranks and women who are heterosexual are given access to power. However some heterosexual women have been labeled as lesbians when they've challenged the dominant masculine ideology in the service. There is no way of knowing the exact percentage of women in the military who are lesbian, however; Shilts (1993) estimates that during WWI it may have reached 80%, during the early 80's it may have dropped to around 35%, and currently it may stand at

around 25%. This is substantially higher than the proportion of gays and lesbians in the general population, which is estimated to be 10% (Wells, 1997). Although no studies have been conducted estimating the population of gay men in the military, a study by Rogers and Turner (1991) sampled men across the nation who had previously served in the military. This study indicated that homosexual behavior by men in the military may be at the high range of the general population; however, this behavior may have not occurred during their time in the service (Lever and Kanouse 1996).

The masculine ideology, which defines power relationships in the service, is also apparent in gender roles. As indicated above, the dominant discourse on gender states that masculinity and femininity in the service are created by their opposition to each other. Women are defined as weak, while men are defined as tough and aggressive. Women are also defined in sexual terms, linked to their body and reproduction. Men are defined as heterosexual, strong, freed from reproduction/constraints of the body. Women who enter the service and cross over the gender lines challenge this notion of masculinity and appropriate gender roles. Women are often sexually harassed by their co-workers to defuse the threat that women pose to their masculinity. Combat exclusionary laws, limited roles of women in the service and reproductive constraints are only some of the ways the military polices the gender lines.

The military has also defined certain sexual behaviors as deviant and criminal. There are laws or policies against sexual harassment and rape, fraternization, adultery and homosexuality. The formal discourse on sexuality constructs sex as 1) natural 2)

bad 3) nonviolent 4) monogamous and heterosexual and 5) based on the domino theory where 'normal' sexual behaviors must be separated from inappropriate ones. Although the military promotes a formal discourse concerning the control of sexuality, that anyone who engages in these behaviors will be punished, the military has also created an informal discourse which states that these laws and policies may be used to discriminate against women. Again, this relates back to the dominant discourses on power and gender, which states that the military is based on traditional masculine values and the rejection of femininity.

Some of the issues regarding the military incorporate all of the themes. For example, heterosexuality / homosexuality in the service relates to power, in the form of an oppressive structure, gender, by proscribing appropriate gender roles, and sexuality, by dictating appropriate sexual behaviors. Although this issue touches on all themes, I will specifically discuss it with regards to power and sexuality. Sexual harassment also touches on all three themes, but it will be primarily discussed with regards to sexuality.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL REVIEW

Little empirical research has been conducted on the roles and experiences of women in the military. Ever since the Vietnam War the military has been virtually ignored by sociologists because of the conservative labels pinned on those who study this institution (Miller, personal conversation). The few researchers who have conducted empirical studies on women in the military have used a variety of methods, such as ethnographies, interviews and surveys. These researchers have focused on the discrimination of women in the service, the consequences of this discrimination and the causes (Miller 1997; Harrell and Miller 1997; Davis 1996; Rustad 1982; Firestone and Harris 1994; Rosenfeld 1994)

As mentioned in Chapter 1, my own research relies on focus groups and interviews to explore the following questions: (1) What are the ways that women have access to power in the service? (2) Under what conditions do women experience this access? (3) How are women restricted from power in the service? (4) To what extent do women support the dominant discourse on gender in the military? (5) To what extent do women promote alternative discourses on gender in the military? (6) What issues do women raise regarding the difficulties they have faced in the military? and (7) What do women think of the laws regarding the control of sexual behaviors in the

service? I asked these questions in order to explore the ways the women may reproduce or construct dominant and alternative discourses in the service. I examined the discourses in the military because they lead to the fullest understanding of power relations. They show that depending on the context or the particular subjectivity, power relations may change.

These questions arose out of assumptions I had about the service at the start of my research, which were grounded in my personal biography. I grew up in a poor, Jewish household that encouraged political expression to fight against discrimination. I became interested in women in the military when I viewed many nonacademic news reports, which documented the sexual harassment and assault that they faced in the service. Because of this I began this study with the idea that women in the military are an oppressed group held down by various power structures present in all branches of the service. I believed that the military was a sexist, male-dominated institution, which discriminated against women on a regular basis. While I understood that the military offered women benefits, I still viewed the oppression of women as the primary issue. I was not only concerned about the various ways that women were oppressed, but I was also interested in how they fought or resisted their oppression. I wanted to explore how they gained power in a male-dominated organization.

Because of my questions and assumptions, which focus on power structures and discourses in the military, I am applying the postmodern and critical paradigms to this research. The postmodern paradigm includes a variety of postmodern theories all classified under the general category postmodernism. Although there are important

differences among each strain of postmodernism, they all share some of the same suppositions, such as a rejection of (1) dogmatic assumptions, (2) the modern notion of progress and liberation, (3) strict disciplinary boundaries and (4) the authority of the author. As cited by Rosenau (1992), postmodernists also:

Support a re-focusing on what has been taken for granted, what has been neglected, reasons of resistance, the forgotten, the irrational, the insignificant, the repressed, the borderline, the classical, the sacred, the traditional, the sublimated, the subjugated, the rejected, the nonessential, the marginal, the peripheral, the excluded, the tenuous, the silenced, the accidental, the dispersed, the disqualified, the deferred, the disjointed..." (8).

Although there are many postmodern theories, they are usually grouped together as either skeptical postmodernism or affirmative postmodernism. Skeptical postmodernists, "argue that the post-modern age is one of fragmentation, disintegration, malaise, meaninglessness, a vagueness or even absence of social parameters and societal chaos" (Rosenau 1992: 15). Because these postmodernists are consumed by feelings of hopelessness, they do not support any type of political action. In addition, skeptics reject all possibilities of truth because they see truth claims as manipulations developed by those in power to support their dominant status. Skeptics also say that truth can never be separated from language, meaning that truth appears to exist, but it is actually a manifestation of the dominant discourses.

Unlike the skeptical postmodernisms, affirmatives are optimistic about the future. They believe that progress can occur through, "positive political action (struggle and resistance) or content with the recognition of visionary, celebratory

personal nondogmatic projects that range from New Age religion to New Wave lifestyles and include a whole spectrum of postmodern social movements" (Rosenau 1992: 16). In addition, even though affirmatives do not believe in a universal "Truth", they maintain that they can locate "local, personal and community specific" (77) truths. Ultimately, however, like the skeptics, affirmatives maintain that truth does not exist independent of discourses and language.

My research is specifically informed by the affirmative postmodern perspective. In this research, I focus on the notion of dominant discourse to reveal the "natural" or taken-for-granted way of viewing power, gender and sexuality in the military. I also look for alternative discourses supported by women in the military, which present a challenge to the dominant discourse. These alternative discourses are often created through resistance tactics, which I also seek to explore. In fact, this research, which attempts to promote alternative discourses and deconstruct the current discourses in the service is also a resistance tactic. The primary goal of this research is to encourage women in the military to continue to fight for progress. Like the affirmatives, I am not seeking to find any universal Truths.

My research is also informed by the critical perspective. According to Guba and Lincoln (1996), critical theorists believe that reality, "is shaped by a congeries of social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender factors and then crystallized (reified) into a series of structures that are not (inappropriately) taken as 'real', that is natural and immutable" (110). In addition these theorists argue that the values of the researcher influences and impacts the findings of the research, or what is known.

Lastly, as stated by Guba and Lincoln, critical theorists maintain that, "The transactional nature of inquiry requires a dialogue between the investigator and the subjects of the inquiry; that dialogue must be dialectical in nature to transform ignorance and misapprehension (accepting historically mediated structures as immutable) into more informed consciousness (seeing how the structures might be changed and comprehending the actions required to effect change)..."(110).

Critical researchers also focus on empowering their research subjects and encouraging a struggle for change. Like postmodernists, critical theorists do not attempt to hide under the notion of objectivity. They freely announce their viewpoints and their struggle to improve mankind (Kingcheloe and McLaren 1994).

My research is greatly influenced by the critical feminist theorists. Specifically, these theorists maintain that women's oppression, or lack of power, stems from their relationship to the means of production. They argue that women can only end their suffering once this relationship is changed. Some of these theorists believe that class oppression and sexual oppression are two different, but interacting systems, while others believe that capitalism and patriarchy are part of the same sphere. Either way, these feminists argue that capitalism and patriarchy are both oppressive social structures. The patriarchal structure within the military both creates and is created by the dominant discourses regarding women in the service.

Although the critical paradigm might seem to be at odds with postmodernism because of its modern foundation, Agger (1998) argues that critical theories have many similarities to postmodernism. For example, post-modernism builds on Marxism

by showing the ways that modern theories are no longer adequate for studying the social world. In addition, postmodernism expands on conflict theories by “develop[ing] a deconstructive discourse theory capable of identifying and criticizing ideologies, now found not only in doctrinal works, such as bourgeois economic theory or religion but also in the dispersed texts of popular culture and advertising” (74). Further, broadens Marxist theories by exploring the experiences of numerous marginal groups, such as women, people of color and gays and lesbians. Also, postmodern theories maintain that literary empowerment can lead to political empowerment, similar to critical theorists like Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Lastly, like Marx, postmodernism does reject certain tenants of modernity, it merely “picks and chooses among modernity’s benefits, also emphasizing modernity’s costs” (76). Marx, valued technology and social and political advances that came with capitalism, but he also believed capitalism was “an imperfect, even contradictory social system designed to negate its own gains by producing class warfare” (76).

Research Design

In order to explore the relationship between women and power and support for alternative and dominant discourses regarding power, sexuality and gender in the military, I conducted in-depth interviews and focus groups with female veterans. I chose to use multiple methods for this study because one method would be too limited to provide a full understanding of their experience (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). These inductive methods not only allowed me to fully question women about their time in

the service and their beliefs regarding the military, but they also allowed me to explore subjects that I had not considered before speaking with the women.

Sampling

When I began this research, I decided that the best way to reach female veterans was to contact clubs and organizations affiliated with veterans. By reaching the women through an organization and meeting them outside of the military, I hoped that the women would feel free to speak openly about their experiences without fear that they would be reprimanded for agreeing to participate in the study. Most of the organizations I encountered, which were affiliated with the service, had a small membership, consisting of women who served in W.W.II. Because I wanted to speak with a diverse group of women, I looked for an organization with a more varied membership. Upon the recommendation of a few military clubs, I submitted a proposal to the local Veterans Clinic and was approved to conduct my research. The only stipulation was that I would submit a copy of my research once I was finished with this project. My contact person at the clinic, who helped me find women to interview, was the nurse practitioner at the women's center.

Because I was not given a list of women attending the clinic, I could not conduct any type of random sample so I had to depend on a convenience sample. I sat in the waiting room of the women's center at the clinic and spoke with women leaving from their appointment. Because many women at the clinic suffered from debilitating illnesses and could not take the time to speak with me, the nurse practitioner, mentioned above, introduced me to those women who were able to talk. When

meeting the women. I told them that I was a graduate student writing a thesis on women's experiences in the service. While a random sample would have allowed for representativeness, this was not necessary for the study because it is an exploratory look at women's experiences in the service.

The women were at the center because they were suffering from physical health problems, not psychological disorders. I decided not to submit a research proposal to psychiatric services because I felt women in the psychiatric ward might be suffering from disorders related to their time in the service, which would be worsened if they were forced to relive these experiences for the sake of my research. The women I interviewed at the clinic were retired or no longer on active duty. Instead of coming to the VA clinic, women on active duty frequent the military hospital on base.

Besides speaking with veterans at the VA clinic, I also met female veterans through various departments on the university campus. I left a description of my project with the veteran services department and on campus and asked them to refer as many women as possible. I was forced to advertise for the veterans because the department could not give me a list of female veterans due to confidentiality constraints. Like the veterans at the clinic, the women who contacted me after hearing about my project through veterans' services, were no longer in the military. Most of them were retired and were using the military to pay for their education.

By chance I also met a few women through a snowball sample, which began when I became ill and saw a doctor at the health center on campus. While the doctor was diagnosing my illness we began to discuss various issues in my life including my

research. During this discussion a nurse walked in and volunteered to give me the names and numbers of other nurses on campus who are retired from the service and working at the health center. These nurses also agreed to be a part of my study.

Data Gathering

I interviewed the women using semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A for copy of questionnaire). Although I had certain topics that I wanted to discuss, such as why they joined the service, what their training was like, and what issues affected them the most, I let the women guide the conversation. Instead of asking them formal or close-ended questions, I allowed them to discuss whatever they felt was important regarding a particular topic. According to Frey and Fontana (1994) unstructured interviews are an attempt to, "understand the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (366). I also needed to use unstructured interviews because I analyzed how they framed issues regarding power, gender and sexuality.

I stopped the interviewing process after speaking with 36 women. I felt that this was a good place to end the interviews because I reached a saturation point and was beginning to hear the same stories repeated. Additionally, since most samples contain between 30 and 50 respondents, I felt that this was an appropriate sized sample (Lofland and Lofland 1995). Twenty-nine of these interviews were lengthy and in-depth while six of the interviews were a shorter version of the longer ones. Because these shorter interviews were conducted over the phone, I was not able to record the

interviews and obtain direct quotes, although they still provided a great deal of information about their experiences.

During the interview, I asked the women a variety of demographic questions including (1) age, (2) education, (3) marital status, (4) number of children while in the service (5) branch of service and (6) time served. I also asked the women several items designed explore their experiences and beliefs regarding power, gender and sexuality in the military. Regarding power, I asked women questions like: " Was your training co-ed or were you separated from the males?", "How were you treated during training", and "What do you think about sexual harassment in the service?". In terms of gender, I asked the women questions such as: "What do you think about the differences in physical requirements among the genders?", "Do you think women should be allowed to fight in combat?", and "How do you think a women's experience in the service is different than a man's?". Lastly, concerning sexuality, I asked the women the following question: "How do you feel about the adultery and fraternization laws in the service" I also asked women a variety of questions, like: "What are your most positive and negative memories of the service?" and "How would you be different if you had not joined the military?" in order to explore any issues that were important to the women that I had not considered when creating my questionnaire.

The women I interviewed served in different branches of the service at different times and in different locations. The majority of women served in the Army (14), although some served in the Air Force (10), the Navy (8), the Marines (2) and the Coast Guard (1). During their career many women served in both active duty units

and reserves. In fact, I interviewed two women who are currently in the reserves. The average time spent in active duty was 6 years (Mean = 6.33) and the average time spent in the reserves was 10 years (Mean = 9.500). An overwhelming number of women were enlisted (25), although some were officers (8). One woman joined the Army twice, where she first served as an enlisted person and then as an officer. Another woman joined the Navy as an enlisted person, before joining the Army where she served as an officer. Most of the women were married during their military career (23). A considerable number of these women were partners with another servicemember (20). Around one-third (12) of the women had children while they were in the service (see Appendix C).

In order to get at as many of their stories as possible, and to learn more about their experiences, I asked these women to attend a focus group with other female veterans. I conducted four focus groups for this project. Focus groups are composed of a small number of people who are gathered for a one-time discussion of a particular topic. During the discussion the researcher asks a few questions and then watches how the participants discuss the topic. Each group is tape recorded and the ensuing transcripts are analyzed. Rather than using experts, these groups depend on public opinion. The small number of people and the lack of experts makes these groups similar to the group interviews used by feminist researchers. These group interviews help to empower the female participants by allowing them to build off each other and share their experiences and ideas (Reinharz, 1992). Because of the similarities between the groups, I felt that focus groups, like group interviews, could be

empowering for female veterans. Since I knew that many veterans shared the same types of experiences, I thought that the focus groups might allow these women to see that they are not alone in their suffering, which would comfort the women and encourage them to continue to fight the male-dominated power structure of the military.

The literature on focus groups is unclear regarding whether groups should be heterogeneous or homogenous. Some research has shown that group compatibility, or whether or not group members share the same particular characteristics, has important implications for effective group performance. In evaluating compatibility between group members, "emphasis is placed upon the relationships among particular characteristics of group members, rather than the fact that group member characteristics are homogenous or heterogeneous" (Stewart and Shamdasani 1994: 43). For example, some groups may be similar in gender, but not in socioeconomic status, while other groups are similar in both gender and socioeconomic status. Although both groups are similar in gender the fact that members of one group differs in socioeconomic status may alter the data (Stewart and Shamdasani 1994).

Although some researchers believe that homogenous groups are more effective than heterogeneous groups, other believe that heterogeneous groups are more effective because, "a variety of skills, perspectives and knowledge can be brought to bear on the performance of tasks" (Stewart and Shamdasani 1994: 43). For example, Rhue (1978) found that the effectiveness of groups increased in mixed gender groups. Dyson, Godwin and Hazelwood (1976) found that mixed gender groups encourage leadership

behavior, " which generally facilitates objective task accomplishment through the exercise of interpersonal influence and effective communication" (Stewart and Shamdasani 1994: 44). In other words, these groups are more efficient at encouraging participation and accomplishing problem solving tasks than same sex groups (Stewart and Shamdasani 1994)

Although the focus groups I used were homogenous in the sense that all of the participants were women who had served in the United States military, they were also heterogeneous because women from all different eras who served at different bases in different locations were included in the same groups. Aside from the fact that my sample consisted of 36 women so I could not separate the women into groups according to branch, time and location and rank, I felt that heterogeneous groups were best for this topic because I believed that the different experiences the women brought to the group would encourage discussion of the issues affecting women in the service. As it turns out, in groups where the women were similar to each other, there was less discussion and interaction among the participants.

Because the literature recommends that each focus group contain between six and twelve people, I scheduled at least six women in each group (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990; Vaughn, Schumm and Sinagub 1996). I arranged the groups at least two weeks ahead and I called the women a few days before scheduled meeting to confirm. Although several women agreed to come to a focus group, many did not show in the end. For example, five women came to the first group, even though seven agreed to participate. Seven people also agreed to show for the second group, but only

three came and participated. For the third group nine people were scheduled to show, but only two came to the group. Because of the low numbers I tried to run a fourth group with the women who did not come to their scheduled group meeting, but only two of those women agreed and came to this make-up group.

There are several factors which served as deterrents to participation in the focus groups. First, I was not able to offer incentives, such as money or gift certificates, to ensure cooperation and participation. This technique is often used by research corporations to guarantee a successful project. Second, I think that many women did not come to the group because of the length of the session and the day it was held. Each woman was informed in advance that the focus group would last approximately four hours, and be held on a Saturday morning. Although it was held on this day because most women worked and could not take time off to attend the group, many women probably did not want to give up their Saturday morning to participate in this focus group. Finally, some women might not have come because it would have been too upsetting for them to relive some of their negative experiences in front of a group of strangers. Compared to women with negative experiences, those with positive experiences were much more likely to attend the groups.

Like the interviews, the focus groups were also semi-structured (see Appendix B for a copy of the questionnaire). Although I developed a questionnaire for the focus groups, I let the women guide the conversation once they began to focus on a particular topic regarding their experiences in the service. Often times the women

discussed issues that I never considered; for example, during many of the groups, the conversation centered on the body issues and weight regulations in the service.

Each focus group lasted approximately two and one-half hours. During the focus groups I explored the issues of power, gender and sexuality in the service by presenting the participants with film clips about women in the military and highly publicized military cases and asking their opinions and reactions to them. I began by using the Aberdeen case as a springboard into a discussion of power relations in the service. I asked the women about their experiences with drill sergeants and whether the recruits had any power. I also asked the women about the differences and similarities between male and female instructors and whether females and males should be separated in training. Next, I showed film clips of both *GI Jane* and *Private Benjamin* to begin a discussion on gender relations in the service. I asked the women whether they felt that males and females should have different physical requirements and if they believed that women should be allowed to participate in combat. I also asked if women were expected to be particularly masculine or feminine in the service. Because these clips also showed examples of sexual harassment, I again questioned women about the causes and solutions to sexual harassment in the military. Thirdly, I discussed the Kelly Flinn case with the women as a lead in for a discussion on sexuality in the service. I asked the women their feelings regarding adultery and fraternization and whether these laws are selectively enforced against women. Rather than looking at another case on sexuality, I read the women the military's arguments against homosexuality and asked what they thought about this law. Finally, I

reviewed the case of Emma Cuevas to discuss parental issues in the service. I asked the women if the military should be more supportive of parents, if parental rights outweigh military obligations and if the military should change their maternity policy. This case also brought up many questions dealing with fathers, such as should a father be allowed to leave the service to take care of his children and should there be different rules regarding fathers and mothers in the military.

Qualitative research such as this, which uses multiple methods is called a bricolage. The bricoleur is the name given to the researcher who is employing the methods as a solution to a concrete problem. In this research I became a bricoleur when I conducted my focus groups using film clips, media clips and academic examples to explore the experiences of female veterans. The participants of the focus groups also had to become bricoleurs when they were forced to draw upon these multiple methods as a springboard into their experiences in the service (Denzin and Lincoln 1994).

Because the women included in the focus groups were the same women I met through the VA clinic and various campus organizations to compose the focus groups, the focus groups, like the interviews are not representative of sample of female veterans or women in the military. While the data obtained from the interviews and focus groups is not representative of women's experiences in the service, it still provides an idea of women's experiences in the military. Although I am not able to generalize these findings to the larger population of women in the military, since this is a descriptive and exploratory study I am more concerned with developing a

preliminary understanding of women's experiences in the service, specifically regarding power, gender and sexuality.

Data Analysis

I analyzed my data using open, axial and selective coding. Although this is typically used in the grounded theory research method, I found it helpful for this research. In open coding, "events/actions/interactions are compared with others for similarities and differences. They are also given conceptual labels" (Corbin and Strauss 1990: 12). By coding the data in this way, the researcher is able to develop more questions about the phenomena he/she is studying and can begin the theoretical sampling process. For example, in my research, I first grouped together events indicating sexual harassment, resistance tactics, and power issues.

As cited by Corbin and Strauss (1990)," In axial coding, categories are related to their subcategories, and the relationships tested against data. Also further development of these categories takes place and one continues to look for indications of them" (13). At this point, I began to break the categories into subcategories and ask under what conditions the different subcategories occurred, in what context they occurred and what consequences occurred. For example, I broke sexual harassment down into sexual teasing and jokes, and rape and sexual attacks. I found that all types of harassment tended to come from people in supervisory positions, when the women were alone with their harasser. Sometimes the harassers were punished and sometimes

they weren't, depending on whether or not the commander was at all sympathetic to the women who were harassed.

Lastly in selective coding," all categories are unified around a 'core' category, and the categories that need further explication are filled-in with descriptive detail" (Corbin and Strauss 1990: 15). This core category represents the central themes or topics of study. Again, using my research as an example, the categories I developed on power hierarchies and resistance tactics were all classified under the general category of power.

Reliability and Validity

According to Babbie (1992), "reliability is a matter of whether a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object, would yield the same result each time" (124). However, this traditional definition of reliability is not useful for postmodernists because these theorists are not seeking to replicate data. Instead they hope to locate meanings during specific historical periods in specific places (Janesick 1992: 216) Because the research process is founded in the interpretations of the researchers, there can never be an exact replicability of findings. However, there can be reliability in the sense that general findings may be reproduced by others (Addler and Addler 1996).

As stated by Babbie (1992), "the term validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning under consideration" (127). In the past many qualitative researchers have viewed their findings as valid if they

represented the truth regarding the beliefs or perceptions of the people being studied (Blumer 1969; Malinowski 1922). One way to ensure validity is to achieve a consensus among the respondents regarding the topics being studied. However, it must be acknowledged that research can never find an objective truth because the findings are always influenced by the researcher's interpretations. In this research I tried to preserve my subjects voice by giving them access to the report and allowing them to contact me with any questions. I will be giving the VA clinic a final copy of this thesis and I have requested that a copy be sent to the Women's Clinic, where I conducted a majority of my interviews.

In addition to this measure of validity, several researchers have made other suggestions to increase the validity of qualitative research. For example, some believe that "validity depends on the 'interpretive communities' or the audiences - who may be different than the researchers and academics-and the goals of the research" (Altheide and Johnson 1994: 488). I used several of the new forms of validity, mentioned by Altheide and Johnson (1994) in my own work. For example, regarding the validity as ideology, where, "the focus is on specific cultural features involving social power, legitimacy and assumptions about social structure" (488), my research can be considered valid if I have clearly critiqued the inequalities in the service affecting women in the military. Also with regards to validity as relevance or accuracy, where research is conducted "to benefit and uplift those groups often studied", my research can be considered valid if I am able to demonstrate to the public the gender discrimination in the service, which may lead to social change.

Ethical and Political Issues

There are also several ethical and political issues affecting this research.

Perhaps one of most important concerns confidentiality (Punch 1994). In order to ensure that the interviews were confidential, I spoke with the women who agreed to participate in an empty room in the clinic so no one could overhear what they were saying. Although I tape-recorded the interviews, I promised the women that no one would hear the interviews but me and I would destroy the data as soon as the project is completed. On the informed consent form that each woman signed, I agreed to use a pseudonym instead of their real name, if they did not want their identity revealed. Although I promised confidentiality, I could not promise the subjects anonymity for a number of reasons: (1) the nurse practitioner who introduced us knew who they were (2) they gave me their phone numbers and (3) their names, addresses and phone numbers are in the computer and can be accessed at any time.

Since I also asked these women to share their stories with others during the focus groups, I wanted to assure the women that the others in the group would not divulge their identities or stories to outsiders so I asked each woman who attended the groups to sign a piece of paper promising not to reveal anything that occurs during the group sessions. Although this is not a guarantee of confidentiality, I hoped it would make the women feel at ease and encourage them to speak out on a variety of issues. Similar to the interviews, I used a camera to tape the focus groups, but promised that no would view the tapes but myself and my advisor and I would destroy the tapes when the groups have been transcribed.

Another ethical issue important to this research is to refrain from causing harm to the subjects (Punch 1994, Babbie 1995). I attempted to free my subjects from harm in a number of ways; for example, first I had my research proposal and my informed consent form approved by the human subjects committee on campus. This committee approves all research and ensures that all research subjects are not in danger when they participate in the study. In addition, I also tried to prevent or lessen any possible emotional angst the women might feel by allowing them to guide the discussions during the focus groups and interviews, without pushing them to reveal information or stories that they didn't feel comfortable discussing. Although I asked the women about their experiences, I also assured the women that they should not feel pressured to reveal anything that they did not want to discuss.

A third ethical issue, briefly touched on in the above paragraph, concerns informing the respondents about the purpose and nature of the research. Before I interviewed the respondents at the clinic, I had each woman sign an informed consent form to ensure that she knew the purpose and nature of the research before she began to participate. So that the women could understand their role in the research process, I used the form to describe why I needed their participation in the interviews and focus groups, the benefits and risks of engaging in the research, and the rights the women had in the research process, such as withdrawing their participation at any time. I also promised to keep their identities confidential and I listed the numbers of my advisor and the Human Subjects Committee that the women could call if they had any questions about the research (Punch 1994).

Because I conducted some interviews over the phone I was not able to give these women the informed consent forms, until they came to the focus group. I explained to the women that the informed consent form would normally be given before the interview, but since I would not see them until the focus group I couldn't do this. I verbally told the women the nature and purpose of the study and asked for their permission over the phone. I feel this is an appropriate way to obtain informed consent because survey researchers use this method when they conduct telephone interviews (Frey 1989). Before I conducted the focus groups I had these women read and sign the informed consent.

Punch (1994) also discusses many political issues relevant to qualitative research. One political aspect of fieldwork that may negatively impact the study is my identity as a women who has never served in the military. Some subjects might have refused to speak with me, or refuse to be honest with me, because of my identity. On the other hand, subjects might have told me different stories than they would have told a women who had been in the service. Wolfe (1996), for example, mentions a study conducted by a Chicana researcher and an Anglo researcher which attempted to determine how subjects acted toward researchers who shared their standpoint and researchers who did not. She found that depending on the researcher's standpoint the respondents shared different aspects about themselves. It could be that the women who spoke with me, share parts of themselves that they might not share with another researcher.

A second political issue of field work that may affect my research is my

personality. Since I am the research instrument it is my biases that will shape the research. When I interpret others interpretations, as explained by Geertz (Denzin and Lincoln 1994), my biases affect those interpretations, for example, my interest in the oppression of women tends to color my interpretations of stories and events that are told to me by the group (Punch 1994). The research process is not grounded in objectivity and neutrality.

Summary

This research is informed by the critical and postmodern perspectives because these paradigms are most useful for an analysis of power structures and discourses present in the service. In order to determine the extent that women in the military support current or alternative discourses on power, gender and sexuality, I conducted in-depth interviews and focus groups with female veterans who served in different branches of the service at different times and in different locations. The data was analyzed through open, axial and selective coding. This coding not only allowed me to fully explore power, gender and sexuality, but it also allowed me to find new themes that I had not considered before beginning the research. This research also addressed many ethical issues including: confidentiality, preventing harm to subjects, and informed consent. This research is also affected by two political issues: my identity and my personality. While my personality has influenced my interpretations, my identity as a civilian woman has encouraged and diswayed participation in this study.

CHAPTER 4

POWER IN THE MILITARY

As indicated in the theoretical and literature review, power exists both at the micro and macro levels. It exists at the micro level in the form of discourses and at the macro level in the form of power structures. Although Foucault believed that discourses produce power structures, he also noted that power constantly flows in all directions. By this he meant that the discourses and power structures act in a dialectic manner and influence each other. The discourses on power are also embedded in the discourses on gender and sexuality, which are used to control the experiences of women in the military.

This chapter will explore a few of the macro power structures in the service, including gender, rank and sexual orientation. Specifically it will examine (1) the ways that women are restricted from power in the service; (2) the ways they resist these power structures at the micro level (3) and the ways that women have access to power in the service and the conditions that they experience this access.

Structures Which Limit Women's Access To Power

Gender

Traditionally in the military, servicemen have been given access to power, while servicewomen have been denied this access because of their status as women. Power in the military has been synonymous with combat because combat experience is necessary for promotion to leadership positions (Thomas and Thomas 1996; Kraust 1991).

Power in the military is based on a masculine notion and represents physical and emotional strength. Women are restricted from combat positions because the military believes that they do not possess masculine characteristics, which will allow them to successfully engage in combat. Power also signifies domination over others, such as women. As shown throughout the history of women in the military men have both overtly and subtly discriminated against women in order to dominant women and restrict them from power.

Many of the women I interviewed for this study discussed how they were restricted from certain jobs and occupations during their time in the service. For example, one woman who served in the Navy in the early 1960s was trained in electronics and given film library duty because at the time she served women were typically excluded from traditionally masculine occupations. As my conversation with Carrie revealed, she was well aware of the unequal power dynamics in the service:

Carrie: I was the only woman in my division, this is when I'm out of boot camp stuff. And what did I get to do? Film library.

Jen: So you weren't allowed to fight like the men?

Carrie: No, not then because it was even before they allowed the

women on ships. Okay, now women are allowed on Navy vessels, there are supply ships, hospital ships...

Jen: Besides you not being allowed to fight like men, how else was the military sexist?

Carrie: You went through all this training. I went through 9 months of electronics training. Closest I got to anything electronic was [to] rewind the film machine.

Jen: And that's because you couldn't serve on the ships?

Carrie: The military, Jen, it's very sexist.

Jen: Men who had your same skills and who had shore leave, who were not fighting, if they had [an] electronics background did they do electronics jobs?

Carrie: The men I was in the division with, they're the ones that taught the pilots in those link trainers that I was telling you about. They're the ones that repaired all the motion picture projectors and all the repair stuff on these training aids and training devices. I got the film library.

Another woman, Janice, wanted to become a SEAL in the Navy, but was forbidden to join because of her gender. She states:

Janice: Went into the _____ program, which is a six-year enlistment for underwater type activities. It's as close as I could get to being a SEAL. They wouldn't let women be SEALS. My fifth week of boot camp was considered a work week and it was the week that they announced the Desert Storm War so they canceled all of the programs that a lot of people were offered and sent you to the needs of the Navy. My program was canceled, my enlistment went from six years to four years and I had a choice of going on a Destroyer Tender out of Norfolk Virginia or to an A school in San Diego to be an electrician. So, I was an electrician.

Jen: So the program that you were involved in, was that strictly for women?

Janice: No, it was men and women.

Jen: Could men advance from that program and become a SEAL?

Janice: Yeah

Jen: But women couldn't.

Janice: Right.

When asked how her experience in the service differed from a man's, she stated:

Janice: While I was in, from 90 to 93, from December to December, women were not allowed on combatant ships, destroyers, aircraft carriers things like that. Anything that went to actual war. The last year that I was in they were just experimenting with a few female officers. They'd start with them and put them on combatant ships. So my experience is different because I was restricted to what I could and couldn't do and where I could and couldn't go. I got a lot of cleaning assignments where a lot of men didn't.

Jen: Even if your skills were the same.

Janice: Right

The restrictions against women from participating in certain occupations were also reiterated during my conversation with Karen, who was an officer in the Air Force from 1986 to 1991. Although Karen does not say that she was restricted from certain positions because of her sex, this seems implicit in her statement:

Jen: You mentioned that you were a tank navigator in the Air Force. Is that the job that you picked or is that the job that was assigned to you.

Karen: A little of both. When I went to navigator school there were only a certain career fields available to me. And that was one of them that I was interested in.

Although power in the military is typically defined as access to combat positions and occupations within the service, power can also refer to privileges and benefits. When women were beginning to be integrated into the service they did not have many of the same benefits as their male counterparts. Mary, who served in the Army from 1970 to 1976, claimed that at the beginning of her time in the service women did not have the same housing benefits as males.

Mary: Well, okay I was married twice when I was in the military and the first time it was that I wasn't allowed housing, he was retired and from my rank we weren't allowed the same benefits as what a male had at all. The second time, I got quarters right away.

Jen: So the first time, you weren't allowed to receiving housing quarters for your husband.

Mary: We weren't allowed to ship household goods. we were not allowed housing. Even if I would have been way up there as a Colonel I would not have been allowed housing because I was a female. If you're doing the same work as a male and you're not allowed the same thing then it was not...And they were talking equal opportunity at the time.

Jen: The second time you were married it was better.

Mary: Yeah, we had housing immediately.

Bernice, who served in the Army during W.W.I, stated that at the time she served, there were different rules for men and women. Often the rules for servicewomen were much harsher than the rules for servicemen. For example:

Men got free mailing privileges and the women did not. for a while until we fought the chaplain had to get special permission to hand out to women the new testament book[s] that are for free. If you died in 1943 fighting in the service women did not get veteran privileges at all. No free burial. But some people. like the American Legions, they gave them a military funeral anyway. Even in the 60's a women could be married to a civilian man and unless she could prove he was incompetent physically and mentally he didn't get dependent privileges.

Restricting women's participation in the military and restricting the benefits they receive is one form of overt discrimination against servicewomen. This discrimination restricts women's access to power because they are excluded from leadership positions and they are not allowed to receive various privileges. Although women in the military now receive the same benefits as their male peers and are allowed to participate in many of the same jobs, they still experience overt discrimination during their time in the service because they are legally forbidden to

participate in certain occupations, such as those that involve ground combat or service on submarines.

In addition to overt discrimination, women also face subtle forms of discrimination. For example, Dawn, an officer in the Air Force from 1986 to 1992, claimed that support positions, which a majority of women occupy, result in lower numbers of promotions and are often the positions eliminated when the military downsizes. She reveals this during a discussion on discrimination in the military with Karen:

Karen: Right off the bat, I can't think of anything, any incident where I felt discriminated by the Air Force. I really had it pretty good as far as the people I worked for and the people I worked with. I don't think I've been treated differently.

Dawn: Yeah, then again it might have, the difference might be that your job was more flying related and the closer you get to the actual flying mission like Dawn's job as a navigator, those people are kind of given, I don't want to say special treatment, but when you're in other jobs like I was one of the support officers, I think that maybe a female that is not a pilot or navigator can possibly experience more discrimination and not that anything was blatant with me, just little things that I'd pick up like...

Karen: less chances for promotion

Dawn: Yeah, chances for promotion are less. I was in a career field when I was in a command post that only like a very small percentage got to major, where people who are pilots or navigators a larger percent get promoted up the chain. And then in 92 when they were doing a big drawdown, a lot of people in support positions were just asked to leave the military, and that happened to me.... They were downsizing and I think there's a lot more women in the support positions and then when they downsize they want to keep the pilots but then they want to cut back. So if you're in a medical job or a flying job, you're more protected than if you're in a support position.

In addition, the restriction of women from certain career paths in the service is

not just due to laws and regulations. For example, recruiters are given the power to place women (and men) into suitable occupations. Although placement is suppose to be based on aptitude tests, some women state that recruiters place people wherever they see fit. As Samantha, who served in the Air Force from 1985 to '93, stated:

My recruiter showed me my exams. This is where you scored high at. And these are the career fields that fall in line with that. But I've heard other's say that their recruiter just verbally told them, " Well you scored high in electronics. That's what you need to go into." Or, "The only thing open right now is this."

Recruiters, such as these, may have adopted the dominant discourse on power, which states that power rightfully belongs to the men in the military. They could be attempting to place women in powerless positions in the service, despite their test scores, because of their belief that men should be the only ones with access to power.

Although my study did not investigate whether or not women serving in newly opened combat positions are subtly discriminated against because of their gender, this should be explored in future studies. For example, are women and men being treated equally on these ships? Are men and women being given the same assignments and jobs as their male counterparts? Are women assigned to these newly opened positions being unofficially excluded from certain jobs?

Rank

A second structure in the military, which forms the basis for hierarchical power relations, is rank. This structure is informed by the discourse, which states that those of high ranks are powerful in the service. Servicemembers are divided into officers and enlisted personnel when they join the military. Civilians entering the service with

a baccalaureate degree may join the military as officers, while those with lower educational levels must join the service as enlisted personnel. Officers are given many privileges that enlisted members of the service are not; for example, officers are given a much higher salary. In 1992, the lowest ranking enlisted was paid \$785.70 a month, while the lowest ranking officer was given \$1504.80 per month and a raise every two years. Officers also occupy the highest and most prestigious positions in the military. Once a recruit enters the military as an enlisted, it is very difficult to advance to an officer position (Profile 1992)

The female veterans I spoke with indicated two hierarchies in the service based on rank (1) that officers are much more powerful than enlisted personnel and (2) specifically within officer ranks and enlisted ranks, the higher-ranking individuals have an enormous amount of power and control over their subordinates. However, it is much tougher to be at the bottom of the enlisted rank than the bottom of the officer rank because the lowest ranking enlisted personnel comprise the lowest ranks of the entire service. These power hierarchies affect both women and men with low ranks.

Women and men are socialized into the military through a series of degradations and humiliations, which are carried out by high-ranking personnel. The degradations occur from a loss of autonomy upon entrance into the military and result in a stripping away of identities. This is typical of total institutions such as the military, which are defined by Goffman (1959) as, "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of

life" (xiii). The degradations and humiliations appear to be most prominent during boot camp. Many of the enlisted women I spoke with discussed the abuse they endured at the hands of their higher-ranking superiors, such as their drill sergeants. For instance Samantha explained how her drill sergeant routinely mistreated the recruits:

Sam: When you come in the military active duty there's a point during your training where you have to go and sign paperwork for your career field that you've chosen or they've selected for you and whether you're Guard or reserve everyone goes as a formation and our instructor left us outside in January Lackland Air Force Base in Texas, just standing for like five hours. Everyone went in did what they had to do. I didn't have to go in and sign anything cause I was in the Guard and everything was already done. Everybody got done and he just left us. Two girls had frostbite. He got reamed for it but he was aloud to do that. You know.

Jen: It seems very cruel and brutal.

Sam: Very cruel. There were times when like we'd all get done eating and he'd just leave us, he had a male friend and a female and both of them would just leave us. You could see them through the window there sitting there having coffee or just bullshitting. And we'd be out there standing in the freaking cold. Sure you're under an overhang, but its still cold.

Jen: Two people got frostbite.

Sam: Its just the unnecessary bullshit. What does that teach you. To be disciplined and be where you're told? I couldn't get into that.

Evelyn, who served in the Army in 1979 discussed the humiliation trainees were forced to endure on a daily basis. She states:

Well, they don't treat you like a human being. You're constantly cursed, and I don't mean just cussed. I mean horrible words. This is day in and day out. The girls couldn't even go through their barracks in their gowns or anything because they bang on the door once or twice and walk right on in, the men drill sergeants would. Man in the room and they walk right in. They didn't give you time.

Then they'd say well, you're suppose to be ready. You can't throw a robe or something on in two seconds.

This example seems to indicate that the degradation ceremonies are sex specific. Although drill sergeants may walk into the men's barracks without knocking, it does not represent the same invasion of privacy and humiliation that it does when they freely walk into the women's barracks.

Although military officials claim that the harassment has lessened, they admit that in prior years instructors were abusive to the trainees. According to Navy Capt. Cornelia Whitehead, commander of the Great Lakes Recruit Training Command, "We used to bring recruits in totally exhausted on the first night, and we would traumatize and terrorize them. We'd scream at them constantly, but not tell them anything, because we wanted to them to try and figure things out themselves. We called it 'breaking them down' so we could 'build them back up'. And mostly what it did was make them want to jump the fence and quit" (Kitfield 1998). I was given a similar explanation by Karen, who said, "Basically boot camp is to break people down. They have to be obedient to whoever is their commander so that kind of sets them up to be way down as far as power goes."

Aside from teaching recruits to accept their low positions and not to question their superiors, it appears that some drill instructors harass recruits because their rank gives them so much power that they can get away with being abusive. This seems evident not only in the above stories, but also in the Aberdeen case which was discussed in the focus groups. Most of the women agreed with Sandy who stated:

[The drill sergeant is] God. He's your mother, your father,

he's everything over you. For men, I think the real crime, the real problem here is drill sergeants had that authority and they abused that authority. Whether it happens in the military, whether it happens in basic training you know you see this happening in the civilian counterpart too. Anytime you have a supervisor that has positional power over subordinates this kind of thing can happen.

In fact many women also reported that they were degraded and demeaned on the job. For example, Angie, who was an enlisted in the Army reserves and called to active duty during the Gulf War, claimed that working with the officers in Desert Storm was one of her worst memories of being in the service. She states:

Angie: One instance when they knew we were going about to start the war and all come to find out they were all going to take all the civilian vehicles, brand new, Jeep Cherokees and all they were going to take off in those and leave us behind in a run down 2 and 1/2 ton truck. That's what their plan was, they were going to leave us behind if it really got bad....Another experience, lets see four days after we got there. It was during December, right before Christmas, four days after we got there, they took myself and one of the other young ladies away because of our expertise. We accepted that. It was hard to deal with. We ended up being closer to the fighting and everything.

Jen: What do you mean they took you away?

Angie: Well, away from on unit. Everyone else stayed back in _____ and they took her and I to _____. We were the only two females there. We had to be escorted everywhere because out there women are suppose to walk behind the men and not suppose to be alone and covered up and all this. Where they took us, they didn't have rooms prepared for us or anything. So we had to sleep in the office we worked in. The water that we washed up in smelled like old water men that men had been shaving in because their sewer system was messed up. We was hungry most of the time. She lost some weight, but I lost an extreme amount of weight because I couldn't eat what they had out there. We had to eat what the Saudi's served until the civilian food came. Couldn't eat whatever it was they had mixed with rice. I

don't know if its camel meat or what. Wasn't much to eat. We mainly ate in the beginning Peanut Brittle, one of the officer's mom's sent peanut brittle and that's what we ate. They had her and I working from 7 in the morning until 2 in the morning. It was really hard and then one day they separated her and I. That's when I fell apart. I figured they must have figured they better get us back together quick because we were walking around with live ammunition. So I figured that's probably what they were thinking I might snap and start firing on folks, but I didn't do that. That didn't cross my mind I just sat at a window and talked to my family from afar in my mind. We were working so hard that she and I didn't even know it was Christmas until we were about to go to sleep at night and I said, "Oh, my God. Merry Christmas". And she said Merry Christmas _____". And I didn't get to call home until four days after Christmas. Everyone else from the unit that was back, even she got to call, but I was busy working at the time and I didn't know if there was anyway of calling home and I got to call four days after Christmas....Our officers were concerned with anything dealing with she and I at the time, just working....Some of them they were wonderful, especially officers from other units, one Sgt. Maj. from another unit got her and I a room to sleep in. Not our officers. Our officers didn't do that. They just worked us. That was it. And some officers, lower ranking officers they couldn't do anything about the situation. Their hands were tied. So they couldn't help us.

A few women also reported that they were sexually harassed by their male counterparts who held supervisory positions in the Military. Janice, for example, found this to be her most negative memory of the service:

Jen: So your most negative memories?

Janice: Was a sexual harassment case two weeks before I got out.

Jen: Can you go into any detail?

Janice: My duty section leader [would] stand duty every three or four days and watch what your coverage is on that command. He was my section leader. He was also my first class petty officer from my division. [He] made unwanted sexual advances and he went to Captain's Mess two weeks before I got out, I took him up.

Jen: Captain's mass?

Janice: Captain's mass. Its an informal court marshal type of thing. He ended up getting three months restriction and a fine of \$300 dollars.

Jen: That must have been very painful.

Janice: Yeah. The command separates. They pick a side basically.

Jen: And you felt that they chose...

Janice: They chose the wrong side.

When explaining why sexual harassment occurs in military Janice stated:

Because people can get away with it. There's more men than there are women. More men hold more supervisory type positions.

This theme was reiterated by Samantha who said...

Okay, when he has four stripes more than you have, who are they going to believe? Okay and women are still battling for that equal rights thing and so rather than make the waves they don't say anything. So then Joe tells Mike, "Oh, yeah man go ahead", and so it gets to be, "Well you know she's not gonna tell so you can harass her even more".

The fact that men in high positions are able to get away with sexual harassment does not seem to fully explain why they engage in this behavior. Their powerful positions often allow them to sexual harass their subordinates without facing discipline, but it does not explain the motives behind the attack. One reason why servicemen in powerful positions might sexually harass their female subordinates because they view them as a threatening minority. Gruber and Bjorn (1986) found that men in powerful positions tend to sexually harass their female subordinates when they see them as a threat. There is also some evidence to suggest that men in the service do see women as threatening. Miller (1997), for example, found that many men engage in resistance tactics against women because they perceive women to be the powerful

group in the service. D'Amico (1997) also found that some men fear a feminization of the military because of the increasing numbers of women. It could be that men in the military sexually harass women as a response to this threat.

As these examples show, rank was used as a legitimate means to abuse women in the service. It seems as though rank could be used as another overt means to discriminate against women in the military. Although some women resisted this discourse on rank (discussed below) others legitimized it and adopted the discourse. To some women, the rank system seemed natural and necessary. As Sara states:

I think you have to have a hierarchy. You cannot have a military without a hierarchy in the power structures otherwise there's no military, do you see what I mean? Somebody could say, "No, I'm not going to shoot that gun. I'm not going to go out on the front line, you go do it. So I think there has to be that power there, but you have to have people in those positions that do not abuse that power.

Sexual Orientation

A third structure that affects women's access to power in the service is sexual orientation. This structure is informed by the discourse which states that homosexuality is incompatible with military service (Kaurst 1991: Thomas and Thomas 1996). As stated earlier, there are laws in the service forbidding same sex relations. Because of this, many gay men and women in the military have been dismissed from the service or subject to an investigation. I only spoke with a few women who were admittedly gay, but these women indicated that sexual orientation can lead to an investigation and dismissal from the service. One of these women, Betty, stated that in the beginning of her military career, when she was an enlisted in

the Navy, she encountered lesbians who were eliminated from the service because of their sexual orientation:

I remember being stationed in the Navy when I got stationed down in Pensacola and went to school down there for photography. They had a big investigation going on down there and I walked into the barracks, they call it the quarter-deck, which is the entrance, which is the entrance to the female barracks, well its the same thing with the male barracks, its called the quarter-deck cause that's the main entrance, and this girl comes up to me and she asked me if I was a butch or a dyke. I had no idea what a butch or a dyke was, I was barely 18 and came from a very strong heterosexual background. So I asked her, I said, "Well my name is _____. Do I have to be either one". Well a couple of those girls ended up being kicked out and that's the last time I ever remember being associated or knowing people that had to go through that in the service. As an officer in the Army, I knew there were lesbians in the military.

Carrie was a lesbian, who was part of an investigation, but was able to avoid dismissal. As she explains:

Carrie: I'm gay. Have been all of my life. Before I joined the service I thought I was the only one in the entire world. And if anybody found out they were gonna find out they were gonna throw me into the big concrete and throw away the key. And then I went into the service and I also knew that I had to maintain my cool. You have to maintain your cool in life, period. So, sure I was in an investigation, but I was also dating. Now, I wasn't doing anything with these men, I was going out.

Jen: You went out with the men as buddies, or just to sort of throw everyone off track because as I understand if the military were to find out that you were gay...

Carrie: They do that. You better know it. And even though I was so I wasn't worried about...I was never a promiscuous person with either sex. Not a promiscuous person.

Jen: Did you date the men to throw them off track?

Carrie: They were my friends. Someone to go out with, someone to go to the movies.

Although many lesbians have been investigated and/or dismissed from the service because of their sexual orientation, Betty told me that this can be avoided as long as a gay or lesbian did not openly say they were gay. She states that many of her co-workers knew she was gay, but because she didn't talk openly about her sexual orientation, no one gave her any trouble:

Betty: I had a girl that was living with me at the time and I had parties at my house, as a matter of fact, everybody wanted to come to parties at my house. I'm sure it was no big secret to these people that she was staying at my house. But you just did not talk about it.

Jen: So as long as you did not say, "I'm gay", it was okay.

Betty: Yeah

Jen: Even if they knew, just as long as you did not announce it.

Betty: Right and all the officers I worked with were heterosexual.

Jen: Did you ever come across any heterosexual people that were angry with you for being gay or tried to give you trouble?

Betty: No, I just stayed away from those people.

Jen: You knew who to avoid.

Betty: Yeah, if I had a party I wouldn't invite those officers to my party. Why put yourself in a situation that may compromise you? I don't care what they think. In that respect I don't have to ask them to my house.

Jen: Right

Betty: People that wanted to come to my house came to my house because they wanted to come. And like I said I had a lot of parties at my house. Everybody wanted to come to my house they wanted me to throw the parties, I said, "Well, the only reason you want me to throw the parties is so you don't have to impose on your wives to do it."

Although the women I interviewed were not dismissed from the service because of their sexual orientation, researchers (Thomas and Thomas 1996; D'Amico 1997; and Francke 1997) have shown that the laws against homosexuality have been used (and are still being used) to discriminate against servicewomen as well as lesbian

and gays. In fact many women, who did not identify as lesbians, were dismissed from the service because their male counterparts labeled them as such. Other women were threatened with this fate if they did not engage in sexual activities with their male peers.

Resistance to the Power Structures

These power structures are created at the micro level through discourses, which are reproduced in everyday life through language. Because the power structures are rooted in micro dynamics, resistance to the dominant discourses must be carried out at the local level (Ramazanoglu 1993). Miller (1997) restricted her study to the resistance tactics used by servicemen who feel powerless, but resistance tactics are also utilized by women. For example, many women in the focus groups claimed that they knew other women who would use their sexuality to their advantage in order to gain certain promotions or privileges that they wouldn't normally have because of their low status as women and enlisted. As Vivian and Mandy stated:

Vivian: In my unit we had a couple of cases where you knew that this person was seeing this guy and she was going to bed with the man and she was getting many more privileges that lets say men or you who would not be seeing this 1st Sergeant. She got more privileges and could go do more things special than I could, and then we had an officer who was the commander who was sleeping with another officer. You knew it they got privileges even in Saudi they got privileges because they slept with the commander, you know and they got beds first they got refrigerators and they got and the rest of us didn't get nothing. It does happen because they know that if they do this they'll get extras.

Jen: Did anybody else see that?

Sandy: There are always, not always, but I have seen women that have their kneepads on and ready at least to give it a try.

Many women claimed that females in boot camp used their sexuality to get out of physical hardships that the rest of the women had to endure. For example, Evelyn stated:

Eve: Several of the enlisted and drill sergeants were “messaging around” with the soldiers, the girls.

Jen: Did the girls ever talk to you about how they felt about this?

Eve: No, cause these were girls that were looking for an easy ride and they were treated with kid gloves. They got their way. They didn't have to do what we had to go through.

Jen: It [messaging around] was a way of avoiding physical hardships?

Eve: Umm-hum. If I do what they want me to do then I go it easy.

Even though none of the women I spoke with knew of any women who threatened to falsely report that their commander or drill sergeant raped or abused them, some of the women agreed that this is one resistance tactic that may be utilized by female servicemembers to gain some power in the military.

Women's Access to Power

Although women of low ranks are frequently harassed because of their low status, women of high ranks are able to obtain some power in the military. This is because power is, “exercised from innumerable points” (Foucault 1990: 94), not seized or held by one particular group. Power is dispersed to many groups of people even within the dominant discourses. While women are denied access to power because of the discourse that defines women as powerless, they are able to exercise some power

through the discourse which gives power to those of high ranks. Once women become a high ranking enlisted or an officer, they are able to wield some power in the service.

Because officers, for example, are so much more powerful than the enlisted, they are treated much better during officer training. Although officers, like recruits, are forced to follow strict rules and regulations and are occasionally berated by their superiors, they have a much easier experience than the enlisted personnel because they are given a number of privileges. For example, they have a great deal of privacy. One woman, Sharon, compared her experience as an enlisted in the Army with her experience as an officer just a few years later:

The training is rigorous when you're enlisted. As an officer I was kind of laughing a lot of times because it was so simple to me after having gone through the other stuff when I was younger... You're treated a lot differently as an officer because you are suppose to be a professional who doesn't need that much guidance as far as social things.

Betty, who was an officer in the Army, also discussed the privacy she received in officer training school:

Betty: We went to classes we did drills like learning how to march and things like that. It was like two weeks out of the training that we had to go out and we were stuck out in the field and we had to live off of our rations and stuff like that. That's the only thing... We stayed in the officer's quarters. We each had a private room.

Jen: Much nicer than when you are enlisted.

Betty: Right. We don't sleep in a room full of people. I had my own room. I had a maid that came in and made my bed everyday. I had my own bathroom. Yes, there's a difference.

Besides these advantages, servicemembers at officer training schools are given the option to complain when they feel that a situation is unfair, while women in boot

camp are simply expected to follow orders and keep quiet. As one enlisted woman said, "Well, you're told what to do all the time. I mean you can't argue about anything. You're considered whining if you want to challenge anything so you just do what your told". In contrast to this, one woman, Nancy, who served as an officer in the Navy described how she resolved an unfair situation during her training period:

It was a situation where it was on a room inspection that I thought we had been unfairly inspected, and felt the person who had inspected us was actually one of the officer candidates, line candidates, and had a grudge against the fact that the nursing candidates were already commissioned because we had our commission backdated because we were in school as a officer candidate so that counted it. So by the time we got to boot camp we had already had our commissions. So the officer candidates were essentially like enlisted and they had to salute us. And they, you got to know them because you went to the club, that you'd talk with them and that sort of thing and there were a couple of them that were really bitter about that. They didn't see that the nurses should be able to have a commission and why should they salute them and that sort of thing. And this one gal who was known to voice quite a bit of that resentment had inspected my roommate and my room and marked down things that I knew were not true on it so I went to the company commander and voiced my concerns and I said that I didn't feel that this was fairly done. Well, her solution was that I should be on an inspection team so the next week I was on an inspection team for the line officer candidates' rooms.

Like men with powerful positions in the service, women of high ranks may also use their power to take advantage of their male and female subordinates. Stories like Patrice's listed below seem to reaffirm the earlier point that enlisted seem to be harassed, both sexually and otherwise, more readily than officers. Firestone and Harris (1994) found that 74.6% of female enlisted personnel in the military for less

than two years, 74.8% of female enlisted personnel in the military for at least two years and 64.4% of female officers reported that they were sexually harassed at some point in their military careers. It could be that this percentage is high even among the officers because the military is a patriarchal organization that encourages the debasement of all women. Patrice claimed that her drill sergeant made references to sexuality in order to degrade the trainees.

- Pat: The sexual harassment can come from women because some of the things we were told when I was in basic training made my mouth open.
- Jen: What were you told?
- Pat: We were told when we were learning to march that if we knew how to fuck we would know how to march but obviously we didn't know how to fuck because we couldn't march. And that was by my drill instructor.
- Jen: Were your drill instructors basically men?
- Pat: This was a female. Our male drill instructor had an affair with one of our people in flight and was kicked out.

Evelyn also experienced harassment at the hands of her drill sergeants, who were both male and female.

- Eve: I'd seen what women military training was. I knew that I was capable and healthy for it. When I get in there I wasn't told that I was thrown into an experimental training where the women train together with the men. I was also told that everything that you have when you go before the chaplain it was supposed to be confidential what you say in there. No. Your first Lt. and your drill sergeant are standing back there and they come through after your talk with the chaplain and everything you told the chaplain in confidence they already knew and were on your back about.
- Jen: How did they know? Could they overhear you talking?
- Eve: They were listening.
- Jen: Oh they were listening.
- Eve: Yeah they were spying.
- Jen: So if you wanted a counselor or if you wanted to express yourself and just talk about the situations...

Eve: You didn't have any confidential[ity]. They were listening. Me being as old as I was they stayed on my back. Why was I in there at my age? Were you running from the law? Were you running from a man? Were you hiding? I said sir, I left a federal security agent job. I was checked out through clearance. No, I'm not running from the law. My husband's dead. No I am not running from a man. I'm not hiding. They wouldn't accept it. Every day I was grilled. Even when I got hurt the drill sergeant, she comes to the hospital and she'd drill me.'

Jen: So you had men and women drill sergeants?

Eve: Umm-hum. My second company

Jen: And what was the difference between the men and the women.

Eve: Oh, she was a Cuban drill sergeant and she was as rough and arrogant as them. She wasn't even a woman. In my book she wasn't she had let it all go to her head.

Again, with men of high ranks, this abuse of power also included sexual harassment. Betty claimed that some lesbians in the service who reach command positions sexually proposition their subordinates:

Well one of the officers in the Army that I sponsored, see every senior officer sponsors a younger officer that comes new on the station. And I got this young girl, her name was _____ and she had just graduated from University of _____ and she had just got out of officer's training and so I was her mentor. I knew as soon as she got off the plane she was gay. I knew she was. She and I are still bound to this day because we know we knew we didn't have to discuss it. We just knew. We were in the family. There is the pressure because _____ had a couple of people put the make on her, females, that were Colonels. She had no choice. But she gracefully got out of it. First of all I was in my forties when I was active duty and _____ told me she was having trouble with one of the officers, even though I was only a Captain at the time and these guys were Colonels. It didn't bother to tell them to keep their fucking hands off her. What are they going to do to me? Throw me out? Big harry deal. I had nothing to lose. I was in my forties. [You]can't ruin a career in your

forties. But _____ had to look at it another way.
So yeah I think it was a lot harder for the younger ones.

Moskos (1985) interviewed 48 women, both enlisted and officers, serving in Honduras and taking part in a major military exercise called Granadero. He also found that sexual harassment from lesbian supervisors was a concern of the enlisted women.

Women in high positions sometimes use their power and influence over men as well as women. As Kimberly said:

Cause I saw it with women. The WAC squadron sat across from OD Headquarters, I think I told Jennifer this. In order to get to personnel, you had to cross over that headquarters. Well, I had a CO of the WAC squadron that would entrap these young guys coming through here and invite them for tea. And she used her rank to do it, she did.... Once they learned to walk way around the WAC squadron, just to get, when they could walk right through the garden area to personnel. They would start walking way around just to get around here. That was mild but that was a position case.

Summary

The data showed three structures that restricted women's access to power: gender, rank and sexual orientation. The dominant discourse regarding power is based on a masculine notion. Masculinity represents physical and emotional strength and femininity represents weakness. This masculine notion of power also signifies domination over others, such as women. Men in the service have continued to discriminate against women and restrict their access to power. Another dominant

discourse regarding power states that those of high rank are powerful and those of lower ranks are powerless.

Women may resist the discourses and corresponding structures that restrict their access to power by using their sexuality to gain certain advantages or privileges. This resistance creates an alternative discourse, which presents women with power. In addition, some women are able to obtain high ranks within the service, as either enlisted or officers, which provides them with some power. Occasionally, some of these women in power may sexually harass or discriminate against their male and female subordinates.

CHAPTER 5

GENDER IN THE MILITARY

As indicated in Chapter 2, the dominant discourse on gender in the military asserts that masculinity and femininity are in direct opposition to each other and that femininity represents a fundamental flaw or failure. Particularly, females are seen as physically and emotionally weak, sexual in nature and tied to their bodies and reproductive functions. Men, on the other hand, are defined as strong, aggressive, heterosexual in nature and freed from reproduction/constraints of the body. The discourse on power is embodied within the discourse on gender in the sense that power is seen as a masculine trait and lack of power is seen as a feminine trait. When women join the service they are forced to cross over gender lines because they are leaving their traditional feminine role in the home to join a traditionally masculine occupation. Their very presence seems to present immediate challenges to the male ideology or the dominant discourse on gender. Because of these challenges women have been subject to sexual harassment and restricted from combat positions (Rustad 1982, Francke 1997, Thomas and Thomas 1996).

This chapter will explore support for both the dominant and alternative discourses on gender. In addition, this chapter will explore situations currently

affecting women in the service, such as body issues and disciplinary practices, childcare and dual-service marriages.

Support for the Dominant Discourse

Although the discourse on gender seems to be used by the service as a justification for overt discrimination against women, by keeping them out of certain roles and positions, most veterans I spoke with legitimated and supported this line of thought. In other words, women in the service seemed to justify and support their own discrimination.

Many women, for example, used the biological essentialist argument, which maintains that men and women are biologically different and masculinity and femininity are natural extensions of this, to argue against equal physical requirements for men and women. These women believed that the biological differences between men and women made men, for the most part, physically stronger than women, although they agreed that there are a few exceptions to this rule. In other words, they believed that physical strength was a masculine trait and physical weakness was a feminine trait. However, their conception of physical strength is based on a masculine ideal of what constitutes physical strength. As Ellen, who served as an officer the Army during the Gulf War, states:

You definitely cannot have [the same physical requirements]. I mean when I was in I always got a 300 which is the max you can get and I'm not that, of course I was a lot thinner. I know that the average man is stronger than I am, even though I know that I'm liberated and that kind of stuff, and I know I'm just as good mentally as men,

but physically our hips are shaped different, you know. And of course you have some men who are a little bit not as muscular or strong and some women who are stronger, but in general out of this room, you know?

This theme was reiterated several focus groups; for example

Julie: I can see where women argue that there should be one standard because they want to be treated the same, but at the same time, if they did have it the same, there would be hardly any women in the military. Because point blank, women just in general could not adhere to those standards, could not run as fast, I mean some could, there's a small minority, but the majority of women would not be able to do that, so I guess I think maybe they should be different.

Jen: Pam, what would you say?

Pam: I feel that way too. I really do. I feel that men are stronger from the waist up, when it comes to lifting and women can easily hurt themselves if they do too much so and a lot of the climbing and things that I've seen them do, its rough, its rough and sometimes its on the borderline of danger. I feel that there should be a little...a limit for the women, if they can do it fine, but its going to be a very small amount. I mean I'm hearing even girls up at West Point, have been up to West Point, its rough. It is rough.

The rationalizations the veterans gave for keeping women out of combat also illustrated their support for the dominant discourse on gender. These explanations fell into three categories: (1) the biological essentialist argument, which states that masculinity and femininity are a natural extension of biological differences rooted in sex (2) the cultural constructionist argument, which states that masculinity and femininity are socially and culturally prescribed notions of behavior appropriate to each sex and (3) the general argument that men and women are different, although it is unclear if this is the result of biology or culture. Interestingly, those that supported the constructionist argument seemed to feel that because women are defined as weak their

presence would result in problems for men. They feel that the men would be so concerned with protecting the women, they would either risk their lives for their female counterparts or become emotionally upset when the women are killed. Those that supported this argument did not question why the genders are constructed the way they are.

The veterans used these three arguments to not only to explain why women are much different than men, but also to demonstrate the limitations that women have and the problems they will cause if they are allowed to participate in combat. Implicit in the discussions with the veterans were many of the same arguments used by the military to prevent women from serving in combat, including the physiological and emotional limitations of women.

Like many women, Sally, who served 20 years in the Army, used both the biological essentialist argument and the constructionist argument to explain why women should not be allowed to fight. In her appeal to the biological argument, she states:

Personally, I think a lot of the physical requirements... Fit women feel like they can do the same as men. I don't think its true. I believe there are scientists that have proven that females are not physically as strong or physically whatever as men. Yes, you have your token few, but overall I don't believe women should be in combat based on that. We shouldn't have to train like the men. I don't feel we should be doing pull-ups and push-ups because they are not good for our bodies.

At a later point, however, Sally seems to begin appealing to a constructionist argument as to why women should be restricted from combat duty:

I also believe that men instinctively are raised to protect the women and that in fact would jeopardize a position to where they would feel like they've got to protect me more than depending on me to protect them. Whether it was in a truck and a firefight broke out or a foxhole. It's just instinctively in our upbringing and even in the military you see it. And again I hate to categorize all women because there are some women that can fit right in with the guys. I mean I never had any problems as far as fitting right in with the guys and going to the field and all of this. But I know that if it were life and death situation that a lot of these buddies that I've made friends with would feel protective over me and possibly at the expense of their life.

The intertwining of appeals to both the biological essentialist and social constructionist arguments is also apparent in the following discussion concerning women in combat during one of the focus groups:

Ellen: I think some women I guess if they wanted to fine, but in general I think it would cause too many problems.

Jen: What kind of problems

Ellen: Well, for one you know men don't have periods you know and you can fix it where you know you don't get your period during [your stay in combat], you know I mean you can do that. Taking these pills without and they recommended it for some in Saudi, but you know the way that its changing with chemical warfare that the kind of stuff, most of the time, you have to be completely covered and how can a woman go to the bathroom and how can a woman clean themselves appropriately and have their menstrual cycle every month in complete gear in a fighting wartime environment. With men it's so much easier because they don't have those problems. Plus, I think in general women, even though most women are, everyone here has more emotions than the men. That's just the way our brain works, we communicate differently, and I think that you know we don't have that aggression, most people, most women, that aggression feeling being willing to shoot and I think we'd break down more.

Angie: I feel like on the other hand the men, it would bother them more so if they had a female soldier next to them that got blasted. I think that would effect the men.

Ellen: They want to protect. No matter what people say society still...

Kelly: You teach your sons to protect their sisters, its that simple.

The veterans also mentioned a few other arguments advocated by the military to keep women out of combat. These arguments seem to be based in the idea that women would cause problems for themselves, the servicemen and the American public if they took on the man's role and began to fight. One of these is the lack of privacy men and women have from each other in combat situations. For example,

Sally remarks:

I think the sexual attraction is a big thing in the American society because of the way that we're all raised. I went out on missions in the Iraqi battlefield in our trucks, cause our trucks hailed the tanks. So we had big trucks. You stop out in the middle of the desert and you'd have to go to the bathroom. Well, the men go to the left, the women go to the right and if they want to cop a peek, oh well. A couple of women, not a lot, we had two women in our platoon. excuse me in our company that had a really hard time with that. They wanted privacy. A guy can see me going to the bathroom and my comment is so what. Okay. We were required at times to sleep in the same tent. Well it's very hard to change clothes in a sleeping bag. I'd turn my back to them, take off my bra and throw another shirt on. I mean if they wanted to turn around and see the back or kind of turn around and see my boobs, oh well. But a lot of women had trouble with that and I would have rathered not, but under the circumstances what are we going to do. Take an hour to help each other hold a blanket up and change clothes. And our culture doesn't raise us where we can just strip naked and take showers with each other.

This quote also indicates that the problem of privacy is rooted in the association Westerners have between nakedness and sexuality. Weinberg (1986) states that nudist camps use several strategies to eliminate the very possibility of this

relationship forming, a few of which focus on controlling the presence of males. Most members of nudist camps are afraid to admit single men because they fear that it is these individuals who associate nudity with sexuality. Because of this, the camps either exclude single people or only allow a small portion to join. In addition, single men may be charged up to 35 percent more than families. Sally too seems to feel that this association is held by men. In her quote, she appears to advocate controlling the presence of women because men might become aroused by their nudity, which would make the women uncomfortable. Just like the argument which states that women should be kept out of combat situations because the men might fight over them resulting in a lack of cohesion in the unit, this argument seeks to punish the women for men's inability to control themselves.

Moskos (1985) also found that privacy is not really an issue for enlisted women performing field exercises with their male counterparts. These women began the field exercise concerned about their privacy, however, this concern greatly diminished over time. In the beginning, the women enacted strategies, such as guarding each other while they took showers and changing clothes in their sleeping bags, to avoid onlookers, but after a while they realized this was too difficult to maintain and they adopted a "let 'em look" philosophy. While privacy is an issue for women at first, it does not remain important for long. In addition, Moskos found that over the course of the field exercise the men, "displayed increasing awareness of female sensibilities", indicating that their exposure to the women actually resulted in an increased appreciation for the women's abilities.

Sally also argued that pregnancies may occur if men and women are put in combat together, which would impact the effectiveness of the service. This supports the idea that women are tied to the reproductive functions and their bodies.

Sally: Listen, they say that the Gulf War proved that females can be in combat situations, I don't agree with that.

Jen: Why is that?

Sally: Take the Navy for example, how many pregnant women did they have and said they all got pregnant on one shore leave at the same time. Hello? Okay, biology doesn't really say that all those women are going to be on the same cycle and get pregnant on the same 30-day period. Our society and our culture does not raise us like the Israelis or Lebanese or whatever those women are that are drafted like the men.

Lastly, a few women suggested that the American public is not ready to see women die in the line of duty:

Vikki: That's right. She (GI Jane) had the physical stamina to do it. And the problem with that movie a lot of people don't realize is subtleties were in it at the political decisions that were made behind her back. She was forced to fail. That brings out a lot of issues about when you start looking at women in combat. It's not just the issue of whether this woman can do it or not, it's all the other political stuff behind it. We're going to make an example, we're gonna...

Missy: Whether the American public is ready to see women coming home in body bags. That's a lot more than whether or not that woman can lift a 200-lb. guy.

Despite apparent differences between men and women, several veterans agreed that if women meet the requirements necessary for combat, they should be given the opportunity to fight. These veterans believe that in order to meet these requirements women have to perform like the men. Again, it's clear that women feel that men are

able to handle combat responsibilities while women are not. For instance, Sandy, who served as a nurse in the reserves for 22 years, says:

If the woman has the same requirements as the man and can do the job as well as a man that's what they choose I don't think I would choose it myself personally, but women in general if they choose to do this then they should have the opportunity to do it. I don't know if I would do it, it was bad enough [inaudible] and we had to wear the mask and the guard and the gap everything. I had my period when I was there [in Saudi] and the night we got there we was in it for 6 hours and we couldn't even walk out of the hallway where we were at to go to the bathroom. You just held it because we asked what happens if you have to go to the bathroom hold it for six hours, that was nice. But if you had your period you had your period. Take off your coat. Just do it. When we were there it was not and I don't think if it was in the front line it was I mean that big of a deal to have a period, a man knows you have your period its not like you have to hide it.

Angie also believed that if women can be trained to be tough like men they should be able to fight in combat.

Angie: About the front line situation, I think that women should have that option, but they should have extreme training before they go in. I don't think they should have long hair or anything like that, they should be as tough as tough. Tough as nails to deal with a situation like that. None of this male female stuff. Just tough as the men.

Jen: So you would agree that women are more emotional to begin with and need more training to become tougher?

Angie: Some men are pretty emotional too, but I think the women should have special hard training just like the men or even a little you know change some things. Get the Deprovera shot. Get your hair cut off just like the fellows hair cut so you can be on that front line and deal with it have a strong mind.

Support for Alternative Discourses

Weedon (1987) argues that resistance arises from alternative discourses. In other words, she believes that resistant actions and alternative discourses are two entirely separate events. She states, "they [alternative discourses] can offer the discursive space from which the individual can resist dominant subject positions" (111). In contrast to this, I argue that in the military alternative discourses represent a form of resistance in and of themselves. This is because resistant actions in the military are nearly impossible. Since the military is a total institution, it attempts to socialize the servicemembers by controlling and regulating every aspect of their lives. Anyone caught breaking the rules and resisting current policies in the service are immediately dismissed from the service or face criminal charges. Although Goffman depicted resistance to mental institutions (another total institution) in the form of actions, no one could be kicked out of that establishment for breaking the rules. For this reason, resistance, according to Weedon's definition, is highly improbable in the military. However, criticism of the dominant discourses in the military should be considered resistance because the servicemembers are resisting the military's attempts to socialize them into adopting the dominant discourses.

When the women supported alternative discourses on gender, they did not appear to disagree with all aspects of the dominant discourse. The veterans seemed to agree that women and men are different, but they questioned the notion that women are fundamentally flawed. Karen, for instance, seemed to agree that men and women

are essentially different, but she used an alternative criteria for physical strength to determine that women can in fact be stronger than men.

I watched recently [some] documentaries about the military, you know they put the shows on television and they show you the actual training and I think, was it the Marines I saw, they showed how tough their training is and the difference between men and women, their stamina. Women can last longer because we have more fat to burn off of, you know to work from.

Dawn questioned the idea that women are anatomically flawed which prevents them from flying in combat missions. She instead suggested that if the military would simply devise a way for women to go to the bathroom in flight their exclusion from such combat missions would be eliminated.

Dawn: Well one of the things...I can't remember all of the arguments [I heard one night against women flying planes in combat], probably because I had a couple of drinks, but I remember one of them and I thought it was so dumb, the guy said, "Well, what if a woman was flying a long trip over the ocean and they don't have the technology for them to use the restroom and I guess they have some kind of little gadget.

Karen: Piddle pack

Dawn: That the men can use and I said, "Well, you know, they can invent something like that for women quite easily".

A few of the women felt that women and men should have the same physical standards. They state that the physical standards are not so high that women cannot participate. This seems to imply that there is a similarity between women and men. Although she still considers women to be physically weaker than men, she does not appear to consider this a flaw because women are capable of fulfilling the same requirements. As Sam states:

Sam: You know we're crying for that equal[ity, but] you're out there in a war zone there's not gonna be a war zone for females and a war zone for males so you need to be trained as such. When we had to run, the first week we ran one lap, second week, we ran 2 laps in formation. You know. That did nothing for me being a runner. I don't know I mean I just feel as a woman you should know what you're getting into and if you make that conscious decision to make that endeavor then you should go through the same rigorous training that the men go through.

Jen: So what do you think about the double standards? Do you think it should be integrated but do you still think?

Sam: No. All of that should be eliminated...Because if you're gonna be if we're gonna be totally equal train me [then] as such. Don't have me do the girl pushups and then my male counterpart not want me to work side by side to him next to him because he knows I can't cut the mustard and I've always felt that way and I'm sure I'll always feel that way...the physical aspect of it I thought was pretty weak.

Missy reiterated this sentiment:

Number one the standards are not that high. It's not like we've got to run the mile in 20 minutes. It's a reasonable standard for men and women and the fact that they were so vastly different back in the early 70s when I went in is certainly was not correct. It's important if you're going to be doing the same job to have the same physical fitness requirement.

A couple of the women argued that even though men and women are physically different, women are less emotional. This directly contradicts the dominant gender discourse, which interprets women as weak and frail. Karen and Dawn discussed this during their focus group.

Dawn: I think the [not] emotionally strong enough [argument against women being in the service] is...

Karen: BS

Dawn: is false because I was reading somewhere that said they let, well not let, that women are nurses in intensive care where men come in and have high rates of heart attacks and its

usually women that handle the stresses of a lot of things. So, emotionally, I think women can be as strong as men even if they're not physically as strong.

Karen: I think there's nothing to support that argument except maybe coming from the men's point of view, the fact that women may show more emotion upsets the men, but I think women are capable as handling as much or more stress as men are, on average.

Body Issues

As stated in the previous chapter, the military is one example of a total institution. In the military the members are stripped of their identity through a number of ways. As Goffman (1959) explains:

First, all aspects are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution (6).

Because the members of the service experience a loss of autonomy and are so completely controlled by the institution, many women reported experiencing body issues. that when they joined the service they became property of the United States government and lost control over their own lives, including their body and emotions:

They [women] want to stir the pot and mix military with civilian life and you cannot lead people in a war or conflict. You have to have one thought and civil rights don't enter into it. When you raise your right hand and swear to

uphold the Constitution of the United States and the Uniform Code of Military Justice you're no longer [NAME] you're government issue and you raised your hand to live by those rules and that's what you have to do.

Another woman made a very similar statement:

I didn't have total freedom [at my military job] cause when you raise your hand and come to the military you belong to Uncle Sam, but I had a lot more freedom than I had when I was in basic.

Being labeled government property seemed to have certain ramifications for servicewomen. For example, Sam stated that it resulted in poor medical care for pregnant women. She claimed that pregnant women were experimented on by untrained doctors and not allowed to sue the military for their poor treatment:

Sam: In the military, number one, as an active duty person you are government property and treated as such. The dependents that received care back then were subject to whatever medical services they provided you. My prenatal was great, but delivery was another thing. I was 31 days late and then, we're talking 18 years ago, if the baby's heart rate was okay, you were okay. You waited it out because it costs money to do a C-section.

Jen: So everything is about money

Sam: Yeah, umm still today I think. And back then they asked you prior to being admitted and upon admitting, "Do you want to go natural or do you want an epidural?" and I said "natural" so 23 ohh about 19 hours into my labor I changed my mind. They said, "Nope you go to go natural." And then after I had my son, I asked, "Do you want me to push the afterbirth" the doctor said no, "I got it". He put his foot on the table and he pulled and did what he had to do and two days later when they came and gave me the rubella shot because I was breastfeeding when I woke up I couldn't get up and the doctor said, "Ohh you probably pulled a muscle." So I was like "okay." I had to stay four days because my son had jaundice and I left the hospital limping, literally limping. I ended up catching an infection because the doctor left the after birth in. I still had some afterbirth in

so they had to readmit me when my son was 8 days old and I had to stay in the hospital for four days. All behind terrible service.

Jen: In the four days. you mean?

Sam: During the delivery, and back then there was no such thing as them bringing your baby to you, you had to get up and go down to the nursery and get your baby. Matter of fact.

Jen: You must have been exhausted after all this...

Sam: Yeah, if the baby was not in the room with you they would call you, "Come get your baby." You know. Nothing like today. Then again back then were talking 18, almost 18 years ago.

Jen: Aside from the fact that they wouldn't let you switch to an epidural after you said you wanted natural, were the doctors supportive of you while you were giving birth?

Sam: No. No bedside manner. None at all. Most of them are learning. In my opinion that's why so many go into the military first then go out and start their own practice. Because you can't be sued. You can mess up as much as you want.

Jen: There was nothing you could do with the infection, I mean no...

Sam: No. While you're active duty you cannot sue. You or your dependents cannot sue the military. There's no such thing as malpractice. I didn't know that. Later on I had some medical issues and that's when I found out. You're property. You're theirs.

Because women (and men) in the service are labeled government property, the military may try to increase their efficiency and insure maximum benefits to the government. However, this appears to be done in a sex specific manner. Mandy, for example, accused the military of giving women unnecessary hysterectomies to guarantee that they will not be bogged down with female problems and become less efficient.

Man: When you're working, sometimes if women have really bad female problems and they're not as efficient as they would be if they didn't have any female problems at all.

- Jen: That's very true. A lot of women have extremely bad cramps and they can't stand up for a day.
- Man: Or they have to take a day or two off or something and I honestly believe that because I've talked to a doctor after I got out of the service [and] he said, "I think we can get your osteoporosis treated but you're never gonna get a disability out of this." They started me with a 50% disability from the hysterectomy. Why? You know. Why? Because I think they agreed that they messed up. And I saw my pathological report. There was nothing wrong.... I really honestly believe because I saw the pathology I mean the doctor was telling me all the stuff that was wrong and everything. I saw the pathology report. It was not there. They should have left the ovaries. They should have left the uterus.
- Jen: Did they give you an explanation for why they took it out?
- Man: They said that if they didn't take it out sooner or later I was gonna have problems. Like if there was something wrong with the tubes I couldn't have kids anyway so they just take everything out and do a completely clean sweep and then I wouldn't have any problems later on...I've talked to several women. I mean why women in their twenties would have total hysterectomies. Unless there's something really seriously wrong, it's not done.

Although this may have changed since the 1970's when Mandy served, it appears that the military has been very callous toward the needs of women. Instead of devising methods to help women with their reproductive needs, the military eliminated the reproductive needs of women to ensure that the service was not bogged with "feminine problems". As a result military doctors unnecessarily removed the reproductive organs that were the source of these "problems".

The military's actions in the above example is reminiscent of the eugenics movement. The eugenics movement was founded on the belief that certain lives are worthless and should be eliminated because they will put a drain on society. In the United States support for this movement led to compulsory sterilization laws in the

early 1900s and the Restrictive Immigration Act of 1924. Currently in the United States there exists the idea that those with physical disabilities should not be allowed to live. This is clearly seen in the increase of support for genetic testing of fetuses and the increase of support for abortions when an abnormality is present. Similar to the eugenics movement, military personnel showed a complete disregard for humanity when they operated unnecessarily on these women. The military was not concerned with helping to accommodate women into the service. Rather, they wanted to ensure that the women in the service were not problematic for the military.

The many rules and regulations in the military, which controlled the servicemembers lives, also resulted in disciplinary practices. These disciplinary practices were designed to create a body that is recognizable as a soldier. Women (and men) in the service, for example, have to learn to discipline their bodies and meet the minimum weight requirement dictated by the military or they face dismissal from the service. If servicemembers are not able to maintain the required weight themselves, the military puts them on a fitness program. If they have not lost the weight within a six-month period, they are discharged from the military. Military officials are not usually concerned with why a particular person is overweight, they just demand that he/she lose the extra pounds. A few of the women I spoke to stated that their worst memory of being in the service was trying to meet these requirements and avoid dismissal from the military. As Sharon reports:

Shar: The most negative [memory] for me was I ended up having high blood pressure and I was having big time problems with medication and so gained a lot of weight. I gained like

- 60 pounds in a matter of months. They were constantly on you about your weight. That's the one big thing...
- Jen: Was that the first time you were in?
- Shar: Any time in the military they have the standards of how tall you can be and how heavy you can be. And if you're heavier than how tall you are, then they measure you're body fat. They measure your wrist, your arm, your neck and your hips. That is one of my negative memories is the constant torture on your weight.
- Jen: When you gained the weight, was that the first time you were in the military or the second time?
- Shar: Second time
- Jen: You would have to see a doctor constantly about the weight?
- Shar: They have what they call, it's an overweight program. If you're found to be outside the standards you go to this program and you're made to check in once a week. You had to go weigh and you had to get taped for your body fat. If didn't meet the requirements. They were pounding into you, you better loose the weight, you know this that and the other. Yet they didn't give you the time. I was a nurse. I worked 12-hour shifts, and who wants to exercise after working 12 hours a night?
- Jen: That seems like a lot of exercise in itself.
- Shar: Yeah.... Like I said when you have your job, it doesn't give lend you much time to work on your body. When you're enlisted, that physical stuff is into your regimen, you know what I mean. But its not when you're an officer. Like they don't have mandatory PT. stuff like that. Like they do enlisted.
- Jen: Even though your weight was related to a physical problem, related to the blood pressure they still...
- Shar: Well they don't recognize that. see. They just say I'm eating too much, or you know they just see that you're not fitting the standards and meanwhile I'm going to the doctor. I'm getting put on this medication, this medication, you know I wasn't...Nobody ever asked, I said this medicine's making me gain weight, yet it's making my blood pressure better. So you have to take the good with the bad. And then there was my weight issue and I was trying, but the weight was making...And I still got the weight on me right now, some of it.

Angie stated that a friend of hers drove herself into the hospital and wrecked her health, trying to lose a few extra pounds.

One female in my unit, was about a year before I got out, she's black, she always had a fantastic figure, you know black women have bigger behinds and she had a small waist, but when they changed the rules she went to the doctor, she got pills [and] she put herself on extreme weight loss. She didn't look right small, and when it came to the PT test she was taken out in an ambulance. We knew something might go wrong, feared something might go wrong, because she lost an extreme amount of weight so she wouldn't be put out. She ended up being taken away in an ambulance.

Although on the surface these regulations appear to apply to all members of the service equally, one of the veterans, Sylvia, explained that this is not necessarily the case:

If they decide for whatever reason that they don't want person A B or C or they don't like the way person C looks...There is actually within the Air Force now the weight standard, and the body fat standard can be on an individual basis adjusted based on the commander's decision that you don't fit a military image. So even if you're under body fat or if you're under body weight, if the commander in his infinite wisdom decides that you have a pear shape or whatever that you don't look good he can put you on the weight management program because you don't present a military image in his or her mind. So there's always something that they can put you under a microscope for.

This means that the commanders can use the weight requirements whenever they need or want to rid the service of both male and female servicemembers. For example, many women discussed how the requirements were used by the military to get rid of personnel when the military needed to downsize.

Angie: See they were downsizing. So that's one of the things they used, officers and ...

Kelly: Downsizing by downsizing, how interesting.

Angie: After Desert Storm they had cut out a lot of positions, so they had to get rid of so many soldiers.

Sandy: They got rid of quite a few people, just tons of people, just in my unit.

Ellen: And really good people too. This one friend of mine, he just naturally is a little bigger. You know he has a really big neck. And he's just so smart and he's such a great people person and he's doing well in the civilian world, but the military lost out.

Aside from downsizing, a commander can also use the weight requirements to rid the service of women. For example, he might demand that the women in his command lose the weight, but not make the same demands of his male subordinates. He may also place women whom he considers to be particularly unfeminine and masculine into the weight management program leading either to a more feminine and appealing physique, or to be dismissed for failure to address these weight issues.

Although no one went into any details, a few women (both officers and enlisted) mentioned other disciplinary practices which are followed by servicemembers and learned in basic training. These include shining their shoes, dressing and saluting according to particular military codes.

Childcare

Another form of subtle discrimination, which seems to undermine the presence of women in the military, is lack of childcare. If women are not able to find sitters for their children, they will not be able to stay in the service. Again it also shows women

that they are outsiders because the military is not concerned with meeting their needs.

A few women mentioned this problem during their time in the service. Janice, for example, stated:

Janice: They offer daycare beginning at 6 weeks, which is what your forty-five days is. Its specific hours and depending on what your command's hours are, whether or not you can use that daycare.

Jen: Is it more expensive, is it about the same rate, cheaper?

Janice: We didn't use it because my command went to work earlier than the daycare was open, so I had to find daycare elsewhere, but I think they go according to your income [and] what pay level you are.

Jen: Was that difficult for you to have to go elsewhere to find daycare?

Janice: It's hard to find daycare at five o'clock in the morning.

Sylvia had similar concerns:

Sylvia: [Air Force offered day care] but it's on base and it wasn't within their school area. Once they became school-aged, or even one of them school-aged, then it was impossible to use the base day care center because their school was close to home and the day care center was 10 miles away.

Jen: What about before they were in school. Did they have like a preschool on base that you could use?

Sylvia: There was a pre-school, but again because my husband and I [were] working nights so we didn't use it.

Jen: So it's only open from certain hours.

Sylvia: Right. The preschool was limited and the enrollment was very limited as well. Just like for newborn care you virtually had to get on the waiting list as soon as you found out you were pregnant and you might have daycare available by the time you had the child. Sometimes it was another six months or so.

Because of the difficulties with daycare on base, women in the military are often forced to rely on alternative solutions. Sylvia, for example, had a baby-sitter come into her home and take care of her children while both her and her husband were

at work. Monica, on the other hand, depended on a home daycare center that was run through the base because the base daycare center was poorly run. In addition to this, some of the veterans talked about friends in the military who voluntarily watched each other's children when one of them had to leave the base on assignment.

Dual-Service Couples

Another issue, also mentioned in Chapter 1, faced by women in the service is being married to another servicemember. This presents a problem because when both parents are in the service, family members are forced to step in and take care of the children while the parents are away. As Monica states:

Mon: You're not expected to put your family first. My son was born during Desert Storm. Your family can't come first...
 Jen: What do you mean by you can't put your family first?
 Like with Desert Storm, when both people are active duty, both can be shipped out. You don't have that option of one of them just going and the other one staying with your family. That was really hard for me. That didn't happen to us, but it was really hard because I saw families that it did happen to and then the responsibility fell on the grandparents. I was fine with it. I knew if I had to do it I would, but it is not my parents' job to raise my children.

Sylvia had similar memories of the military. She had to rely on her mother to watch her children when both her and her husband were sent abroad and her handicapped child was not given permission to leave the country:

Well, in my case we had two military members, two military parents and in all their plans for moving people around they never really considered the possibility of having two military parents. Once my son was diagnosed as being bipolar, he was considered to be severely handicapped because it required special education, special

medical personnel and stuff like that. When the Air Force sent me to Korea for a year by myself they also tried to send my husband to England with the children. Well, they couldn't get a medical clearance for her son to go to England. When a medical clearance is denied, then the assignment instead of a three or four year with your family becomes a two-year without your family. I was in Korea, my husband because they couldn't get a medical clearance for the children to go with him to England, I still had nine months in Korea and they were trying to send him to England. So for nine months, who's gonna take care of our kids, including the child that was handicapped. We have to have plans for this, which in this case was my mother to take care of the children. But the whole point of having a program to help parents manage with a handicap child was to not uproot the child when there was only one family member there. They never considered the point that they might have two military members who they would be sending in opposite directions. They always assumed there would be one military member and one non-military parent.

Aside from the children, the having a spouse in the service also presented a problem for the women because they were often assigned to different bases and didn't get to see or spend time with each other. Karen, for instance, stated:

Karen: It was hard to get our assignments together, which is why I got out early from my commitment. I was able to get out a year early from my commitment.

Jen: They sent you to separate bases?

Karen: Umm-hmm, yeah. We worked real hard to get our first assignments together and that worked pretty well. We were assigned to Southern California, to different bases, but we were able to live halfway in-between. But then the next assignment my husband had to go to the Philippines and there wasn't anything there for me to do in my career field. I was a tanker Navigator. So the closest I could get was Okinawa. Japan so for a year and a half we just stationed apart and visiting each other. From there he was assigned to Oklahoma to be a pilot training instructor and there was again nothing close enough for her so that is when I chose to get out.

Jamie commented:

Jamie: I got pregnant with my first one [child] and got out before I had her.

Jen: Why did you decide to get out before you had her?

Jamie: The Navy is not really concerned about people, married couples, staying together in the military. They took the view that you joined and you get to go wherever we want you to go. Just because you get married doesn't mean we have to transfer you with your spouse. So my spouse got transferred and I wasn't so I made a choice to get out.

Placing husbands and wives in different locations may also be a subtle form of discrimination because it forces women out of the military. Because men are given more opportunities in the service, they are the ones that end up staying in the military when they are separated from their wives. Despite this, several veterans seemed to feel that the military and the commanders in charge are doing all they can to help female servicemembers. These findings may be in part due to the fact that a select group of women commented on this question, some of which have not had children in the service. Others answering this question were officers, who were probably given more accommodations in the military than enlisted personnel with kids. Missy, an officer in the Army, said:

Missy: I think they're doing everything they can. It's as simple as that. They've got child support facilities available.

Jen: Child support.

Missy: Like day care, usually from 6 in the morning until 9 at night. There's enough of an infrastructure with the volunteer, the Red Cross, the Army community services that even a single parent is going to make it and be in 6:00 formation in the morning and work the night shifts. It's a challenge. It's a difficult thing to do sometimes.

Julie also remarked:

They're trying to improve housing. They're trying to improve childcare. I think they're trying as hard as they can. I think maybe in the past they didn't do as well, but from what I saw, I knew people with children, the majority of the people I knew had children. Some of their wives were in the military as well and its not easy, but its not easy when two people work full-time in the civilian world so I think they're making efforts to do a better job.

Summary

This chapter has explored support for the dominant discourse and alternative discourses on gender. This discourse states that gender is oppositional. Women are seen as physically and emotionally weak, sexual in nature and tied to their bodies and reproductive functions. Men, are defined as strong, aggressive, heterosexual in nature and freed from reproduction/constraints of the body. Support veterans showed for the dominant discourse tended to center on three themes: biological essentialism, social constructionism and general differences. Although no one challenged the idea that men and women are different, a few women questioned whether or not women are fundamentally flawed. They challenged the ideas that women are too emotional and physically limited. They claimed that if women are able to meet the requirements for combat, they too should be allowed to fight. In addition, this chapter looked at body issues and disciplinary practices. It showed that these appear to be gender neutral, but are actually sex specific. In addition, this chapter discussed the idea that childcare and the separation husbands and wives in dual service couple are all various forms of

subtle discrimination against women. These are tactics which are used to restrict women's access to power and powerful positions in the service.

CHAPTER 6

SEXUALITY IN THE SERVICE

In the military there are two discourses regarding sexuality: the formal and the informal discourse. The formal discourse on sexuality states that certain sexual behaviors, such as sexual harassment, fraternization, adultery and homosexuality are deviant acts and forbidden to both males and females in the service. The formal discourse on sexuality is also based on the notion of that 1) sex should be restrained and nonviolent 2) sex is a natural part of existence 3) sex is bad 4) the only appropriate form of sex is monogamous and heterosexual sex and 5) sexuality is based on the domino in which appropriate sexual behavior must be distinguished from abnormal and deviant sexual behavior because if any type of erotic sex is permitted, the barrier against the abnormal sex will fall and the deviant sexual acts will be considered acceptable. The informal discourse states that the laws and policies (or lack of laws) prohibiting sexual behaviors may be used to discriminate against servicewomen. Inherent within the informal discourse on sexuality is the dominant discourse on power. For example, the laws regarding sexuality are used to discriminate against females in the military in order to limit their access to power.

This chapter will explore support for the formal and informal discourses on sexuality in the military. In addition, this chapter will review the resistance techniques

utilized by the veterans and the alternative discourses to the formal and informal ones supported by the veterans. Finally, this chapter will examine sexual harassment in the military and how this is related to the dominant discourse on gender and the informal discourse on sexuality.

Support for the Formal Discourse

Some women upheld the formal discourse regarding sexuality and supported the rules and regulations prohibiting certain sexual behaviors. The majority seemed to support the laws and policies regarding sexual harassment and fraternization, although a few women also supported the adultery laws. Interestingly, even though the military has no laws or rules criminalizing the subtle forms of sexual harassment, such as the jokes, teasing and innuendoes, some women seemed to believe that the military was doing everything it could to prevent these behaviors. This sentiment was expressed in a couple of focus groups:

Jen: What do you think some of the solutions to sexual harassment in the service would be then?

Ellen: Well, they're doing that.

Kelly: Everyplace you go you have mandatory lectures and...

Sylvia: Training.

Kelly: And they have all this kind of stuff and it's very, very visible. And they have all these protocols so it never happens.

Sylvia: If you don't get it resolved in the unit there is an outside organization that is free from your command that you can go to and say this is what happened.

Kelly: It's easier to get that resolved in the military than it is any civilian place.

Sylvia: Oh, yes.

Ellen: Any hospital, any place I've worked. I knew that I was protected in the military vs. when I worked at

_____ at _____. Stuff was happening and people were getting fired because they would go and complain about this one anesthesiologist and I said, "Forget it. I'm just gonna quit." See its better in the military.

Jen: You feel more protected?

Ellen: Yes, because they have all these different safety valves.

Vikki also felt that the military was handling sexual harassment in the best possible way. She even agreed with the military's decision to terminate the hot-line they established, following the Aberdeen incidents, which allowed servicewomen to anonymously complain about sexual harassment. Again Aberdeen was one of the Army training centers where 56 female recruits claimed that they were sexually assaulted by 22 male superiors. She stated:

But dealing with the hot line issue it looks as if somebody higher up said, "Do something to make it look like we're dealing with this issue." And somebody came up with the idea lets start a hot line. "Oh, yeah. That sounds great. Go start a hot line." The reason for shutting it down, like I said, it doesn't say here, other than because it was used for women to try and settle grudges, well there's no background to that, there's really no way to look into that and you know when you have one person yelling at another person, saying, "You did it. No, I didn't". And then somebody else comes by and "Oh, she's just mad because she had to work all the PM shifts the week of Christmas" or something like that. Well, who knows? So, I suspect there was more to it than that, I suspect that it was shut down not necessarily because women were trying to settle grudges, but probably because they looked at a better way probably of handling it. Saying look we already have these methods set up through the internal chain of command and this is the way these people should be handling this, not through a national hotline.

During several focus groups many women also voiced their support for the fraternization laws. They seemed to feel that fraternization laws are necessary to

protect the subordinates. They did not even consider the remote possibility that the laws do not work. Although we discussed certain cases, such as the Aberdeen incident, which involved fraternization, they did not seem to feel that these cases were examples of the inadequacy of the laws. For example:

Jen: So you think adultery should stay and fraternization shouldn't?

Kelly: No, just the opposite.

Sylvia: Yeah, fraternization should probably stay.

Kelly: Because it coerces an underling into a position they don't want to be in. I'm using underling in the kindest of terms.

Sylvia: And it can happen within enlisted ranks. It can happen within officer ranks. The whole coercive situation is wrong, but there is a very, very, very old adage that what goes TDY [temporary duty away from base] stays TDY. Its kind of like the blue code of whatever that with the cops they don't narc on each other they don't tell each others secrets. It's the same type of thing with the military.

When Karen was asked how she felt about the fraternization and adultery laws, she stated:

Karen: I think they should remain.

Jen: Both of them? Both the adultery and the fraternization laws?

Karen: Yeah.

Jen: Why do you think they should remain?

Karen: I think we need to expect officers to uphold a certain image, a certain trustworthiness. For one, as far as the adultery thing. And then as far as fraternization that it can really interfere with the job, and mission and that whole chain of command so...

Julie and Pam had similar feelings regarding the fraternization laws:

Julie: The fraternization, I know why they did that. Because the officers obviously are higher up. They are the bosses and it could be, but if you're not directly working for someone or if they're not in your chain of command and that's the whole story...

Pam: Right

Julie: But if she was somehow linked to him through work then no. Then that could cause a lot of problems.

Pam: Right

Support for the Informal Discourse

The veterans did not show support for the informal discourse when discussing sexual harassment, and homosexuality. However, using the Flinn case as an example, more than half of the women noted that adultery and fraternization laws are unfairly used against female servicewomen. For example, Ellen believed that Flinn was singled out for her crimes, even though she lied and deserved to be discharged from the service:

Well, actually I think that a lot of men have gotten away with this and she's a special person. She's one of the few B-52 bombers, of course she's probably being singled out. I think she was. But she's also wrong and she should have been discharged, but I think a lot of men get away with it.

Pam too felt that Flinn was the victim of discrimination. She states:

Pam: I think what's good for the goose is good for the gander.

Jen: Meaning?

Pam: That if they gonna get her for what was this adultery and lying you've got some of the guys who do the same thing and get away with it. If you've gonna do it, do it on an equal basis. Don't have any discrimination. And I don't know what they're getting these other women for, but that's not right. I feel if they doing a good job, they're not having any problems, why try to get them into problems.

She continues this discussion at a later point in the conversation:

Pam: I think they're [the fraternization and adultery laws] unfair. They should be used...

Jen: Both of them?

Pam: Evenly because I've known of some officers that have

gotten rid of their wives and nothing happened and some of these women have gone for 20 or 30 years almost, they got rid of them for a young woman. This woman would lose everything and that's sad.

Jen: Because you think they're unfair, do you think they should remain as part of the military code of justice or do you think they should be removed from that?

Pam: I think they should be improved. And use it both ways.

Jen: So stay, but don't be discriminatory towards women.

Pam: Right. They use it.

Pam's suggestion to improve or remove the fraternization and adultery laws so they are applied equally to both sexes represents an alternative discourse to the informal discourse on sexuality. In other words she is acknowledging that the laws are not always applied equally to both sexes and is asking that this discriminatory policy be eliminated. Although she is against the discrimination, she seems to approve the philosophy behind the laws. Because of this, the alternative discourse she is advocating is the formal discourse on sexuality, which again states that certain sexual behaviors should be forbidden for both men and women.

Like the others, Julie claimed that it was not uncommon for the men in her unit to engage in adultery without being charged of any wrongdoing. She suggests that Flinn is the victim of a double standard:

Yeah, I'm not sure that there isn't a big double standard operating here because I'm sure there are a lot of men. I know of people who have had affairs and not been in trouble. I understand why they used they lying as an issue, made that an issue and I wonder if it's also not because she's an officer with an enlisted man, the fraternization thing.

Karen and Dawn, also stated that they knew several men who had had affairs during their time in the military and had not been punished. They claim that women in

the service are watched more closely than men, so it only makes sense that they will be caught and punished more often for these crimes.

Karen: I think it's [the Flinn case] another illustration of being under the microscope. She was [definitely watched] in her position as the first female bomber pilot. She was watched really carefully. I agree that the lying was her biggest offense and I think it was right that she was discharged because of the lying. But I think that the whole case was just over publicized as far as the adultery part because that's been going on with men in the Air Force for a long time and they usually get away with it....

Dawn: I pretty much agree too. Yes, she was under the microscope. I knew of instances where male officers have had affairs and ...I thought it was funny when I first came into the squadron when I worked when I was in the Air...My first job, where this other female officer that I was training for her position, she said, "I just want to tell you, what goes TDY stays TDY."

Jen: TDY is?

Dawn: When you go away from home...

Karen: Temporary Duty away from your base.

Dawn: In other words, she was giving me the clear message when I go away with these guys, I mean not necessarily that I would have an affair, but she said, she's basically telling me, "There will be a time when these men do have affairs, do not ever say anything or your job could be in jeopardy."

Jen: What was her job?

Dawn: She was the office administration officer and she was the one that I was gonna replace.

Jen: I see she...

Dawn: So she was a Lieutenant and she was telling me basically keep your mouth shut when you come back from these trips because all kinds of things happen and...

Angie too noted that plenty of men in her unit got away with similar crimes: The sexual thing, in my unit, the officers they had plenty of girlfriends. We would travel to Florida. Well, I went with them because I was in the engineering section. I was young. I had top secret clearance and did all this important work. We'd go to Florida and most of the time while I was working, they were out meeting their girlfriends that they had in town because they traveled there a lot. That was

fine. Nobody questioned it. Me I could care less. I was young. I was just doing my job so I could get paid, but this was all the time. This was big officers and they got away with it all the time. It's just that now those type things are coming out. But that's the way they were.

Dawn was the only women I spoke with who claimed that she was the victim of discrimination in the service because of a supposedly sexual activity. She explained that this happened when she went away with a few pilots on assignment:

I had another time I went on a trip to Canada with my squadron and everybody got together in the evening in a hotub in the hotel we were in and then I came back home and I was called in and said, "You were sitting in a hotub with five pilots and two of them were from..." And I wasn't doing anything wrong and I got called in on that one and luckily I had a higher up officer in my chain of command that heard that I was reprimanded for that and he said, "Well, were the men that were in the hotub reprimanded?" and I said, "No, just me. So he went and talked to my commander and said, "If the Lt. was reprimanded for being in a hotub doing nothing wrong, how come you didn't reprimand the other people?" And I think that might have been 87 or 88. It was just the start of equal treatment and all that.

Although many of the veterans recognized that servicewomen have been treated unfairly in the past, they also seemed to feel that this has changed somewhat for the better. Whether or not this is the case remains a mystery. Since these women are no longer serving active duty, it is questionable whether they can report with accuracy how women are currently treated in the service.

Some servicewomen seemed to agree that the military enforced the fraternization and adultery laws inconsistently during their time in the service. The

women seemed to feel that whether or not a servicemember was charged depends on the commander of the unit. They said:

Sylvia: Oh, yeah. That's always the situation.

Kelly: Depending on who you are and who you're commanding officer is.

Lisa: Who you know.

This seems to imply that if a commander wants to eliminate a servicewoman from the military he can use these laws as a means to do so. Although he might use the laws against a serviceman, it seems much more probable that the laws would be used against servicewomen because of the challenges they present to the masculine ideology. As discussed in chapter 2, servicewomen appear as threatening to their male co-workers because with women in the service men can no longer use the military as an affirmation of their masculinity.

Resistance and Alternative Discourses

Although many women supported the fraternization laws, a few women demonstrated resistance to these laws. For example, two female officers stated that they were married to an enlisted during their time in the service. While servicewomen are legally forbidden to date those in their chain of command and those of a different class, there are no rules prohibiting these couples from being married. However, if the women are married to a servicemember not of their class they probably engaged in fraternization at one time. Despite this, the military rarely charges a married couple with fraternization stemming from their dating relationship. Although these relationships are legal if the couple is married, one woman, Phyllis told the members

of her focus group how she and her husband hid their marriage. She could have attempted to hide her marriage because she didn't want her professionalism to be questioned or it could be that she did not fully understand the fraternization laws. She states:

Vikki: I knew women that used the fact that they were women to come on to the senior officers or enlisted that would come on to the officers. My husband is enlisted or was enlisted at the time that I met him and I had actually met him before I came into the Navy and then I made the decision. I already signed the papers [so] I had to go through with it. We got married 6 weeks after I was at my first duty station. But we were very aware of what was going on. He was a hospital coreman and he had three years of college and got drafted because of the Vietnam War. At that time it wasn't typical of some high school kid that didn't know... [He] had a lot of education behind him. As I said I met him when I was in nursing school and when I got into the Navy and we did get married. We were very careful about who we socialized with, what we did. We were never seen in uniform together...

Annie: Cause you couldn't?

Vikki: Well, I mean not that we could, you're right we couldn't ,but we were just very careful. We did not put ourselves into a position of jeopardizing our relationship or our jobs.

Annie: You had to live a double life. Because if you think about it... If you were going to go to functions at the officer's club, he just couldn't go.

Vikki: Or if he did he went in civilian attire

Annie: In civilian attire. The same way with where his area of the base, where his functions were. You couldn't go in uniform.

Vikki: That's right. In uniform. And that was the big thing is that we didn't and we really didn't do [it] a lot.

Missy, however, clearly understood these laws. She explains:

Like in the military, interestingly enough you can't be dating somebody not in your same class, but you can be

married to them, an enlisted person. Like you said [points to Phyllis] I too was married to a Sergeant.

Although Missy's behavior seemed to indicate resistance to the formal discourse on sexuality because she did engage in fraternization and date an enlisted in her chain of command before she married, she also seemed to show support and acceptance of the fraternization laws through the following statement:

You know the fraternization is necessary. Just like Annie mentioned you've got a certain job to do. You have friendships with people below you it does impact on your ability to be a leader. So, you've really got to be careful with what you do.

As stated in Chapter 4, alternative discourses in the military also represent a form of resistance. While women are being indoctrinated into the military and stripped of their identity they resist by retaining their autonomy and recognizing their unique status as women in the service. Only a few women voiced opposition to the fraternization laws. These women believed the laws in and of themselves were unfair and wanted them to be eliminated from the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Bea, for example, stated:

More and more is coming out on it now, but I think that the military has to determine for sure that this fraternization is not going to work. People are going to get together, and I know many of them, officer and enlisted are married, and there's no reason why it can't continue, why people can't date or whatever.

Cindy, also was voiced opposition to these laws. She claimed:

They think that having that degree allows some people to tell others what to do, but she has known people who get that degree and are losers. Thinks the fraternization laws are bologna.

Aside from fraternization the majority of women seemed to support an alternative discourse regarding the adultery and homosexuality laws. Like the women opposed to fraternization laws, these women felt that these expressions of sexuality should not be regulated by the service. Sylvia was the only woman I spoke with who admitted to resisting the adultery laws by breaking them and having an affair. As she explains:

I didn't go to Saudi. I was in Korea for a year and I was alone. My family was here and I worked, I worked incredibly long hours. I had 20 some people working under me and for the first time in my career they were mostly still teenagers okay so it was like really stressful for me. And I found someone. I had to find someone or I would have gone nuts. If I hadn't been able to just be held, more than anything else, and cry when I needed to cry and talk when I needed to talk. And of course, once you are that intimate with someone its only natural that a sexual relationship occurs, but we both loved our spouses and loved our children and we both knew that we couldn't, even as a letter writing or friendship relationship, even maintain that once we got back to the States. He left about four months before I did because everybody kept rotating. And I'm not going to say there weren't times that I was kind of tempted. One time I went through his base going TDY and I drove through his base and I thought t you know I could probably stop and look _____ up or at least talk to him on the phone at work and get his number, but you know you just don't do those things.

Some women voiced opposition to the adultery laws, because they believed that the military has no right to regulate sexuality or to determine who should sleep with each other. For example, when asked how she felt about the Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy, Kelly replied:

It's like adultery. Its nobody's damn business.

Still others felt that the government should not try to dictate morality to the troops. This occurred in a discussion during one of the focus groups. For example:

Vikki: Morally, I don't agree with it [adultery]. I don't know that we need to have a law for it though, is the only thing.

Annie: You're right. We have enough laws....

Vikki: It kind of falls on that line of pro-life and pro-choice type stuff that they keep trying to bring up and making laws for this...It's a moral issue, it shouldn't be a law.

Annie: Exactly, exactly.

Missy: Maybe we don't really need that. I think its really prosecuted in the military too because they know they can get you on all this other [inaudible]. The other 138 articles, or whatever.

With regards to homosexuality, the laws in the service prohibiting this behavior should be regarded as proof of the heterosexual bias that exists in the service.

While servicemen are encouraged to be sexually aggressive to their female counterparts through cadence counts and jokes depicting this behavior as well as female subordination, these laws discourage them to be sexually aggressive to members of their sex. Inherent within this heterosexual bias is the idea of patriarchy.

According to Horrocks (1997), "Heterosexuality itself has been deconstructed and analyzed, not as a 'natural' or biologically ordained principle, but as a politically imposed hegemony, which has been fundamentally oppressive to women" (129).

Compulsory heterosexuality is another expression in the military of the subordination of women.

In each focus group, the veterans were asked how they felt about homosexuality in the military. All of the women who were broached with these questions believed that homosexuals should be allowed in the service. This, of course,

means that they opposed the laws against homosexuality and supported an alternative discourse, which argued against the criminalization of homosexuality. For example, when I read the military's arguments against gays to one of the focus groups, the participants immediately defended the rights of homosexuals.

Angie: That [the arguments against gays] is not true.

Sylvia: That is bullshit.

Kelly: They use that same argument for gay males for the CIA, the FBI, anybody else that has a secret clearance and the fact is if they let people out of the closet they wouldn't be so coercive.

Ellen: Yeah, I think all this is totally false.

Kelly: They do this in the Netherlands, all over Europe.

Angie: In my unit, we had two males that we knew were gay and one that I think was, but who cares? Nobody cared. Everybody got along with everybody just fine. Men weren't afraid to buddy buddy with them because they knew their purpose was. There was no problem in my unit, nobody cared.

Other women also reiterated this theme:

Karen: I think most of them [the military's arguments] you could say the same thing about heterosexual people too. All this potential for fraternization, adultery, coercion, that kind of thing.

Dawn: And using your rank for sexual favors.

Karen: I don't think homosexuals have any ownership over heterosexuals.

Despite the fact that the women agreed that homosexuals should be allowed in the service, they seemed to have mixed reactions regarding the Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy. Some women, such as Vikki, were opposed to this policy. Vikki attempted to resist the policy by simply ignoring it.

Vikki: So, I think we need to go a little further than that, not just Don't Ask/Don't Tell. I think there are situations you do need to ask and whenever I see anybody in my field and

I'm doing any sort of sexual history I ask them male or female sexual partner, I think that's real important because you're looking at lifetime health issues. If they're coming in and seeing you I need that honesty, I need to see what's going on to see what I'm going to do. I will ask them about their HIV status. I ask people how many lifetime sexual partners have you had. Again, someone that says, "I did a whole football team."... And I know that every physician, every nurse practitioner, PA, whatever, every medical provider I think decides for themselves how they will handle that.

Annie: So then you jeopardize your career.

Vikki: That's right. I made a conscious decision that I would ask because I felt that it was the best in the interest of the patient, to give them the best care. And if that meant that if this case was to be taken to the point that I would be held accountable for that, that I did not report it, well then court marshal me because that's what I felt. I made a conscious decision that that's what I needed to do because I felt that my oath as a medical provider goes beyond what the UCMJ says.

Dawn also voiced opposition to this policy. She states:

I agree that they should serve in the military, but I don't think we should ask them to be to and I don't think all of them are going to want to come out and put claim, but it would be if I had to hide some big part of my life it would be disturbing to me. Its like if I had a child but I couldn't tell anybody or...So, I think its kind of unfair that we say Don't Tell. I think if the military's going to let homosexuals be in they should be able to say, I'm a homosexual and what's the big deal. I think they're half way is right by letting them in, but I just think its kind of dumb that they half to hide it.

Other women supported the Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy. Although these women did not agree with the criminalization of homosexuality (still present in the Don't Ask/Don't Tell), they supported the policy because they felt that the military was not ready for openly gay servicemembers. Karen, for example, claimed that the

Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy allowed good workers, who happened to be gay, to do their job without experiencing negative confrontations because of their sexuality.

I think the Don't Ask/Don't Tell is probably a good policy. I know at least four homosexuals, 2 men and 2 women that I've worked with that you know I found out later on that they were homosexuals and I think it would have been very bad for them if everyone had known. But the fact that people didn't know, they were just able to do their job in peace and it was a good thing. They're a good, very professional people, so...

Pam also supported the Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy. Like Karen, she seemed to feel that if gays were allowed to be open about their sexuality in the service chaos would result. Like many of the military's arguments against gays and women in combat, Pam's argument also appears to punish gays because heterosexual men cannot control their aggression. In addition Pam appears to feel that if the Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy were ended the trouble would occur between gay men and heterosexual men. She does not mention lesbians or the feelings of heterosexual women. In her focus group, Pam clarifies her position:

Pam: I think they should just let it alone. Because there's a lot of men there, but they're smart enough to know how to go through and get through and finish their tour of duty and go about there business. We don't need anymore problems in the military then we have. We have enough. So they should just went on. Let it alone...It was the gay people who were pushing and the heterosexual wasn't saying anything, but they want their rights sometimes you can get into a lot of problems. You got men in close corners. When you got men in close things combat and submarines people go wacko and you have to be real careful.

Jen: Do you think that gays should be allowed in the service?

Pam: If they want to go into the service if they don't want to tell if they're gay like they been doing, fine. But if they're gonna broadcast then you kind of gotta sign out and guys

are gonna try to avoid you.

Jen: So it's the openly gay that's the problem?

Pam: Yeah, that's gonna be a problem cause some of these men are men and they can be rude and real nasty and I've heard some of them say it makes there flesh quiver and their stomach gets upset so you know just go and let a person alone.

Pam's earlier statement, which touched on the idea that heterosexual men are the ones that are prejudiced against gays in the military, was shared by many of the veterans. For example, Sylvia stated.

When this Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy came into effect, I was in Korea and I'd been there about a year 8 or 9 months and there were several young men, like I said I had a bunch of teen-agers working for me, and the NCO's in the dormitory lived by themselves, but the young people in the dormitory had two to room and one young man, we were talking about [the Don't Ask/Don't Tell] policy this one night and he said, "If I found out my roommate was a queer I'd fuckin kill him." And I said, "How long have you been living with this guy?"

"Ten months."

"Has he ever made a sexual advance toward you?"

"No."

"Is he your buddy?"

"Yeah."

"Well then, what's the difference if you found out he's gay or not?"

"Well, then he'd be a fuckin queer."

"Well that sounds like your prejudice not his problem and you need to change your attitude"

And that's where this problem is going to come from in the military. I think asking this question to women we have a tendency to be a lot more open and comfortable with the gay issue, its probably going to slant your...

At a later point in the group, Karen and Dawn repeated Sylvia's view:

Dawn: And I think men in general are more against homosexuals joining and I think women are more accepting of homosexuals....It's not just the military. I've even noticed

that in society where men just have such a distaste for homosexuals where a lot of women I know just say its not the perfect lifestyle, but I think most women just don't find it so offensive.

Karen: Seems to be more threatening to men in general.

As explained in chapter 2, Thomas and Thomas (1996) suggested that the prejudice heterosexual males have against gays in the military occurs because gays call into question all that is constructed as masculine and are therefore a threat to heterosexual males.

Sexual Harassment

According to LeMoncheck (1997), sexual harassment is defined as, "a degrading and debilitation sexual assault on [women's] moral dignity and physical vulnerability, the unacceptable, unwanted and nonmutual nature is indicative of personal violation" (2). Sexual harassment clearly encompasses the discourses regarding both sex and gender. It appears to represent the discourse on gender because it is used by men in powerful positions as a means of pushing female subordinates, who they despise, out of the service. Sexual harassment also appears to represent the discourse on sexuality because the lack of laws criminalizing this behavior encourages sexual harassment and represents a discriminatory policy towards women. In addition laws, such as conduct unbecoming and officer and a gentleman, are rarely used to punish men in the service who engage in this behavior. The lack of enforcement regarding these laws, as well as the laws against rape, is also used to discriminate against women.

Stories of sexual harassment from veterans of all eras and branches were rampant throughout the interviews and focus groups. A few women that I spoke with supported the idea that sexual harassment represents the discourse on gender. One woman, Kelly, hinted that women who do not fit the ideal image of a soldier might be subject to harassment. Since this ideal image is representative of masculinity, this appears to support the findings of the literature that sexual harassment results from the hatred men have toward women and all things constructed as feminine. When asked why sexual harassment exists in the service, Kelly states:

I think there's people outside... You can go to any class and have a professor take you down verbally, in front of people or with their eyes or treat you differently because you're older and you're fat as opposed to what they think the college student should look like.

Some women also claimed that male soldiers disliked and sexually harassed servicewomen because they forced the men to leave their comfortable jobs and fight at war or serve on ships for longer periods of time. Shelly and Marie, who served in the Army in W.W.II, remarked:

Annoyed that women came in because that meant that they had to go overseas. Not really angry. A gentle teasing. They meant it, but they weren't nasty about it. Wasn't bad.

Some of the men could be nasty in saying they didn't want you in the service. And most of the time they said they didn't want you in the service because you would take away their job in the states and they would have to go overseas and fight a war.

These women seem to support the idea that sexual harassment in the service is used as a way to eliminate women. The servicemen who find women threatening and

want them to leave the military, may use sexual harassment as a way to force the women out and show them that they are still outsiders and will never truly be a part of the service.

Other women seemed to support the idea that sexual harassment is representative of the informal discourse on sexuality in the service. Many women reported that nothing or very little happened to the men who harassed them, once a complaint is made. For example, Lisa states that :

[Women] can't go to anybody and complain. Who are they going to complain to? It's a majority of males in charge and they're going to blow you off. They're going to tell you it's in your mind. It's not real. You're making this up.

Still other women provided different explanations for the harassment. Aside from the abuse of power mentioned earlier, many women seemed to feel that sexual harassment is caused by a "natural" attraction among people of the opposite sex.

...When you put a man and a woman out on watch alone at night you don't know what's gonna happen chemically with their minds and bodies. Maybe she don't want it done, well [the man thinks to himself] I've been here so long I'm going to do what I want to do.

Quotes such as these seem to imply that men are equivalent to animals and are not able control their sexual aggression. This idea is inherent in the dominant discourse on gender, which uses sexual aggression as a defining feature of masculinity. It is apparent that the dominant discourse on gender is both degrading to women and men.

Because sexual harassment results in the unequal and harmful treatment of women, it represents a form of sex discrimination. There were a few women I spoke

with who managed to resist this type of discrimination. Resistance of sexual harassment includes actions that fall within the chain of command, such as complaining to a supervisor, and actions outside of this chain of command. Both types can be considered resistance because each of them involves the women actively fighting this behavior.

Sylvia, for example, was sexually harassed twice. Each time she resisted. The first time, she actively complained after a superior officer made a demeaning remark, which seemed to indicate a general disgust toward female sexuality. In addition, by referring to women as girls, he seemed to enforce the notion that women in the service are powerless. She states:

Sylvia: And the one incident where I really raised a hissy fit was about [involved] a really, really tasteless joke. I had locked my keys in a car before a staff meeting and after the staff meeting I had asked around if anyone, from _____, this is like a rarity, if there was a coat hanger anywhere. A Lt. Col., I was a staff sergeant at the time, an enlisted person, a Lt. Col., says, "Well I don't think there are any coat hangers or anything. One of the secretaries said, "I think there are some coat hangers in the ladies room." And the Col. said, "Oh, yeah. That's where you girls do your abortions isn't it."

Jen: How did you handle the situation?

Sylvia: Well, I immediately went to my supervisor. There were other women that heard the comment and my supervisor was a Capt. at the time, a male Capt., a real wimp. He refused to do anything about it because the Lt. Col. that said this – lets see, my boss was a Capt., his boss was a Major and the major's boss was the Lt. Col. that said it. Military protocol states that in a sexual harassment situation, the first thing that you are responsible to do is to report it to your supervisor who then is suppose to be required to take it to the other person's supervisor so that the 4 of you can get together and try to resolve the issue. My Capt. refused to go to the commander, the Col. that ran

the unit, refused to go to the Col.. office. The major was off that day so I couldn't go to him so the very next thing I did, since I couldn't obviously go to the Lt. Col.. [was to] pick up the phone and I call the Col., myself. I made an appointment the first thing, it was a Friday afternoon, and I made an appointment for the first thing Monday morning with the Col. I went in [and] I talked to the Col. The Capt. didn't know I had gone over his head. The SOB refused, at point blank, refused to make an appointment with the Col. so I went in there. I told the Col. what had happened at his staff meeting, or at the Lt. Col.'s staff meeting and he called the Capt. in, and the Major in with me first. The Capt. verified that yes it had happened. The Col. talked to some of the other women that had heard it, other people not even just women, but men had heard it too. And then they called the Lt. Col. in and we dealt with it in the unit and he was forced to publicly apologize. At the commanders call [with] 200 some people there he had to stand up and say what a jerk off he was and apologize to me and apologize to anyone who was offended by the comment.

The second time, another superior attempted to rape her. She tried to take it through the proper channels, but she was not able to file criminal charges or have him removed from her chain of command. As in many sexual harassment cases, military officials indicated that there was nothing they could do. Because of this, she was forced to resist in another way. As she explains:

Sylvia: In another case, there was an attempted rape and we were of equal rank and worked in the same work center. It was handled very poorly. I demanded that the man be removed from my chain of command cause the way it worked out he had the same rank, but he had more time in that rank than I did.

Jen: So he had seniority on you?

Sylvia: He had seniority. So he was my supervisor because of the way things worked out. I demanded that he is taken out of my chain of command and for personnel review purposes he was, but he was still my daily supervisor.

Jen: How did you bypass him to complain about him?

Sylvia: Oh, well. It was easy. I initially went to his supervisor who was also the manager of where I worked and the manager where we worked was so abhorred that he was ready to file a formal complaint right away, but the fact of the matter was that it was his word against mine. We went to the commander and first sergeant and I wanted him completely out of my life where I didn't see him on a daily basis and they said that because of manning being the way it was it had to be this way.

Jen: But he wasn't someone who wrote you're evaluations?

Sylvia: No, he didn't write my evaluations. But the man was incredibly incompetent and within two months he wound up being fired for his incompetence and put into a much lower ranking position elsewhere in the squadron. Basically he just sharpened pencils all day long. And I wound up in his position and I held that position for the 8 months that I still had left there. So basically his idiocy got him anyway...I like to see other people succeed and so before the attempted rape I did a lot of covering his ass, and afterwards I did nothing and neither did anyone else because they knew, because of the personalities they had been covering for him too, that I was the person telling the truth. So the rest of the people that worked for him quit covering his ass too.

Jen: And that's what finally got him.

Sylvia: Yeah, it finally caught up with him. But those are the only two real incidences of sexual harassment that I had.

Some women also resisted sexual harassment by refusing to be victimized. As Joan says:

Well [women] probably get their share of harassment, but on the other side of the coin is how the women deal with it, how they deal with it. How they assert themselves. How they allow themselves to be harassed. It's like [Private] Benjamin here, in the last [film] clip. She rode that one. She recognized the fact that yes she had been assaulted or sexually whatever and she did her part to take the best of that situation too, just like the Col. He tried to take advantage of her, she took advantage of him in the end.

Summary

This chapter explored support for the formal and informal discourses on sexuality in the service. Again, the formal discourse states that sexuality should be restrained and nonviolent in nature. This discourse defines sex as natural, but bad. The only appropriate form of sex according to this discourse is monogamous and heterosexual sex. Lastly, this discourse asserts that normal sexual behavior must be distinguished from sexual behavior because if it is not, the barrier against the abnormal sex will fall and the deviant sexual acts will be considered acceptable. The informal discourse states that the laws (or lack of laws) can be used to discriminate against women. Most veterans claimed that the fraternization and adultery laws are used to discriminate against women; however they did not seem to feel that the lack of sexual harassment laws and the laws against homosexuality are also used against women. A majority of women supported the fraternization laws, but opposed the laws regarding adultery and homosexuality. A few women resisted these laws by ignoring or breaking them, but most simply supported an alternative discourse and argued against them. Lastly, several women I spoke with experienced sexual harassment during their time in the service. The harassment appeared to reflect both the dominant discourse on gender and the dominant discourse on sexuality. In other words it seemed to result from a hatred that men have toward their female counterparts and it seemed to result from the lack of enforcement of laws (and lack of laws) concerning this behavior.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter, I will review the overall framework, the theoretical and methodological perspective and the findings of this study. In addition, I will discuss the four main limitations of the study and the policy implications that are inherent within this research.

Summary of Findings

The United States military represents a paradox for servicewomen. While it presents women with many opportunities, such as travel, adventure, a college education and equal pay, it also is seeped in male domination and gender discrimination. In recent years many of the laws and regulations prohibiting women's integration into the service have been eliminated, but at the same time women are still experiencing gender discrimination. While the blatant forms of discrimination have diminished, the subtle forms of discrimination against women have risen. The only blatant form of discrimination still apparent in the military is the restriction of women from certain roles and occupations within the service, such as ground combat and service on submarines. The other laws that openly discriminated against women, such as the laws regulating female sexuality and the laws forbidding pregnant women and

mothers of young children from entering the service have been eliminated from the military. Despite the change in laws, women in the service are still facing discrimination, only in a much subtler form. They are the victims of invisible sexist practices including sexual harassment, unofficial dissatisfaction with pregnant women in the service, lack of childcare, selective enforcement of fraternization and adultery laws and separation of dual service couples.

The goal of this study was to explore women's experiences in the military. This research was informed by critical and feminist postmodern theories. Since critical theory focuses on social structures that are oppressive, it was useful for studying dominating structures in the military, such as gender, rank, and sexual orientation. Feminist postmodernism, on the other hand, was useful because it combined the larger theoretical tools of feminism with the social constructionist philosophy of postmodernism. These theorists advocate the use of historical narratives to show how sexism is embedded in social institutions at particular moments in history. This is similar to the work of Foucault, who used genealogy to trace dominant discourses at different historical moments. This theory easily lent itself to the study of discourses and resistance in the service. The analysis of discourses takes into account multiple subjectivities and as such it acknowledges similarities and differences across the genders.

Specifically, I examined the dominant discourses on power, gender and sexuality in the service, which form the underlying root of gender discrimination. There are many discourses regarding power in the service, such as those based on

gender, rank, age, sexual orientation, race, class and position in the service, although I was especially concerned with the discourse that defines masculinity as powerful. Because women are believed by the military to lack strength they have been delegated to support positions throughout their time in the service. (Kraust 1991; Thomas and Thomas 1996). Although some of the combat exclusionary laws have been revised, women are still being excluded from certain occupations and positions within the service. In addition, women are being integrated into the newly opened positions at a very slow rate (Miller 1997a). In addition, this exclusion represents domination over women, because women are being restricted from positions of power. The discourse on power is embedded in the discourses on gender and sexuality and used to control different populations of the service, such as women.

The discourse on gender in the military states that masculinity and femininity are constructed in opposition to each other. In the discourse on gender is defined as binary. Women are defined as sexual in nature, physically and emotionally weak, tied to their bodies/reproductive organs and are forced to control their body. Men are defined as heterosexual, strong, freed from reproduction/constraints of body. Again, when women join the service they are forced to cross over gender lines because they are leaving their role of caregiver within the family and entering a traditionally masculine field. Women in this masculine domain present a challenge to the masculine ideology because men can no longer use the service as an affirmation of their masculinity. Other research has shown that sexual harassment is used by males to defuse the threat that women pose to their all male culture. Although the very

presence of women appears to threaten masculinity, this behavior is very prevalent in male dominated occupations within the service (Rustad 1992; Thomas and Thomas 1996; Francke 1997).

There appears to be two discourses in the military regarding sexuality: the formal discourse and the informal discourse. The formal discourse on sexuality states that (1) appropriate sexuality is restrained, and non-violent (2) sex is natural (3) sex is bad (4) sex should be monogamous and heterosexual (5) deviant sexual acts must be distinguished from normal sexual activities. The informal discourse states that the laws against sexuality may be used to discriminate against women. In some cases, as in sexual harassment, it is also the lack of laws may give men reign to harass.

In order to explore the feelings servicewomen have about the discourses on power, gender and sexuality in the military, I conducted both interviews and focus groups with female veterans. I interviewed 36 women at a local veteran's clinic and I conducted 4 focus groups. Although the turnout was lower than expected for the focus groups, many women shared their stories and I was able to gain much insight into the military.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the structures that affect women's access to power. Although power structures are, according to Foucault, produced by discourses, the structures and the discourses each influence each other. In particular, I looked at the structures that restricted women's access to power and the structures that provided women with access to power. One structure the women discussed that restricted their access to power is gender. Because of their status as women, many veterans were

restricted from certain jobs and occupations in the service. Additionally, some veterans did not receive the same benefits as their male counterparts. A second structure that restricted women's access to power is rank. The women with low ranks were completely controlled by their higher-ranking superiors and powerless in relation to these higher-ups. Many times this power imbalance led to degradation and humiliation exercises designed to resocialize them into the military's system of rank. Although their male counterparts faced the same situation, the degradation ceremonies appeared to be somewhat sex specific. The degradation also appeared to result from a general abuse of power. Because the higher-ranking personnel have an enormous amount of power over their subordinates, they can often get away with being abusive. The third structure the women mentioned which restricted their access to power is sexual orientation. Because of the military's laws against homosexuality, lesbians in the service had to hide, or at least not discuss, their sexuality openly so they could remain in the military. Although none of the women I spoke with admitted to engaging in this behavior, some women said that they knew of servicewomen who slept with superiors in order to resist their powerlessness and gain privileges and advantages that they wouldn't normally receive.

Although rank can restrict a woman's access to power, it can also be the avenue from which women gain access to power. If a woman is an officer or has a high enough rank in the service, she too can obtain power in the military. The officers that I spoke with, some of which previously served as enlisted explained how much easier officers have it in the service than enlisted. They claimed that officers, for example,

are treated much better during officer training because they are given more privacy. The officers do not have to share a room with 40 to 60 other women, like the enlisted. Also, if they feel that something is unfair during officer training then they have the option to complain. This option is not available to the enlisted.

Because women of high ranks have power in the service, they occasionally abuse their power or degrade their male and female subordinates, just like the men with power. While a couple of women discussed the verbal abuse and humiliation they faced at the hands of their female counterparts, other women mentioned sexual abuse of male and female subordinates perpetrated by female commanders.

Chapter 5 focused on the dominant discourse on gender in the service. Inherent within this discourse is the dominant discourse on power.. Most women I spoke with supported the dominant discourse on gender and legitimized and justified their own discrimination. Women tended to use a biological essentialist argument, a social constructionist argument, or a general argument to maintain that (1) women and men are essentially different from each other and (2) women are too flawed to endure the same physical requirements or participate in combat. A few women did support alternative discourses regarding gender in the military. Although these women still saw males and females as essentially different, they questioned whether or not women are fundamentally flawed. As stated in the chapter on gender, alternative discourses represent a form of resistance in the military because it is nearly impossible for servicewomen to actively resist the dominant discourses. If they do they will very likely be thrown out of the service. In addition, the refusal to accept the dominant

discourses means that the women are resisting at least part of their indoctrination in the service.

Aside from supporting various discourses, the veterans also discussed a few body issues that affected them in the service. Many women, for example, discussed the loss of autonomy they experienced during their time in the military. The loss of independence occurred because the military is a total institution that strips its members of their autonomy to create the perfect soldier. This loss of independence seemed to also have sex specific consequences. for example, it appears to have resulted in poor medical care for pregnant women. In addition, because the servicemembers are considered to be government property, the military may have tried to increase their efficiency. Specifically, at one time, the military may have conducted unnecessary hysterectomies on servicewomen in order to ensure that the military would not be bogged down with "female" problems. Finally, servicemembers also had to follow certain disciplinary practices during their time in the service, such as maintain a certain weight. Although both women and men have to maintain these requirements or face dismissal from the military, at least one woman indicated that commanders are able to use their discretion in enforcing these standards and may decide that someone who meets the standard still lose weight. It seems as though this may be used by commanders to rid the service of female servicemembers or force them to obtain a more feminine physique.

In addition, the veterans discussed two types of subtle discrimination they faced in the military. One of which is lack of childcare. Several women complained

that the day care center was not open during the times they needed care for their child(ren). This represents a form of subtle discrimination because if the women are unable to find sitters for their children they are not able to stay in the service. In addition, it also shows that the women are outsiders and the military is not concerned with meeting their needs. Women also who were married to dual service couples also appeared to be subtly discriminated from the service. Oftentimes the husbands and wives in dual service couples were separated and sent to serve at different bases. The seemed to subtly discriminate against women because it is the women who usually leave the service when they are separated from their spouse.

In Chapter 6, I explored support for the dominant and alternative discourses on sexuality. Most women supported the formal discourse when discussing the laws and policies regarding sexual harassment and fraternization. Very few women supported the formal discourse concerning the adultery laws. These women believed that the laws were necessary and useful. This is especially interesting regarding the laws on sexual harassment, since the military has none. Many women supported the informal discourse and agreed that the adultery and fraternization laws are unfairly used against women. These women claimed that men are frequently allowed to get away with this behavior, while women, such as Kelly Flinn, are punished and singled out. While a few women engaged in resistance by actively breaking the fraternization and adultery laws, most women simply voiced opposition to the laws regulating sexuality and supported alternative discourses.

Lastly, many women discussed their experiences with sexual harassment in the

service. Sexual harassment appeared to incorporate both the dominant discourse on gender and the dominant discourse on sexuality. Sexual harassment appears to include the dominant discourse on gender in the sense that in many cases it seems to result out of a hatred servicemen have toward their female counterparts. Sexual harassment also includes the informal discourse on sexuality because the lack of laws regarding this behavior may encourage sexual harassment and results in a discriminatory policy towards women. Further the laws that may be used against this behavior are rarely utilized which also results in a discriminatory policy towards women.

As implied in the discussion of sexual harassment, it is very difficult to separate the discourses from each other. As already explained, power is inherent in the discourses on gender and sexuality. For example, the discourse on power is present in the gender discourse in the sense that power is defined as a masculine trait and weakness is defined as a feminine trait. In the informal discourse on sexuality, power is present in the sense that the selective enforcement of laws prevents women from obtaining powerful positions. In addition to this, the discourses on gender and sexuality are also intertwined with each other. The dominant discourse on gender forms the foundation for the informal discourse on sexuality. It is because servicemen see women as representing challenges to their masculinity that they selectively enforce the laws regulating sexuality against women. This selective enforcement pushes women out of the service at a much faster rate than servicemen. These actions reinforce the notion that women are fundamentally flawed, which forms the basis for the discourse on gender. Sexuality also forms the basis for gender because the

dominant and submissive sex roles inherent in heterosexuality, which is the sexual norm in the military, are also used to define which gender is powerful. Because the discourses are interconnected one seems to pile on top of the other and the oppression of women seems to be multiplied. It is hard to address the discourses because it is difficult to untangle them. Since these discourses are so powerful, resistance to them is difficult.

Implications of Findings

It is clear from these findings that feminist postmodern theory added to the understanding of women in the military because it allowed for a bottom up and top down analysis. By studying the military from the bottom up, I was able to see the power of the discourses and the ways in which the women in the service resist their oppression. This is an expansion of previous reports regarding women in the military because it does not restrict its analysis of women's experiences to power structures. Because of the insights gained through this study, I feel that more research needs to be conducted using the feminist postmodern method. For example, Foucault's genealogical method could be used to trace each the discourses on power, gender and sexuality.

Although I did not spend a lot of time on Goffman, I feel that his work on total institutions could be used along with Foucault's notion of discourse to greatly add to the understanding of the military. While this study used Goffman and Foucault to examine how well women were socialized into the dominant discourses regarding

power, gender, and sexuality in the service, other studies could be conducted examining the socialization of other groups, such as men, or minorities, into the discourses in the military. These studies could then be compared with each other to point out similarities and differences among the groups. This also seems to present an expansion of Goffman's analysis because he did not look at the influence of total institutions on specific groups of people.

This study also expanded the notion of resistance to include the acceptance of alternative discourses. This is because women (and men) who are caught actively resisting are either thrown out of the military or face criminal charges, depending on whether they are an officer or enlisted. Although Goffman discussed activities, such as urinating in radiators, that patients in mental institutions engaged in to resist their loss of self, he did not take into account that these patients were able to actively resist because they did not have to worry about being thrown out of the institution. It is more difficult to engage in active resistance if that resistance could lead to undesired termination with the institution or criminal charges.

Limitations

Despite its contributions, this study also has a few limitations. For one, it is not possible to generalize the findings of the study to the larger population of women in the military because the interviews and focus groups were drawn from a convenience sample and are not representative of (1) women currently in the service or (2) female veterans. As stated in chapter 3, the majority of the interviews were based

on a sample of veterans I met while sitting in the waiting room of the VA clinic, although I was also able to interview a few women through the on campus veterans services center and the on campus health services department. The same women I interviewed participated in the focus groups. Even though it is impossible to generalize the findings of the study, this is not a crucial limitation because this was a descriptive and exploratory study with the sole purpose of gaining an understanding of women's experiences in the service, particularly regarding power, gender and sexuality.

Since this study was based on the stories the respondents revealed to me during the interviews and focus groups, another limitation of the study is the difficulty in knowing whether the respondents lied or embellished on their experiences in the military. I tried to counteract this possibility by comparing the respondents' answers to various questions. If the respondents had the same general answers, I assumed they were being honest with me. For example, one particular woman, who told me several outrageous stories about working for the Secret Service and becoming an admiral's secretary, responded to the questions I asked so differently from the others that I began to doubt her responses during the interview. When she left the doctor who was treating her informed me that she became a male to female transsexual after she left the service. Once I was given this information I discounted her responses for this study. The other women seemed to be honest about the stories they told because they each shared similar experiences.

A third limitation is that my role as an interpreter of the data has influenced the

research process and the findings of the study. I framed the study around the “rhetoric of inquiry” meaning that I used the assumptions I had going into the project, such my belief that the military is a sexist and oppressive institution, in order to frame an argument and analysis of the military. Although I admit that I influenced the data process and analysis, many social scientists are currently questioning the very possibility of value free research. These qualitative researchers argue that the notions of science and neutral observations have given the researcher a privileged position to express their ideological stance (Atkinson and Coffey 1995).

Policy Implications

Since this is an exploratory study it can only offer preliminary policy implications. It is clear that the existing policies in the military do not work in the sense that they are patriarchal and sexist. Because of this, the military needs to rethink its policies regarding, sexual harassment, differences in physical requirements between the genders, combat exclusion, and laws regulating sexuality.

- The current policy on sexual harassment states that women should report their harassment through their chain of command. Reporting in this manner is problematic because their superiors may have a vested interest in stifling their complaint. Because of this, I recommend developing laws criminalizing sexual harassment and instituting a peer advisor at each base. The laws will show that the military is beginning to take sexual harassment seriously, while the peer advisor will allow the women and men

who are harassed to report the incident to a peer who they feel comfortable speaking with. This peer would be required to report this information to a committee on sexual harassment composed of three military prosecutors who will decide if the accused should be prosecuted or charged with a crime. This way the women and men who are harassed do not have to report their harassment through a chain of command and their commanders are not deciding who should be punished for this behavior and who should not.

- Traditionally physical requirements in the service have been based on the masculine notion of physical strength because this type of physical strength has been necessary to successfully engage in ground combat. Although some women have been able to pass these requirements, other women have not because these requirements have been extremely challenging and have not capitalized on women's strengths. With the growing threat of biological, chemical and nuclear warfare ground combat is becoming a thing of the past. Since ground combat is becoming outdated, physical requirements should only be necessary to keep the soldiers fit. They should no longer be that challenging. Because of this, I recommend that one uniform set of physical requirements be developed that both women and men in all branches of the service can complete. This way women and men will not be separated from each other, which enforces the discourse that women are different and inferior to men. In addition, because ground combat in the traditional sense is becoming outdated, I recommend

that the laws regarding women's participation in ground combat be eliminated. If the laws remain as they are the military will lose out on many able soldiers.

- Reverse the laws regarding adultery and homosexuality. These laws are continuously used as a means to subtly discriminate against female servicemembers and have no significant purpose in the service. Homosexuality is officially seen as incompatible with military service, but homosexuals have served in the military for years and have helped make the United States military one of the best. Adultery is viewed as unacceptable behavior because it does not uphold high moral standards, but morality is subjective and should not be up to the military.
- The fraternization laws in the military are designed to stop superiors from showing favoritism toward their subordinates. However the fraternization laws do not seem to deter this behavior. This is because men who engage in this behavior and attempt to have a sexual relationship with their female subordinate are rarely caught. This might be because the women want to maintain the relationship for the privileges and advantages that they wouldn't normally receive. I recommend developing promotions on the basis of other criteria besides combat in order to allow women not in combat to advance to high positions. This way they will not be dependent on their male superiors for privileges and they might begin to report these relationships.

- Ritualistic hazing of recruits seems to be embedded in the military. Although some drill sergeants (Kitfield 1998) seem to recognize the problems inherent in this behavior, others continue to haze their recruits. Since there are no concrete policies criminalizing this behavior I recommend that these laws be developed. The military needs official policies, which will address this unhealthy and damaging tradition. Recruits can be indoctrinated into the military without being harmed.

Although this study has some limitations and can only offer preliminary policy implications it has contributed greatly to the understanding to women's experiences in the military, regarding power, gender and sexuality. It has revealed the ways that women are overtly and subtly discriminated and it has shown the ways in which women are able to obtain power in the service. In addition, it has illustrated the agreements and disagreements women have toward the dominant discourses in the service, which indicates the extent that they have been socialized into the total institution. While more studies are needed in this area, this research added to the growing literature on women in the military.

APPENDIX A

As stated in the proposal I plan on conducting interviews with thirty female veterans. Although these interviews will be unstructured there are some basic concepts that I would like to discuss with the veterans. The following is a list of these concepts and the questions that surround them.

Interview Questions

Age

Education

Parents

Education

Employment

Military Experience

Marital Status

Ever been married?

Is/Was spouse in the military?

What are feelings regarding this marriage?

Children

Did you have child(ren) while in the military?

Did you take a leave of absence?

Did you have the child(ren) at a military hospital?

What benefits did the military offer?

How many children did you have while in the military?

How did the other soldiers react to your pregnancy?

Entering the military

Why did you join?

What were the reactions of others to your joining the service?

How did you feel about this?

Expectations upon joining

Training

Was this training co-ed or were you separated from the males?
Where were you trained?
How long did the training last?
What did this training consist of?

Job

What jobs did you have before entering the military?
What jobs have you been assigned to in the military?
How were you assigned to these jobs?
What was your reaction to these assignments?

Reactions of others to your presence

What were their ranks, gender and place in the system?

Time Served**Length of Stay**

Why did you leave the military and what have you done since?

Experience

Most positive memories
Most negative memories
How did the military impact you life, personality and outlook on the world?
How would you be different if you had not joined the military?

APPENDIX B

I wanted to thank all of you for agreeing to come to this focus group. I think its really important to have studies like these to try and understand women's experience in the military so we can begin to change things for the better. We'll spend the next few hours reviewing different military cases involving female soldiers. Because some of these cases may bring up sensitive issues or difficult emotional experiences I would like each of you to sign a form, which I will hand out in a minute. that asks you to keep everything you hear in the discussions completely confidential. This includes the identity of the other women in the group and the stories they tell. I'd like to also assure you that although this focus group is being taped. no one except myself and my professor, Dr. Kate Hausbeck, will view the tape and we will keep everything we see and hear in the tape completely confidential. As I stated in the informed consent forms you read and signed before the interviews your identity will not be revealed in the research paper.

[PASS OUT AND COLLECT FORMS]

Lets begin by introducing ourselves to the group so we can get to know each other a little bit better. As we go around the group please state your first name and anything else you would like to share, such as the branch you served in, the time you served and your favorite hobbies. I'll start. As all of you know, my name is Jennifer and I'm

working on my Masters degree. I plan on finishing this study over the summer and then entering the Ph.D. program here at UNLV. I became interested in this topic when I realized that very little was written on female soldiers. I am 26, unmarried and have no children.

[THE OTHER WOMEN INTRODUCE THEMSELVES]

Before we begin, I'd like to stress that I'm interested in all of your views and opinions so please try to speak one at a time so each of you can be heard. Also, please feel free to share any personal experiences which shape your opinions and feelings about the cases and issues we are discussing.

Case 1

The first case I'd like us to discuss concerns sexual misconduct in the military.

Although I am going to read a description of the case out loud, I thought I would give each of you a copy so we can follow along together. This case involves the instructors and recruits at Aberdeen Proving Ground, which is one of the Army's training centers. According to news reports, fifty-six female recruits who trained at Aberdeen between January 1995 and October 1996 accused 22 male superiors of numerous sexual related crimes, such as rape, assault and sodomy. After the scandal broke some of the women said that the prosecution pushed them to lie about being raped. Legal experts reportedly felt that the Army did not have enough evidence to prosecute the men, but went ahead with their case because they were afraid that if they did not they would be accused of not reacting strongly enough to the accusations. Out of the four soldiers officially charged with raping female trainees, Staff Sergeant Delmar Simpson, was

the only one who was found guilty. Simpson also pleaded guilty to having consensual sex with 11 female trainees including 5 out the 6 of his rape victims. The judge presiding over the Aberdeen case ruled that the trainees only had to think that they did not want to have sex for the sexual encounters with the sergeants to be considered rape. They were not required to say no because of the enormous power drill sergeants have over the trainees. Because of these sex scandals the Army instituted a special hot-line that women could call to anonymously report sexual crimes. The hot-line, which was shut down in June 1997, received more than 1300 sexual harassment complaints since November of 1996. The Army claimed that they shut the hot-line down because it was being used by women who were trying to settle grudges; however some legitimate complaints were reported; for example, Maj. Gen. John E. Longhouser retired from the military after his affair with a civilian was reported on the hot-line. Since this scandal and others like it have broken, some people have stated that women and men should not live in the same barracks or serve together on the same combat warships.

1. What is your immediate reaction to this case. **Are you angry, overwhelmed, dissatisfied?**

2. What do you think about the relationship between drill sergeants and trainees? **[What was your experience like?]**

2a. Do you think the instructors have a lot of power over the trainees? **How so?**

2b. Do trainees have any power? **What kind?**

2. Just to play devil's advocate, the judges decision, that female recruits only have to think no for a sexual encounter to be considered a rape, ultimately means that every sexual act a drill sergeant has with a female trainee must be rape because even if the

woman doesn't openly resist she might not want sex. What do you think of that? **[Do you agree with the judges decision, do you disagree?]**

3. Do you think that men and women being trained separately would alleviate the sexual misconduct in the service? **[I know some of you were trained separately, what was that like? Were you trained by male and female drill sergeants?]**

3a. Should female recruits only be trained by female drill sergeants?

3b. Do you think the female drill sergeants would treat the women better than the male drill sergeants?

3c. If women and men are trained separately do you think that the opportunities for women in the service would decrease or increase? Why?

4. What do you think about the trainees who lied? **[Why do you think they did this?]**

5. What do you think about the hotline?

5a. Do you think it should have been cancelled?

5b. The military says that the hotline was basically used by women trying to settle grudges. What do you think of that? **[What tactics did you or others you know use instead of the hotline?]**

Case 2

Next I'd like to show a clips from the movie GI Jane, which is about a female soldier who is allowed to try and become a Navy SEALs and Private Benjamin, which is about a women who joins the service after her husband dies

1. Before I show the clips, I though I'd ask how many of you have seen these movies?
2. What did you think about them?

Show both clips together. (Clip 1-GI Jane is trying out for the SEALs and has to do a variety of tasks which she accomplishes and other men fail. Private Benjamin is part of an elite Army unit called the Thunderbirds. She is about to jump out of an airplane when she becomes frightened and says she can't be macho like the Army wants her to be. The commander says she can serve in other ways and proceeds to

kiss her. In order to get out of this situation she jumps out of the plane. When she meets with the commander later he tries to have her shipped off to Greenland to save her career, but she insists on going to the place of her choice. She chooses France).

1. What did you think about the clips? Which one do you think is more realistic?
 2. What do you think about the different physical requirements for men and women?
[Did you have different physical requirements than men, did you think that was fair or unfair?]

2a. Are there women who can handle the training that men endure? **[Did you see anyone like this?]**

2b. Are there men who can't take this training?

2c. What do you think about women being excluded from ground combat?

2d. The military says that women shouldn't be allowed to fight because they are not physically or emotionally strong enough. **Do you agree with this? Did any of you ever want to fight but couldn't?]**

3. Do you think the Army wants women to be like men? **[Do you think you were expected to be more masculine or more feminine when you were in the service?]**

3a. When are women expected to be masculine?

3b. Are there any times that women are expected to be feminine?

4. What do you think about sexual harassment in the service?

4a. Are women harassed? Why?

4b. How do you think men feel about female soldiers? **[What were your experiences with male soldiers like?]**

4c. Are there any times that women use their sexuality to their advantage?
[Did you see this?]

4d. Do you think that men are sexually harassed? Why or why not? How?

INTERMISSION - 15 MINUTES

Case 3 (Hand out a written description and read it with them.)

Next, I'd like to talk with you about the Kelly Flinn case. As you may know Kelly Flinn was a Lt. in the Air Force who flew B-52 bombers and had affairs with the husband of an enlisted woman and an enlisted man. She was charged with

disobedience, lying to an investigator and adultery. Representatives from the Air Force state that her commander found out about the affair with the enlisted woman's husband, asked her to stop and she didn't. She also conspired with this man to lie to an investigator. Flinn's lawyer focused his arguments on the adultery charge, but the military insists that it is her lying that is most upsetting. They feel that because she lied to the Air Force she cannot be trusted in the case of an emergency. Although Flinn insists that she is being discriminated against due to her gender, others state that many men are now being court-marshaled for adultery. Flinn agreed to leave the military with an honorable discharge. This case reminds many of Tailhook, which is a separate, but similar incident. In 1991, the Tailhook Association had a convention in Las Vegas where many women were passed through the gauntlet and sexually assaulted. When asked why the men involved in Tailhook were not court-marshaled, one military representative stated that those men did not outrightly lie and there was not enough evidence to convict them. Interestingly the other women who trained with Flinn is now being court-marshaled for a similar offense.

IF THEY TALK ABOUT FRIEND - ASK WHAT DID YOU THINK OF THAT?

1. What do you think about this case? **[Do you think the military is being fair, unfair to Flinn?]**
2. Do you think women are discriminated against in the military? **[Do you agree or disagree? What have your experiences been like?]**
 - 2a. Again, just to play devil's advocate, both females in the squadron have been dismissed from service because of adultery. What do you think about the fact that only the females in the group were the ones eliminated? **[Do you think this is strange?]**

2b. The military says it didn't have enough evidence against the men in Tailhook to convict them. What do you think about that? [May have to remind them what Tailhook is.]

3. What do you think about the military's fraternization and adultery laws? **[How did these laws effect you when you were in the service? Do you think the laws are fair?]**

3a. Do you think fraternization and adultery are common in the military? Why or why not?

3b. Do you think that the military routinely enforces these laws or enforces the laws only when they want to? Why do you say that?

Instead of looking at another case on sexuality in the military, I thought we could just take a few minutes to discuss sexual preference.

1. In the past the military has stated their opposition to homosexuality for a number of reasons: They feel it would result in disciplinary problems, such as gay men aggressively preying on younger men insecure in their sexuality. They also state that it would negatively affect the bonding in the unit. Further, they claim that gay men and lesbian women will use their rank to get sexual favors. They state that privacy of heterosexuals will be violated. They also state that gay men would betray their country rather than allow their sexual orientation to be revealed to the military. What do you think about the military's arguments?

2. What do you think about homosexuality in the military?

3. What do you think about the Don't Ask/Don't Tell policy?

4. Do you think the military should have laws against homosexuality? Why or why not?

CASE 4

Emma Cuevas, a Lieutenant in the United States Army, wants to leave the service because her demanding schedule as a helicopter pilot in the Army, has made it impossible for her to properly breast-feed her daughter. Although she has tried to leave the Army twice, she has not been allowed to quit because the Army insists that when Cuevas became a cadet at West Point she agreed to stay in the service until May 2000. In exchange for her service, the United States taxpayers have paid \$500,000 to

educate her at West Point and at a pilot training school. Cuevas would like to either finish her service in the reserves or stop flying the helicopters, neither of which the Army is interested in. Since the Army has downsized in recent years many soldiers in her 1993 class have been released from their agreement; however military officials refuse to release the pilots who are in short supply. Cuevas' husband, Jeff Blaney, who is also a lieutenant, is suing the Army on his wife's behalf. The military will only allow six weeks for a maternity leave. They refuse to give women the option of an unpaid leave like the Coast Guard. Because of the difficulties in raising children in the military, many military couples in demanding jobs use birth control until they are reassigned. Cuevas and her husband admit they didn't. The military is afraid that if they grant her request this will undermine their system of military commitments.

TRY TO GET CONCRETE EXAMPLES

1. What do you think about Cuevas and her husband?
 - 1a. Should they be allowed to sue the military over this issue?
 - 1b. Do you think the military should be more supportive of parents? **[I know some of you had children in the service, did you think the military was supportive of parents?]**
 - 1c. Should Cuevas and her husband have practiced birth control?
 - 1d. If they used birth control, but she got pregnant anyway, should she have had an abortion?
 - 1e. Should the military change their maternity policy? **[Did any of you take a leave of absence after having children? If not did you want to take a leave? Did you try to take a leave? What are your experiences like?]**
2. The military says that Cuevas agreed to this arrangement when she became a cadet at West Point. What do you think about that?
 - 2a. Does Cuevas have the right to change her mind?
 - 2b. Do you think the military should find a way to compromise with women like Cuevas?

2c. If a man wants to quit the service to take care of his children, should he be allowed to?

3a. What does a women give up when she joins the service?

3b. What does a man give up or sacrifice when he joins the service?

Before we close, are there any last minute comments or questions you have for the group, me, or each other?

APPENDIX C²

Table 1: Branch of Service

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Army	1	14	40.0	40.0	40.0
Navy	2	8	22.9	22.9	62.9
Air Force	3	10	28.6	28.6	91.4
Marines	4	2	5.7	5.7	97.1
Coast Guard	5	1	2.9	2.9	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	35	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	35	Missing cases	0		

Table 2: Length of Time Spent on Active Duty

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	1	2.9	3.0	3.0
	1	4	11.4	12.1	15.2
	2	5	14.3	15.2	30.3
	3	4	11.4	12.1	42.4
	4	6	17.1	18.2	60.6
	5	1	2.9	3.0	63.6
	6	2	5.7	6.1	69.7
	7	1	2.9	3.0	72.7
	8	2	5.7	6.1	78.8
	10	2	5.7	6.1	84.8
	12	1	2.9	3.0	87.9
	16	1	2.9	3.0	90.9
	20	2	5.7	6.1	97.0
	31	1	2.9	3.0	100.0
	99	2	5.7	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	35	100.0	100.0	
Mean	6.333				
Valid cases	33	Missing cases	2		

² Although I interviewed 36 women, the data only accounts for 35. One of the women I interviewed was a male to female transsexual who received a sex change after leaving the service. Her data will not be used in this research, but will be included in future projects.

Table 3: Length of Time Spent on Inactive Duty

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	2	2	5.7	20.0	20.0
	4	2	5.7	20.0	40.0
	5	1	2.9	10.0	50.0
	8	1	2.9	10.0	60.0
	9	1	2.9	10.0	70.0
	16	1	2.9	10.0	80.0
	21	1	2.9	10.0	90.0
	24	1	2.9	10.0	100.0
	99	25	71.4	Missing	
	Total	35	100.0	100.0	
Mean	9.500				
Valid cases	10	Missing cases	25		

Table 4: Married to Another Servicemember

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	1	20	87.0	87.0	87.0
	2	3	13.0	13.0	100.0
	Total	23	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	23	Missing cases	0		

Table 5: Children While in the Service

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Yes	1	12	34.3	36.4	36.4
No	2	21	60.0	63.6	100.0
Missing	99	2	5.7	Missing	
	Total	35	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	33	Missing cases	2		

Table 6: Rank in Service

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Officer	1	8	22.9	22.9	22.9
Enlisted	2	25	71.4	71.4	94.3
Officer and Enlisted	3	2	5.7	5.7	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	35	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	35	Missing cases	0		

Table 7: Race

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
White	1	30	85.7	85.7	85.7
Black	2	5	14.3	14.3	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	35	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	35	Missing cases	0		

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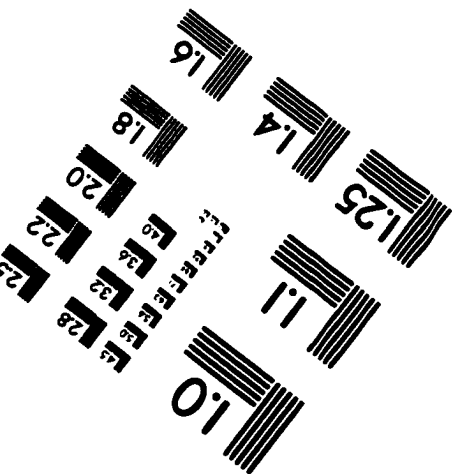
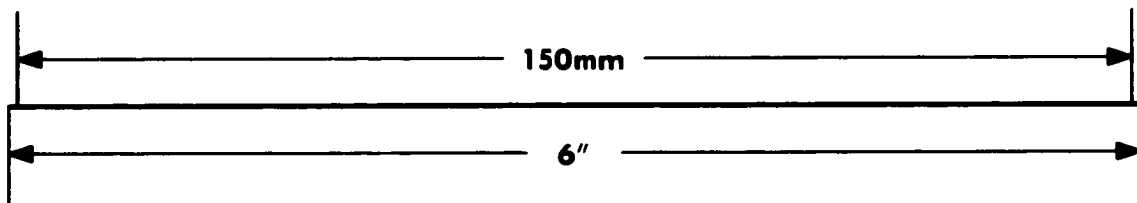
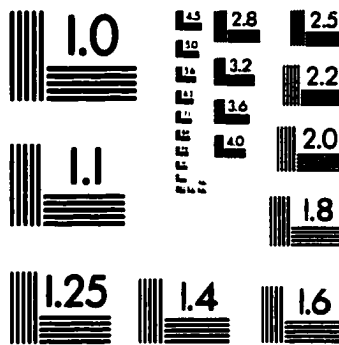
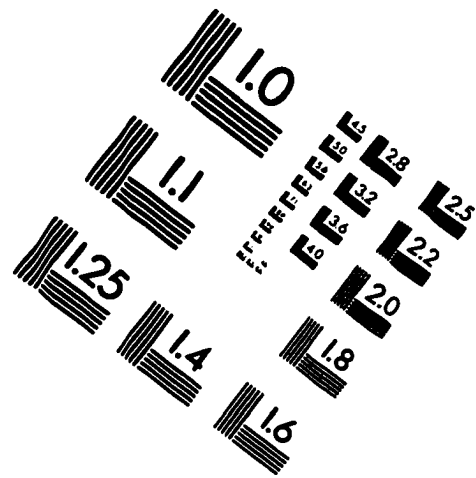
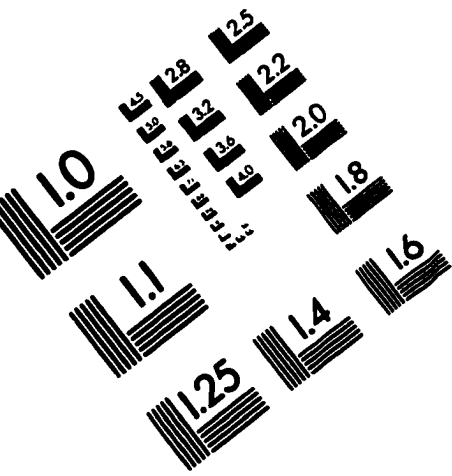
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