

The Gender Power Structure of the U.S. Military:
A Feminist Institutionalism Analysis

Nicole Brunner
PhD

University of York
Politics
October 2013

Abstract

This thesis provides a feminist institutionalism analysis of the gendered power structure of the U.S. military. It argues that femininity is placed in a disadvantaged position to masculinity in the U.S. Armed Forces, even as formal policies evolve and move the U.S. military toward formal gender equality. This thesis utilises aspects of new institutionalism theory to analyse how institutional change has occurred in respect to the gender power structure. It explicates processes of change that have occurred in the U.S. military and highlights the role of both agency and structure in the evolution of the institution. It also explores what factors of the institution continue to discriminate against women in order to explain why more change has not yet occurred, as of 2013. In order to evaluate the above issues, this thesis draws on data from interview and survey respondents to explicate their experiences in order to provide a clear picture of the masculine-oriented informal norms of the U.S. military institution. It also provides a case study of sexual assault in the military to evaluate the tension between stagnant informal norms and advancing formal policies. This thesis argues that the disadvantaged status of women in the U.S. military can be explained by evaluating the past formal policies and informal norms and values of the U.S. Armed Forces.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
List of Figures.....	6
Acknowledgements	7
Author’s Declaration	8
Chapter One:	
Introduction	9
1.1 The Research Project.....	9
(i) The Central Issue	9
(ii) Background of Discrimination	11
<i>Figure 1.1: Percentages of Female Flag Officers</i>	11
(iii) The Main Propositions	13
1.2 Situating the Thesis in the Literature.....	17
(i) Organisational Theory	18
(ii) The Construction of Gender	20
(iii) Gender and the Military.....	21
(iv) Feminist Perspectives of Women in the Military	23
(v) U.S. Military Strategic Culture and American Militarism.....	28
Conclusion.....	32
Chapter Two: Methodology	
Introduction	34
2.1 Theoretical Framework.....	38
(i) Historical and Sociological Institutionalism.....	39
(ii) New Institutionalism Theory of Gradual Change.....	41
<i>Figure 2.1 Contextual and Institutional Sources of Institutional Change</i>	42
(iii) Exploring Obstacles to Change	46
2.2 Research Approaches	48
(i) Power Relations	52
(ii) Positioning	56
(iii) Research Process	60
(iv) Interpreting the Data	62
Conclusion.....	64
Chapter Three: Historical Overview	
Introduction	67
3.1 Women in the First World War	68
3.2 World War II	70
(i) Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps Legislation.....	70
(ii) Concerns and Double Standards.....	74
(iii) WAC Legislation.....	75
3.3 Policy Changes After the Two World Wars.....	76
(i) Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948.....	76
(ii) Discriminatory Policies of the Armed Forces Integration Act	78
3.4 The Civil Rights Act Era	80
(i) Legal Battles for Military Mother’s Rights	81
(ii) Women’s Rights for Equal Benefits.....	85
(iii) Changes in Higher Education Laws	86

(iv) Opposition to Women’s Equality Laws.....	88
(v) DoD Policy Changes.....	89
3.5 The U.S. Invasion of Panama and Military Combat Policy	91
(i) First Woman Commander in Battle	91
3.6 The Gulf War and the Further Integration of Women.....	93
(i) Women’s Service in the Gulf War.....	93
(ii) The DoD Ground Combat Rule.....	95
3.7 Female Soldiers’ Roles in the 2000s	97
(i) Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan	97
(ii) Combat Policy	99
(iii) Don’t Ask Don’t Tell.....	101
Conclusion.....	102
Chapter Four: Militarisation and Gender Roles	
Introduction	105
4.1 Militarism and U.S. Society	106
(i) Normalisation of War	106
(ii) Values, Morality and Militarism	107
(iii) Militarisation and the Public Sphere	108
4.2 Militarised Gender Roles.....	109
(i) Beautiful Souls.....	110
(ii) Just Warriors.....	114
(iii) Construction and Maintenance: Gender Roles in U.S. Society.....	115
4.3 Contemporary Examples of the Construction of Militarised Gender Roles.....	116
(i) Jessica Lynch	116
(ii) Lyndie England.....	118
(iii) Pat Tillman	121
(iv) Chris Carter.....	123
(v) Andre Shepherd	124
Conclusion.....	125
Chapter Five: Evolving Institutional Culture	
Introduction	128
5.1 Informal Norms: Construction and Maintenance	130
(i) Masculine Culture.....	130
(ii) Gender Identity: The Prevailing Gender Regime of Militarised Masculinity.....	134
(iii) Training	139
(iv) Family Roles.....	143
5.2 Evolution of U.S. Strategic Culture.....	146
(i) Revolution of Military Affairs.....	146
<i>Figure 5.1 Combat Arms and Technology Occupations</i>	<i>150</i>
(ii) Effects of Technological Advancements	153
5.3 Power Relations: Counterinsurgency Operations.....	155
(i) Female Engagement Teams.....	157
(ii) Effects of Counterinsurgency Operations on Gender Relations.....	161
5.4 Formal vs. Informal: Rule Interpretations and Enforcement.....	162
(i) Attachment Policy for Women in Combat	163
Conclusion.....	165
Chapter Six: Case Study of Sexual Assault in the Military	
Introduction	169

6.1 Formal Rules vs. Informal Norms	169
(i) Institutionalisation of Informal Norms	175
6.2 Case Study Overview: Sexual Assault in the U.S. Military	179
(i) Formal Policies	180
(ii) Current Standing and Statistics.....	183
<i>Figure 6.1 Total Number of Sexual Assault Reports</i>	183
<i>Figure 6.2 Unrestricted Reports of Sexual Assaults</i>	184
<i>Figure 6.3 Percentage of Male and Female Victims</i>	184
<i>Figure 6.4 Percentage of Male and Female Subjects</i>	184
<i>Figure 6.5 Rank of Victims</i>	185
<i>Figure 6.6 Reported Rates of Sexual Assault by Military Branch</i>	186
6.3 Realities of the Application	186
(i) Culture Surrounding Sexual Assault	187
(ii) Rank and Command Climate.....	191
(iii) Prosecution and Support.....	196
6.4 Action Outside of the Military	198
(i) Lawsuits	199
(ii) Legislation	200
6.5 Actions Taken by the Institution	203
(i) DoD Policy Changes.....	203
Conclusion	205
Chapter Seven: Conclusion	
Introduction	208
7.1 Formal Rules vs. Informal Norms	210
(i) Overview.....	214
(ii) Negative Effects.....	216
(iii) Positive Effects.....	218
7.2 Evolution of the Institution.....	222
7.3 Possible Future Impact for Women.....	220
(i) Women in the Military.....	224
(ii) Women in Society	228
7.4 Broader Findings of the Thesis.....	229
Conclusion.....	231
Appendices	
Appendix A: Data from Respondents.....	235
<i>Figure A.1 Status of Total Respondents</i>	235
<i>Figure A.2 Branch of Service of Respondents</i>	235
<i>Figure A.3 Years of Service of Respondents</i>	235
<i>Figure A.4 Respondents Deployment Status (Non-Elite, Military Only)</i>	236
Appendix B: Military Rank Overview	237
<i>Figure B.1 Enlisted</i>	237
<i>Figure B.2 Officers</i>	238
Appendix C: Statistical Data on Sexual Assault Reporting	239
Appendix D: Information Sheets for Respondents.....	240
Reference List	242

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Percentages of Female Flag Officers	11
Figure 2.1 Contextual and Institutional Sources of Institutional Change	42
Figure 5.1 Combat Arms and Technology Occupations	150
Figure 6.1 Total Number of Sexual Assault Reports	183
Figure 6.2 Unrestricted Reports of Sexual Assaults.....	184
Figure 6.3 Percentage of Male and Female Victims	184
Figure 6.4 Percentage of Male and Female Subjects	184
Figure 6.5 Rank of Victims	185
Figure 6.6 Reported Rates of Sexual Assault by Military Branch	186
Figure A.1 Status of Total Respondents.....	235
Figure A.2 Branch of Service of Respondents	235
Figure A.3 Years of Service of Respondents	235
Figure A.4 Respondents Deployment Status (Non-Elite, Military Only)	236
Figure B.1 Enlisted.....	237
Figure B.2 Officers.....	238

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr. Claire Smith and Dr. Nick Ritchie for their continued guidance and encouragement during this research project. Without their direction and expertise, this would not have been possible.

I would also like to show my gratitude to my husband, Franz Brunner for his unabating support and confidence in my work.

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. A limited portion of this thesis was modified and submitted to the 3rd European Conference on Politics and Gender. To the best of my knowledge this thesis does not infringe on the copyright of any person.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Nicole Brunner'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a horizontal line through the middle of the name.

Nicole Brunner

1.1 The Research Project

(i) The Central Issue

Throughout the 20th century, the American military institution was a central arena for social advancement and change in American life. The military's social equality and anti-discrimination policies were often ahead of private industry, and military participation by minority groups was an avenue for their social advancement. For example, in 1948, the U.S. military integrated African Americans into the armed forces and made it illegal for a military member to make a racist remark or comment. This was done 16 years before the passing of the Civil Rights Act in civilian society. However, in terms of gender equality, the military has been slow to grant women full rights. Women were integrated into the general military in 1948, yet it took until 2013 for the Department of Defense (DoD) to open all jobs to women. The role of women in the military has been a fiercely debated topic in Western governments and society. Through the combination of political and legal maneuvers, women worked strenuously to earn their way into the military and the positions they hold in 2013. American military women have made great progress since their official entrance into the U.S. Armed Forces in 1948 and formal policies constraining female soldiers have been removed, yet informal norms and past formal policies have placed them in a disadvantaged position to their male counterparts in the military institution.

The military has formal policies against discrimination, harassment and assault. It is often ahead of civilian organisations in areas of racial and gender integration and equal opportunity programmes. Yet all of these problems persist for female service members and they are placed in a disadvantaged position to male soldiers (Guenter-Schlesinger 1999, 203). Karen Dunivin argues that the reason for this is that, "the combat masculine-warrior (CMW) paradigm is the essence of military culture" in that the military is shaped by men for men and has often been considered a way to turn boys into men (Dunivin 1994, 534).

This thesis agrees with Dunivin's hypothesis and explores it by analysing the informal norms and formal rules of the military. It looks to take these ideas further by providing a feminist institutionalism analysis of the gendered power structure in the U.S. military. It argues that privileging of masculinity in the institution can be explained by evaluating the formal and informal norms, values and rules of the armed forces. In order to answer why female soldiers are placed in a disadvantaged position to their male counterparts and how the gender power structure has evolved to its current state, it explores and analyses how a tradition of masculine culture affects the status of women in the military. It considers how and to what extent change in the gender power structure has occurred up until 2013 as well as elements that have impeded change (Hooper 2001, 71).

In contemplating aspects discussed above the main research question this thesis looks to consider is: To what extent has the gendered institutional culture change? In order to answer this, the research looks at why and how change has occurred and why it has sometimes not. In order to best explain the process of change, this thesis considers how the formal policies and informal norms interact to create or impede change. The answers to this question could then be used to shape Department of Defense gender policies to ensure the equal treatment of military women, which is necessary to advance women's status in the U.S. Armed Forces. It could also help to provide insight into specific factors to consider as the DoD begins opening combat jobs to women in the military. In order to answer the above question, this thesis draws on data from 48 interview and 16 survey responses from female soldiers, as well as six interview responses from DoD and Congressional leadership. It also draws on existing statistical data, formal military policies, legislation, and literature to triangulate the interview and survey data collected for this study.¹ Through analysing this new data and triangulating it with existing data, as discussed above, this thesis produces original research into the study of women's position in the U.S. military as well as contributing to new institutionalism research, specifically the feminist institutionalism body of knowledge.

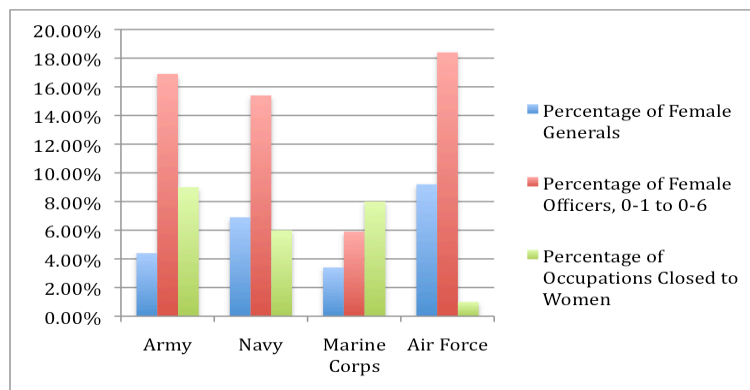
¹ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 60 for further information on the data sources for this thesis.

It also adds to the feminist discussion on women in the military by exploring how women’s participation has affected the gender power structure of the U.S. military.

(ii) Background of Discrimination and Masculine-Oriented Norms

Until the beginning of 2013, military women were discriminated against by the formal rules of the institution in promotion and job opportunities because they were excluded from combat roles. Although former Secretary of Defense, Leon Panetta, made the announcement to open all military jobs to women, changes have not yet occurred as the branches of service have until 2015 to officially open all jobs to women (Christenson 2013, 1). Due to the combat ban that was in place against women, female soldiers had a more difficult time than their male counterparts in reaching the highest ranks of flag officers.² According to a Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Military (DACOWITS) study conducted in 2011, 80 percent of general (flag) officers have backgrounds in tactical and operational career fields. These career fields are seen as the core jobs of the military and many of the tactical and operational career fields were closed to women (Bacon 2011, 1). As Linda Francke argues, “the institutionalised gender discrimination that keeps women out of core positions and specialised training cast them as secondary players to men” (Francke 1997, 181). The occupations exclusion that was in place thereby inhibited their ability to make it to the top ranks as shown by figure 1.1 below (Sagalyn 2011, 3).

Figure 1.1 Percentages of Female Flag Officers and Closed Occupations



(Sagalyn 2011, 3)

² Flag officer is the rank of all generals (one to four stars).

As the graph on the previous page shows, the branches with the most jobs open to women, the Air Force and the Navy, also have the highest percentage of female flag officers respectively. The Army and the Marine Corps have the most career fields closed to women and also have the lowest percentage of female flag officers. This is especially telling of the Army because it has the second highest percentage of women officers in its total force. Also, as the Air Force has the least number of jobs closed to women, it also has the highest percentage of female officers and flag officers (Sagalyn 2011, 3). In a 2010 DACOWITS survey of 336 veterans, 70 percent of respondents said they believed a lack of combat experience would make them less competitive for promotions (Bacon 2011, 2). Although the DoD has a policy against discrimination on the basis of sex for job opportunities, the combat ban served as formal discrimination and negatively affected women's status in the military (Hooper 2001, 71).

The problem of sexual assault and harassment in the U.S. military serves as a case study that illustrates how a lack of change in informal norms continues discrimination against female soldiers. In the U.S. military in 2010, it was reported that one in three women on active duty had been sexually assaulted based on reported accounts, which was compared to reports that one in six women in U.S. civilian society had been assaulted. (Broadbent 2011, 1). Out of the 3,192 sexual assaults reported in the Fiscal Year (FY)³ 2011, 2,016 of these cases were closed in FY 2011, with only 240 cases taken to court and 230 cases handled only with administrative action or discharge.⁴ Many incidents continued to go unreported as the DoD estimated there were 19,000 unreported cases of sexual crimes in 2010 (Broadbent 2011, 1). This number increased in the most recent reports from FY 2012, with 26,000 estimated cases of sexual assault (Herb 2013, 1). Secretary Panetta said, "we assume this is a very underreported crime, and that incidents of sexual assault are roughly six times as high as reports of the crime" (Mulrine 2012, 1). Soldiers who reported cases of sexual assault or harassment were often looked at as traitors to their unit and as problem makers (Hansen 2007, 2).

³ Fiscal Year is the budget term of the U.S. government and begins in October.

⁴ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 181 for graphs and statistics on sexual assault in the U.S. military.

Statistically, the majority of women who have reported sexual assault left the military within three years (Hansen 2007, 2).

The informal norms of the U.S. military institution are based on traditional masculine-oriented norms, remnants from when the military was first created, that have been difficult to change. Although the last formal policy that discriminated against women, the Ground Combat Rule, was lifted, the long-term formal discrimination has placed female soldiers in a disadvantaged position to their male counterparts. The formal policy changes are positive advancements for women and move the gender structure of the U.S. military toward greater gender equality; however, many of the masculine-oriented informal norms have not advanced with formal policy changes. This gap between formal policies and informal norms affects women's status in the military.

(iii) The Main Propositions

This thesis argues that the gender roles in the U.S. Armed Forces are socially constructed by the norms, values and rules of the American military institution and favour masculinity over femininity. It contends that the military is a masculine-oriented institution and is based on the historical role of the soldier as male, while the woman's role was to be protected. In this thesis, the terms 'masculine-oriented' or 'masculine-centric' norms or culture refer to the favouring of masculinity and traditional masculine characteristics over femininity and traditional feminine characteristics. In this thesis, these terms are used to be synonymous with patriarchal institution or culture in which there is an assumption that men and women "are intrinsically and unalterably different from on another" and due to these differences they are supposed to "play distinctly different roles in society" (Enloe 2007, 67). This 'masculine-centric' or 'masculine-oriented' culture is built around an ideal masculine identity of strength and power and a belief that "men are natural and superior income earners...security strategists, public authorities" and have "greater physical strength" (Enloe 2007, 67), While women on the other hand have natural characteristics that "make them valuable in home life and in comforting men" (Enloe 2007, 67).

In analysing gender, femininity is often countered against masculinity in general. However, Charlotte Hooper and J.W. Connell argue that there are hierarchies within masculinity that should affect the study of gender. The most dissimilar of these from femininity and which all other masculinities are compared to is that of hegemonic masculinity (Hooper 2001, 56). Hegemonic masculinity is the form of masculinity that at a given time is the most culturally acclaimed (Connell 1995, 77). This group holds substantial power and will often have the majority claim to leadership. The characteristics associated with the group holding hegemonic masculinity are held as superior (Connell 1995, 77). Although Hooper and Connell agree that the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity evolve and can be challenged by other male groups and women, Connell argues that the reigning group will exert the power they hold in order to stay on top of the masculinity hierarchy (Connell 1995, 77). This research acknowledges the existence of multiple masculinities, but for the purpose of the main ideas in this research, when analysing and discussing masculinity, this thesis is referring to the reigning hegemonic masculinity of the U.S. military, or ‘just warrior’ characteristics which emphasises strength, power and courage and are traditionally considered male characteristics. These ideas are discussed further in Chapter Four.⁵

Although gender roles and characteristics have evolved since the initial establishment of the U. S. military, historical gender ideas that the institution was built on affect the institution’s current values, rules and norms. Jean Elshtain argues that political and military leaders attempt to maintain the historical gender roles because they depend on militarised gender roles in order to promote their interests abroad. She argues that the U.S. military associates masculinity with ‘just warrior’ and femininity with ‘beautiful soul’⁶ (Elshtain 1987, 140). Laura Sjoberg argues that political and military leaders use the gender roles to present the image that the country is ‘just,’ which she argues is a feminine characteristic, while also being ‘all-powerful,’ which is tied to masculinity (Sjoberg 2010, 209). As will be discussed further in Chapter Four, in American society, the traditional male gender role was to be the ‘all-powerful’ combatant. Therefore, there

⁵ Please refer to Chapter Four, page 112 for further information on the ideal characteristics of soldier.

⁶ ‘Just Warrior’ and ‘Beautiful Soul’ are discussed further in Chapter Four, pages 108-112.

is a close connection between the role of the soldier and masculinity (Goldstein 2001, 253).

This thesis proposes that the gendered culture of the armed forces is built around a masculine-oriented model, and that femininity is constructed in a dichotomous relationship to masculinity, which makes femininity less-than in the military culture (Connell 1995, 77). In turn, the importance placed on masculinity in the institution affects its policies and practices. This thesis looks at the values, rules and norms of the military institution to explain why men hold a more privileged existence in the military than women and how this affects the status of military women. This thesis hypothesises that the emphasis on ‘soldier’ as a male role, and as an avenue to prove masculinity, perpetuates informal norms that are hostile toward women. Hooper argues that denigrating all that is feminine is “a powerful tool in the construction and maintenance of hierarchies of masculinities” (Hooper 2001, 71). Women, therefore, are the opposite of the coveted masculinity of the military. Not only are they seen as intruders to the values, rules and norms of the profession, but their presence also threatens to make the profession, and therefore those in it, less masculine.

As this thesis is also concerned with institutional change, it contends that although the military is masculine-oriented, the gender power structure in the institution has slowly evolved and changed. There has been substantial progress in gender equality in the military and in society in the past 20 years that has affected, and continues to affect, the norms, values and rules of the institution, as can be seen from the lifting of the combat ban on women (Christenson 2013, 1). One theory this thesis employs, in order to explain this slow evolution, is James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen’s theory of gradual change because it accounts for aspects of both agency and structure when analysing institutional change. This theory is discussed further in Chapter Two.⁷ Another important theoretical concept this study employs is that of critical junctures. This thesis combines these two ideas to analyse change that has occurred through the interplay

⁷ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 39 for further information on Mahoney and Thelen’s theory of gradual change.

between critical junctures and the actions of individual actors.⁸ This thesis provides examples of critical junctures, in which the circumstances of the time, usually during wars, opened opportunities for women to participate in the military. According to Mahoney and Thelen's theory, these women then worked as 'opportunist' actors to enact change internally or they worked externally on the institution as 'insurrectionary' actors to lobby for change.⁹ It also focuses on how change has occurred through the 'soft spots' between the formal policies and informal norms of the institution.¹⁰ Formal policies and informal norms of institutions do not always align and actors can exploit the tension between the two to enact change in the institution (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 4). In the case of the U.S. military, there is often tension between the advancing formal policies and the stagnant masculine-oriented norms that cause tension and have both negative and positive effects for female soldiers.

There have also been significant changes in the strategic culture of the U.S. military which affect the gender power structure. The new emphasis on the U.S. strategic military culture of post-heroic warfare (Luttwak 1995: 2) and the search for bloodless wars through the development of technology has evolved the institutional culture of the U.S. military. These changes put less strategic significance on ground troops and warriors (and therefore the need for a soldier to be physically strong) and more emphasis on technological skills. Counterinsurgency operations in Iraq also brought a need for different skill sets in the areas of peacekeeping and intelligence gathering. This thesis argues that these strategic changes have evolved the military institution to where there is less of an emphasis on combat experience for all military personnel, and instead many positions require different skills and expertise. As women were not allowed to serve in combat jobs until 2013, and the change has not yet been fully implemented, women do not have a large presence in combat career fields. Therefore, they had more opportunities to excel in non-combat career fields. Also, women's participation in other areas, such as counterinsurgency operations, which will be discussed further in Chapter

⁸ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 39 for further information on critical junctures.

⁹ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 39 for further information on 'opportunist' and 'insurrectionary' actors.

¹⁰ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 41 for further information on 'soft spots.'

Six, earned them greater respect and opened doors to more opportunities for them. Changes in U.S. military strategic culture helped to change the personnel needs of the U.S. Armed Forces, which has affected the gendered power structure.

This thesis argues that some informal norms have positively affected the gender power structure, however, it also explores areas in which the informal norms have stayed stagnant or evolved very slowly and therefore continue to privilege masculinity. The main hypothesis is that even though these positive formal changes have occurred, the informal norms of the U.S. military are especially resistant to change and they play an important role in the structure of the U.S. gender regime. This tension between the formal rules and informal norms is why female soldiers are disadvantaged in relation to their male counterparts. There are limited cases of which the informal norms benefited women's place in the U.S. military and these are discussed in Chapter Five.¹¹ However, the stagnant informal norms of the military generally negatively affect women's status. One of the main areas in which the tension between the negative informal norms and positive formal policies, as mentioned above, can be seen is the problem of sexual assault and harassment in the military. Although not all victims of sexual assault are women, in the military, of the cases reported, 88 percent of the victims were women (DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military FY 2011 2012, 36). An overview of the problem is discussed further in Chapter Six.

1.2 Situating the Thesis in the Literature

This section covers five major areas related to the thesis topic. The first section provides an overview of organisational culture, as the ideas from organisational theory are used to explain change in the U.S. military throughout the thesis and will be built on further in the theoretical framework section in Chapter Two.¹² The second section discusses issues of gender construction and analysis and explicates how these ideas are applied in the thesis. The third section focuses on the gender issues in the military and how femininity and masculinity have collided to create a discriminatory environment toward

¹¹ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 160 for further information.

¹² Please refer to Chapter Two, page 36 for further information on the theoretical framework.

women in the military. The fourth section outlines three main arguments of feminist researchers regarding women's involvement in the military and what their participation means for feminism. The final section discusses the strategic culture of the U.S. military. It provides an overall cultural view of the military from a strategic standpoint instead of strictly from a gender point of view. Understanding the background of U.S. strategic culture is important to the concepts in this thesis because strategic culture affects the institutional culture of the military and therefore its personnel policies and the characteristics of 'soldier' that it holds most important.

(i) Organisational Theory

In this thesis, the theoretical framework used is based on ideas of new institutionalism theory. New institutionalism is a branch of organisational theory that "attends to the deeper and more resilient aspects of social structure. It considers the processes by which structures, including schemas, rules, norms and routines become established as authoritative guidelines for social behavior" (Scott 2004, 408). These established norms and values become institutions. There are varying definitions of institutions but the definition employed in this thesis is that an institution is a "collection of norms and values whose importance are a function of the material institutions from which they emanate" (Lecours 2005, 7). This definition is most applicable to this research because it places focus on values and norms, which comprise an institution. These are the areas that will be evaluated in this thesis to better understand the U.S. military institution.

In Peter Katzenstein's edited volume, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, he contends that organisational studies which use new institutionalism follow the idea that the "institutionalisation of ideas in research institutes, schools of thought, laws, government bureaucracies" are "a crucial determinant of policy" (Katzenstein 1996, 50). In this same volume of work, Elizabeth Kier uses this approach to outline the importance of organisational culture for decision-making and doctrine development of the French military. She argues that the culture of an organisation can shape the behaviour and beliefs of its members. She reasons that this is particularly true in reference to militaries as, "few institutions devote as many

resources to the assimilation of their members as does the military” (Kier 1996, 202). Although, in this essay, Kier is specifically discussing effects on military doctrine, this point is particularly relatable to this research because it stresses the importance of the organisational culture in the choices made by those in the institution. The culture of the institution affects the actions of its members. This thesis refers to this concept as ‘bounded agency’¹³ which is discussed in Chapter Two, in which institutional actors’ actions are constrained by the institutions of the organisation to which they belong.

Richard Scott, in 2001 argued that institutions “connote stability but are subject to change processes, both incremental and discontinuous” (Scott 2001, 48). He contends that, “although the ostensible subject is stability and order is social life, students of institutions must perforce attend not just to consensus and conformity but to conflict and change in social structures” (Scott 2004, 410). This research employs both ideas of institutional stability and change. It primarily focuses on the importance of institutional change by exploring the process of gradual change that has occurred overtime in the U.S. military. However, it also considers the characteristics of the military institution that make it difficult to modify. These characteristics are based on path dependency theory, which studies the inherent stability of institutions.¹⁴ Path dependency is important to this research because it is essential to the explaining of why institutionalised norms are difficult to change and what this means for the gender power structure of the U.S. military. In order to further explore the gender issues found in the military institution that were discussed in this section, the following section explains the background on the construction of gender and how this thesis employs the constructivist approach to gender.

(ii) The Construction of Gender

There has been much debate in the literature about biological factors and social factors in the development of gender identities and roles. In 1972, Ann Oakley popularised the idea of separating the analysis of biological sex and socially constructed gender in order

¹³ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 43 for further information on ‘bounded agency.’

¹⁴ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 33 for further information regarding path dependency.

to be able to better focus on how gender is affected by social, cultural and institutional factors (Hooper 2001, 24). Laura Shepherd outlines several different schools of thought by feminists on the construct of gender. She explains the constructivist standpoint in which it is believed that, “gendered behaviours are largely a product of socialisation” and can evolve depending on historical and social circumstances (Shepherd 2010, 20). Louise Chappell agrees with this view that gender is a set of norms but is not necessarily male or female (Chappell 2010, 184). Hooper also describes the essentialist point of view that gender is strictly reliant on biological sex (Hooper 2001, 20). Finally, she argues in favour of the performative or discursive view that biology plays a distinguishing role but gender is “mediated through social understanding” (Hooper 2001, 21). This is the perspective this research is based on. As biological differences between men and women are often cited as a limiting factor for women in the military, biological differences cannot be ignored. However, this thesis works on the belief that gender is largely socially constructed because men and women can have what are considered to be socially constructed masculine and feminine characteristics. This is in line with the equal-rights based feminist argument in the following section that gender characteristics are not inherently natural but are due to how gender is socialised (Miller 1998, 38).

Gender stereotype dichotomies play an essential role in how gender is constructed and defined. R.W. Connell argues that gender is “inherently relational,” and that “masculinity does not exist except in contrast with femininity” (Connell 1995, 68). Gender dichotomies permeate all areas of society. Hooper argues that they can affect the practices of institutions and the gendered division of labour of Western society (Hooper 2001, 46). Once jobs are considered feminine or masculine, those specific job fields then develop a gendered culture (Hooper 2001, 46). As discussed earlier in the chapter, the U.S. military is an excellent example of this. Soldiering is widely considered to be a masculine occupation. It is based on traits that have been historically male, such as “physical strength, action, toughness, and capacity for violence” (Hooper

2001, 47). Its culture therefore is masculine and the small percentage of women participants has not significantly changed this culture.¹⁵

Institutions are also an integral part of the construction of gender identity. Connell argues that social science has begun to recognise that institutions such as the workplace and the state affect gender configuration (Connell 1995, 73). The institution itself can also be considered gendered. Connell maintains that the state is a masculine institution, as the “stated organisational practices are structured in relation to the reproductive arena” (Connell 1995, 73) and this is why the majority of those in high office are men. She believes there is a “gender configuring” of all aspects of the institution, including recruitment, promotions, and policymaking (Connell 1995, 73). This thesis contends that a similar form of gender configuring takes place on a daily basis through the masculine oriented informal norms of the U.S. military. In order to contextualise the gender issues pertaining to the U.S. military institution, the following section provides a background on literature regarding the roles of femininity and masculinity in the U.S. military.

(iii) Gender and the Military

Gender stereotypes affect the roles men and women play in society. Women are socially constructed as ‘naturally’ more nurturing and emotional than men and their roles in society often reflect those aspects (Carreiras 2006, 42). On the other hand, the roles of men have tended to be in the public sphere of society and they are often thought to be more aggressive than women (Tuten 1982, 252). Therefore, men have filled the role of warrior and soldier, while women were expected to stay at home and fulfil the role of ‘trophy’ (Carreiras 2006, 43).

Some critics see the idea of women participating in the military along with men as a threat to masculinity. This is perpetuated by the overall culture of the armed forces. For example, men in training often chant songs that are derogatory to women¹⁶ and are

¹⁵ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 133 for examples of the masculine culture of the military.

¹⁶ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 139 for example.

referred to with girls' names as insults (Herbert 1998, 8). It is not enough for men to show they are good soldiers through the skills of their job and physical ability, "much of the strategy seems to rely on being that which is not feminine and, taking this one step further, denigrating that which is feminine" (Herbert 1998, 8). This is essential as so far as masculinity is defined against femininity. After basic training, gender continued to dictate soldiers' career options, through policies in which career field limitations were based on gender (Herbert 1998, 7). Tickner argues that women's involvement in the military is in "strong tension with the culturally embedded view of what it means to be a warrior," and that sexual harassment and violence is likely to continue until this culture is changed (Tickner 2001, 58). This argument is discussed further in Chapter Six.¹⁷

Linda Bird Francke explains this phenomenon further. She states, "accepting women as military peers is antithetical to the hyper masculine identity traditionally promoted by the institution and sought by many military men. Only by excluding women or denigrating them could men preserve their superiority" (Francke 1997, 157). The military depends on the bonding of groups of soldiers for the cohesiveness of their units and this is particularly important for combat units. One way to do this was to use gender as a basis for bonding. Therefore women were constructed as a threat to the cohesiveness of a unit because they were considered outsiders (Francke 1997, 158).

Other critics of women's participation in the military have feared that females in the military will cause women to lose their femininity. As Cynthia Enloe argues, "when the states' military...comes to rely on women inside its uniformed ranks, the military provokes wide public concern for the meaning and uses of femininity. This provocation in turn makes the content and function of masculinity more problematic" (Enloe 1994, 83). Women are in the minority of the soldiers deployed and many believe they must adapt to the masculine identity of the military culture they are in, and of those who surround them. Integrating into the male-dominated military culture makes some women feel that, in order to be equal they must be masculine, not feminine (Herbert 1998, 5). This feeling is often amplified for women in combat zones. Past studies of

¹⁷ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 177.

female fighters and soldiers have shown that many of them who join the military conform to the masculine culture instead of transforming it to change conceptions of women, war and the military (Carreiras 2006, 11). This idea is further evidenced in Chapter Five¹⁸ and adds some legitimacy to an argument by some feminist scholars against women's participation in the military that is outlined in the following section.

Women's participation in the military has blurred gender roles and norms and has caused tension between traditional ideas of masculinity and femininity in the U.S. military. Although more women have joined the armed forces, they are still expected to act in a masculine way because that is the traditional idea of a soldier. The military has held on tightly to its masculine oriented culture, which has made it difficult for women to evolve the culture to become inclusive and accepting of femininity or to adjust the conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Due to stereotypical aspects of the female gender, the ability of female military members to participate in military career fields is debated and questioned. The following sections outlines several of the main feminist arguments that advocate either for women's participation in the military or against it and tie in the ideas of gender outlined above.

(iv) Feminist Perspectives of Women in the Military

Feminist scholars have various approaches to understanding and theorising about women's involvement in the armed forces. Three main arguments that emerged from the literature ranged from advocating for women's full participation in all military career fields to arguments against women's participation in the military in any role. The first argument discussed is referred to as the liberal or equal-rights based argument. It advocates that female soldiers should be treated exactly the same as men and they should fully participate in all military career fields with the same rules and policies, including those pertinent to combat roles, in order to have full rights and citizenship in society (Peach 1996, 174). The next argument is that of a shared civic responsibility, which argues that all citizen's have a responsibility to participate in the well-being of their country but that men and women do not have to do so in exactly the same way

¹⁸ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 133 for examples.

(Snyder 2003, 194). The final argument discussed is based on the gender stereotypes laid out in the second section that assumes women are naturally nurturing and men are inherently violent. These scholars also look for a de-masculinisation and de-legitimisation of the military institution.

The equal rights based argument is established on liberal ideas of equal opportunities and rights for the individual. Feminists in this school of thought “argue for the fullest possible inclusion of women in the military, including eligibility for the draft and involuntary assignment to the combat arms” (Miller 1998, 38). They see full inclusion and participation as an important right because they believe military service is central to full citizenship in a democracy (Cooke 1996, 256). As Peach states “if women are denied the obligations of citizenship...they cannot expect equal treatment in other spheres of public life” (Peach 1996, 176). The military is an influential institution in U.S. society, as is discussed further in Chapter Four, and “by excluding women, the military presents itself as an institution that participates in the hierarchical differentiation of gender with the state; citizenship and full democratic rights are conceded to those who are the bearers of arms” (Seifert 2003, 212). Therefore, these scholars believe that women must exercise the same responsibility as men in protecting the nation in order to be equal citizens of the state and to challenge the gender power structure of the military (Peach 1996, 176; D’Amico and Weinstein 1999, 254). Proponents of this school of thought also argue that military service has been a path toward political leadership and women’s inclusion in this traditionally male field challenges men’s privileged social status (Cooke 1996, 256; Hillman 1999, 68). This is the case in the U.S. and is discussed further in Chapter Four.

The rights-based proponents see women’s full participation in the military as essential and a positive enhancement to feminism and equal rights for all women. They contend that female soldiers’ participation disrupts the social gender roles and order set forth by the military and is, therefore, beneficial to the goals of feminism (Seifert 2003, 214). However, critics of these ideas often criticise the concept of the ‘sameness’ of men and women and believe that inherent differences between men and women are overlooked

in their search for equal rights. Instead, these scholars frame equality, not as sameness, but as a shared responsibility (Snyder 2003, 194). They place emphasis on the responsibility of all a country's citizens to participate in civic life but believe that men and women can participate in different ways. As Claire Snyder argues, "women can equally contribute to the common good of defending American democracy, even if they do not do so in exactly the same way as men in every situation" (Snyder 2003, 194). The main debate between their argument and the rights-based argument is the issue of whether or not women should involuntarily be assigned to combat roles and added to the draft.

The feminist scholars who make the argument for shared civic responsibility over complete gender-neutrality contend that women do not have to serve in combat roles to be equally contributing members of society but that they should have the option. According to research conducted by Laura Miller of U.S. Army women, she found that, "they do not think...that sexual differences apply to everyone in the same way; therefore they contend that generalisations should not restrict all members of either gender" (Miller 1998, 51). However, the Army women she interviewed also argued "that women should not be forced into roles for which they are unqualified or uninterested so that proportionate gender equality can be achieved in all fields" (Miller 1998, 51). In other words, women can successfully contribute to the greater good of the country without serving in combat roles but they should not be kept from the right if they so choose. As Snyder argues, "the civic approach calls for female citizens to fulfil their military obligations to the best of their abilities" (Snyder 2003, 198). Miller contends that female Army interviewees agreed with this view and "said they would prefer that work done predominantly by women be considered as valuable as work done predominantly by men" (Miller 1998, 52). This viewpoint acknowledges the importance of women's participation in the military to feminist and equal rights in the U.S. but does not agree that female soldiers' participation in combat roles is the only option or that it should be forced without choice on female soldiers.

The final major feminist argument put forth regarding women's involvement in the military has two separate strategies for a single goal of deligitimising the military. This line of thought is contrary to the first two arguments in this section, which contend that women's participation is positive for feminism and women's advancement in society, as well as a legitimate path toward equal opportunities. Cynthia Enloe refers to the proponents of this argument in two categories of 'optimists' and 'pessimists' (Enloe 2007, 78-79). The optimists viewpoint contends that women's participation in the military is positive because they believe that more women in the institution will reduce the "traditional privileging of masculinity" and therefore, "a less militarised military would be one less imbued with an institutional culture of masculinised violence" (Enloe 2007, 78-79). In other words, it would de-masculinise the military institution and, if following traditional stereotypes, would therefore become more feminine and peace-oriented. Instead of focusing on war and killing, the military would focus on peacekeeping and humanitarian missions (Enloe 2007, 79).

However, on the other hand of this argument, pessimists of women's participation believe that "women serving inside the state's military could cause those women to become more militarised" (Enloe 2007, 79). Some feminist scholars fear that instead of women's participation creating a military more focused on peace, that "women in combat do not portend a kindler, gentler military but rather prefigure the worst that is yet to come" (Cooke 1996, 260). According to some critics of the optimist viewpoint, women's participation instead legitimises the existence of the military institution and serves to further militarise society (Peach 1996, 178; Enloe 2007, 79). Enloe agrees that women "are likely to adopt as their own the already established and rewarding patriarchal beliefs and values" of the military institution (Enloe 2007, 80). This concept is a central theme of this thesis and was discussed in the previous section regarding the tendency for military women to adapt to the masculine-oriented culture instead of changing it. It is also discussed further in Chapter Five.¹⁹

¹⁹ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 133 for examples.

Due to the idea outlined above that women's involvement in the military provides legitimacy to the military institution as a whole, some feminist scholars believe that women's participation hurts the feminist cause. Their argument is based on traditional gender stereotypes of men as violent and women as inherently peaceful. Peach refers to this argument as the 'ethic of care' and explains that these feminists believe "women should devote their distinctive moral resources to developing nonviolent alternatives to war" and that "combat roles are antithetical to women's roles as peace workers" (Peach 1996, 178). Although, as demonstrated by this thesis, female soldiers tend to adapt to the masculine-centric culture, proponents of the above argument fail to recognise that there is a legitimate need for the military and national defense as well as the civic responsibility of all citizens to participate in the security of their country. Also, their reliance on traditional gender stereotypes are contrary to the constructivist view of gender this thesis is based on, as described in the previous section on gender.

This research adds to the feminist studies of this argument because it explores how women's participation has evolved gender roles. Chapter Four discusses why women should be participants, as there is a link between American society and the military, this also affects women outside of the military. Chapter Five analyses female soldiers' tendency to adapt to the masculinised military culture. This thesis is based on a combination of the equal-rights based and civic responsibility arguments outlined in this section. It assumes that women must have the option to be full participants in all fields of the military in order to have equal treatment in all aspects of society, as well as in the military institution. As explained in the second section, it follows the constructivist viewpoint of gender, however, it agrees with the civic responsibility argument that there are some inherent physical differences between men and women. Women should not be forced to serve in combat jobs but should be allowed to participate on a voluntary basis if they meet the standards set forth for the career field. Although it would be beneficial to feminism for traditionally female jobs to be seen as equally important in the military, as put forth by the civic responsibility argument, there is a significant emphasis placed on the importance of combat roles in the current military institutional order. However, there are signs that this could change in the future due to technological advancements

and the differing roles the modern military institution plays in counterinsurgency and peacekeeping operations. These ideas are discussed further in Chapter Five. In order to provide context for those discussions, the following section reviews changes in U.S. military strategic culture that relate to the status of female soldiers.

(v) U.S. Military Strategic Culture and American Militarism

In the U.S. military, those in combat roles are held in the highest regard. As women were banned from those roles until 2013, they were not allowed to participate in the most coveted and highly regarded positions. However, as the strategic culture has evolved, there has been a greater emphasis on technology and counterinsurgency operations, both of which women have had more opportunities to participate. American military strategic culture is a product of history and societal values. Colin S. Gray argues that, in order for strategic culture to work, it must be “a fusion of what society prefers and what is successful for that society” (Gray 1996, 84). Gray and Edward Luttwak state that impatience plays a large role in the strategic culture of the United States, due to the fact that the U.S. is a liberal democracy and there is little tolerance from the American people for long, drawn out wars with high casualties. The strategic culture of the military is closely tied to the culture of the society (Gray 1996, 85).

Luttwak contends that America’s strategic culture is based on a Napoleonic concept of war in that it is looking for quick and decisive wars with a clear victory (Luttwak 1995, 2). Therefore, politicians are not willing to invest in lengthy wars with high casualties that are not visibly decisive victories. As Luttwak reasons, since the American strategic culture calls for bloodless wars, there is a hesitation to send ground troops into an area where there is a likelihood of casualties. Michael Ignatieff provides the example of the Gulf War in which “American superiority in precision weapons was plain for all to see” (Ignatieff 2000, 168). He believes that the Gulf War changed the expectations American citizens had of war because only 293 American soldiers were killed during the Gulf War (Rokke 2002, 1). He argues, “having been told to prepare for as many as 25,000 casualties, the electorate discovered the intoxicating reality of risk-free warfare”

(Ignatieff 2000, 168). Therefore, the American public came to expect fast and decisive victories fought with technology in order to limit American casualties.

One way the U.S. has faced this challenge in-line with part of its strategic culture is through the development of technology and the greater reliance on air power. Gray explains that a crucial feature of American strategic culture is the domination of air power in its military (Gray 1995, 94). Luttwak makes the point that the use of air power comes at the risk of much fewer casualties than committing ground troops to a conflict. Therefore, it is a more viable solution politically than other kinds of military operations (Luttwak 1996, 3). Ignatieff agrees with this assessment. He states, “technology was in search of impunity. War that could actually be fought had to be as bloodless, risk-free and as precise as possible” (Ignatieff 2000, 164). Technological advancements make it possible for the Air Force to carry out bombings that are precise and do not cause damage on a mass scale (Luttwak 1996, 3). Therefore, the U.S. is able to conduct war on a smaller-scale with less human investment than in the past (Ignatieff 2000, 166).

The U.S. military has moved toward investing greater resources in technology that can safely keep Americans away from the front lines and has developed a new Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA),²⁰ referred to as virtual or robotic warfare (Ignatieff 2000, 164; Singer 2009, 181). RMAs are discussed further in Chapter Five.²¹ One example of the RMA was the development and usage of drones in the conflict in Afghanistan. Advanced technologies such as precision munitions are also part of the contemporary RMA (Ignatieff 2000, 164). The guerilla nature of the war in both Iraq and Afghanistan has forced the U.S. to rely more heavily on Special Forces units and RMA technology for air and space power than large numbers of ground troops.

Andrew Bacevich argues that since the development of contemporary RMAs and the greater possibility of a bloodless war on the American side, warfare has become more acceptable to Americans. He maintains it is now seen more as ‘coercive diplomacy’

²⁰ An RMA is an introduction of new technology that changes the way war is conducted.

²¹ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 144 for further information on RMAs.

rather than war and the civilian population sees the military as promoting American values overseas as well as protecting American culture and interests (Bacevich 2005, 3). Bacevich believes that this new positive outlook on warfare has therefore built up the moral superiority of the soldier. In a poll conducted by the Army Times in 2004, out of a cross section of 933 enlisted personnel and officers, two-thirds of the respondents said they believed that members of the U.S. military “have higher moral values than the civilian population” (Lobe 2004, 1). The military institution is seen as holding traditional American values. Bacevich argues that “Americans fearful that the rest of society may be teetering on the brink of moral collapse console themselves with the thought that the armed services remain a repository of traditional values and old fashioned virtues” (Bacevich 2005, 583). This is supported by a Gallup Poll administered in 2011 to a cross section of the American public, in which the military was ranked first in confidence had by society out of all American institutions, with 78 percent of respondents saying they had a great deal of confidence in the military institution. The military has been ranked first consistently since 1998 and has been ranked first or second every year since 1975 (Jones 2011, 1). This positive outlook on the military and its traditional values does not necessarily hurt the position of women but it shows that military service is highly valued and the U.S. and this is why women must be participants.

The concepts of American strategic culture, militarism and the effects of technological advancements on the U.S. military are also important to provide a baseline of how the American military has preferred to conduct wars from the late 20th century and onwards because they provide insight into the general institutional culture. This overall knowledge provides a good starting point to then analyse issues of personnel and culture through a gender lens. The success of the contemporary RMA, which allows soldiers to conduct warfare from a distance, and the U.S.’s search for bloodless wars has moved American soldiers further away from the front lines. The ideas of bloodless wars, technological advancements and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), in particular, are important because of their impact on the military culture which has moved soldiers away from the front lines and combat positions, which are strongly

linked to masculinity and yet gender discrimination exists. This is one puzzle this thesis looks to explain. The effects of advancing technology on the institutional culture of the U.S. military are discussed further in Chapter Five.²²

The five areas of literature discussed above help to provide context for the research question which looks at the development and change of the gender power structure of the U.S. military institution. The organisational theory overview is essential to this study because it introduces key ideas that this thesis is built on, such as what constitutes an institution, the nature of institutions and their affects on actors. While the background on organisational theory is needed to explain the new institutionalism aspect of this research, the sections on the construction of gender and gender in the U.S. military are essential in clearly contextualising the gendered aspects of this thesis. Although this research focuses on institutional processes and change, it does so through a gendered lens. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss how the construction of gender is approached in this study. The section on feminist arguments regarding women's participation in the military is essential because it sets this research in the greater body of feminist research. These sections also provide a background on masculinity and femininity and the ideas behind women's discrimination in the U.S. military institution. Chapter Four builds on this section by further exploring the issues of gender roles in the U.S. military. The final section on U.S. strategic culture contributes to the understanding of this research because the evolution of the strategic culture affects the way the military conducts warfare, which changes the personnel needs of the institution and has provided women more areas for participation. The aspects of American militarism discussed in this section also help to contextualise the military's status in American society and therefore, the importance of women's participation, as is argued by both the equal-rights based and civic responsibility feminists.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the key themes of this thesis as well as the literature that was essential in providing a background to the arguments made in this study. As was

²² Please refer to Chapter Five, page 144.

described in the introduction section, female soldiers have been discriminated against by both formal policies and informal norms, which have placed them in a disadvantaged position to men in the military institution. One area in which it can be seen that informal norms are stagnant is from the high rates of sexual discrimination and assault found in the military.

This thesis looks to explore the gender power structure of the U.S. Armed Forces. It considers both the formal policies and the informal norms of the U.S. military to determine how and why change has occurred as well as to what extent. It also explores how the changes ultimately affect women's status in the military. In answering the question outlined in this chapter, it looks to provide a thorough understanding and analysis of the gender power structure in the U.S. military.

The military remains a masculine oriented institution but female soldiers have worked hard to advance their standing in the U.S. Armed Forces. Change has come about with the help of critical junctures, the interplay between informal norms and formal policies, and the actions of individual actors who have worked both internally and externally to push for change. Changes in technology and strategic culture, with a greater emphasis on bloodless wars and counterinsurgency operations have evolved the way the U.S. military conducts warfare and have therefore changed the overall culture of the institution.

The following chapter explores the theoretical framework upon which this thesis is based. It also discusses the methodology as well as the methods used to conduct this study. Chapter Three then provides a historical overview and analysis of women's participation in the military and how change occurred in the past. It also provides an outline of formal policies pertaining to gender in the U.S. military. Chapter Four discusses the military's place in American society as well as gender roles and provides narratives of cases of military participations that were gendered by the military and the media. Chapter Five outlines the informal norms of the U.S. military that create the masculine-oriented institution. It explores the gender power structure of the U.S.

military through data collected from interviews and surveys with military women. It also discusses institutional changes in greater detail regarding both technological advancements and what they mean for the gender structure of the military, as well as changes in U.S. strategic culture. As this thesis argues both that the military continues to be a masculine-centric organisation and that there are areas where women's place in the military has advanced, it is essential to choose a thesis structure that clearly links these two differing ideas, that could be seen as conflicting if not properly introduced and explained. For this reason, Chapter Five includes both information on the current masculine-oriented culture of the military as well as what changes have occurred. Chapter Six is a case study on sexual assault in the military and provides examples and analysis of informal norms that impede institutional change. Chapter Seven concludes the thesis with an overview and analysis of the questions asked and answered from the research of this thesis. The structure of this thesis was aligned as described above in order to demonstrate the nuances and degree of change that has occurred in the military.

Introduction

This research project analyses areas of change in the gender structure of the U.S. military and the masculine centric culture of the institution. In order to produce reasonable claims regarding the gender power structure in the U.S. military institution based on the research model laid out in this chapter, the theoretical framework of this thesis is based on feminist institutionalism theory. Feminist institutionalism is an emerging field that combines concepts from new institutionalism theory and feminist political science in order to develop a theoretical approach that considers gender when analysing institutional processes and actors. Fiona MacKay argues that “whether ‘just borrowing’ or adapting tools, or seeking a deeper synthesis, the added value of FI...is in the combination of diverse conceptual frameworks and toolkits in developing deeper analyses” (MacKay 2011, 183). In keeping in line with this feminist institutionalism approach, which is discussed further in the following section,²³ this thesis pulls from established frameworks and tools in new institutionalism theory and combines them with feminist political science by injecting a gendered analysis and perspective. The two main frameworks from new institutionalism that are adapted to feminist institutionalism are ideas from sociological and historical institutionalism. This thesis also adapts Kathleen Thelen and James Mahoney’s theory of gradual change, which is outlined below and discussed further in the following section.

This thesis blends ideas from sociological and historical institutionalism, as they both are pertinent to the explanation of this research. The sociological institutionalism approach calls for a focus on the social norms of an institution. This thesis employs this idea by considering not only the formal policies of the U.S. military, but the informal norms as well. It considers the importance of the informal norms of the U.S. military to female soldiers’ position in the institution and is crucial to understanding obstacles to

²³ Please refer to page 36 in this chapter.

institutional change. This is an essential concept to the research of this thesis and is discussed further in the following section.

Ideas from the historical institutionalism perspective are employed in relation to path dependency theory, in order to better understand why some institutions are difficult to change, and critical junctures, which are a component to explaining some institutional changes. This thesis draws on and combines two main constructs based on path dependency theory; Lynne Zucker's construct of 'cultural persistence' and Patricia Ingraham, Donald Moynihan, and Matt Weber's 'weberian construct' in order to explain why the U.S. military institution is especially resistant to change. These two constructs are combined because their ideas are complimentary and both constructs add additional layers in order to better understand the specific characteristics of the military that make the institution less permeable as well as the institutionalisation process of the masculine-centric informal norms of the military.

Ideas from historical institutionalism also provide a historical analysis of past change in the history of women in the U.S. military that shows emerging patterns of institutional change based on past historical events, or 'critical junctures'. Although a gendered version of historical analysis is useful to this research, its ideas do not fully explain the institutional change that has occurred in the gender power structure of the U.S. military because it does not account for gradual and incremental change. In order to account for this, the main theoretical framework regarding institutional change laid out in this chapter, that has been modified to support a gendered analysis, is James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen's theory of gradual change. Their theory is suitable to this research because it looks to explain slow and incremental change, which has occurred in the U.S. military. The main concepts and frameworks of new institutional theory discussed above are combined with feminist political science in order to provide the theoretical framework of this thesis, which is discussed further in the following section.

In order to explicate how the thesis looks to answer the main research question laid out in Chapter One,²⁴ and employ the theoretical framework laid out in the following section, this chapter discusses the methodological approach executed for this research in Section 2.2. This study analyses statistics, literature, policies and personal interviews and surveys with female military members and Department of Defense (DoD) and Congressional officials. As there is no set methodology of feminist institutionalism, rather a synthesis of methods and techniques from relevant fields, this thesis constitutes a feminist political science methodology. The feminist lens affects my interview approach, my own position as an insider/outsider, as well as power relations during the interview process.

Feminist research methods are not specific to feminist methodology, however, the approach is distinctive and the aims are different from mainstream research. Feminist researchers look to “make a difference to women’s lives through social and individual change. They are concerned to challenge the silences in mainstream research both in relation to the issues studied and the ways in which study is undertaken” (Letherby 2003, 4). Historically, in mainstream research, women were considered ‘others’ as they were not male and were therefore not the norm (Letherby 2003, 6). Feminist research changes this by focusing on women’s specific experiences and providing them with a voice. This thesis acknowledges female soldiers’ historic, as well as current, place in the patriarchal society of the U.S. Armed Forces and seeks to understand their position and the broader military institution in order to explain the gender structure of the military.

Politics and mainstream societal ideals have been known to exclude women from participation and analysis. This is particularly true in the case of women in the military. The military is seen as a traditionally male occupation and therefore women have not been included in the study of its history and development. The feminist perspective is the best way to approach this study because the point of feminist research is to be useful in positively changing women’s position in society by providing an avenue for their

²⁴ Please refer to Chapter One, page 8 for main research questions.

experiences to be heard by policymakers. This is precisely what this research aims to bring about (Kelly et al. 1994, 40).

A feminist methodology also considers the position of the researcher and how their experiences affect the research carried out (Letherby 2003, 6). In this study, my own insider status as an American, a former female Department of Defense employee and a military spouse, along with my outsider status as a civilian, affects the access I have to the respondents and could influence their responses to me. Power relations between myself, the interviewer, and the respondents also affect my research. I engaged in elite interviewing, therefore, I had to be conscious of time and access restraints of the elites.²⁵ I used my insider status through my own connections and those of my father, who was a gatekeeper to several high-ranking personnel, to gain better access to Department of Defense elites. The interviewees that participated in this study form the basis of my knowledge on the informal norms of the military. However, there was a gap of knowledge by considering women's experiences alone, as they need to be contextualised into the greater body of knowledge, existing literature and new institutionalism theory. I used triangulation of interviews, surveys, literature analysis and quantitative data in order to comprehensively analyse women's experiences to determine the connection between their own experiences and the general realities of military culture.

This chapter covers two main areas. It first provides an overview of the theoretical framework in order to conceptualise the methods employed for this study. It explicates the main areas of feminist institutionalism theory this thesis draws on to explain institutional change and to draw conclusions regarding the evolution of the gender power structure in the U.S. military. The second main section looks at the main research approaches. It discusses the methods used for this research and why they are best suited for this study. This chapter considers the power relations and ethics in the interviewing process. In the positioning component it discusses my self-identification as a researcher and my place as an insider and outsider and looks at how my insider and outsider status

²⁵ Elite status and interviewing will be discussed on page 51 of this chapter.

affected the research. It then covers the research process and design of my fieldwork. Finally, this chapter examines my interpretation of the data and the importance of triangulation in evaluating respondents' answers. It also discusses the issues of validity and reliability as they relate to my study.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

This thesis employs a feminist institutionalism approach. Feminist institutionalism is a synthesis of new institutionalism and feminist political science. It engages theory and concepts from new institutionalism and injects gender into the analysis. Recently, more feminist scholars have approached studies through the ideas of new institutionalism. Louise Chappell provides an increasingly positive outlook and explanation of feminist institutionalism. She argues that the overall point of new institutionalism research is to highlight that, "institutions are important in shaping political outcomes" (Chappell 2010, 184), and that feminist new institutionalism in particular "points to the way that institutional norms privilege certain forms of behaviour and certain actors over others" (Chappell 2010, 184). Joni Lovenduski agrees with this analysis of gendering institutions and emphasises the importance of considering gendered power relations within organisations and how gender is embedded in political organisational culture (Lovenduski 2011, viii).

In order to understand an organisation's affects on gender, feminist institutionalism argues that there must be a clear analysis of the interplay between formal and informal norms, values and rules, also referred to as 'institutions' in new institutionalism literature (MacKay 2011, 183). As Fiona MacKay explains, "the central insight of feminist institutionalism is that formal and informal institutions are gendered. Feminist institutionalism analyses how formal and informal institutions interact—in complementary or contradictory ways—to shape political outcomes" (MacKay 2011, 183). Organisations develop frameworks and influence human behaviour based on their formal rules and informal culture. An informal culture can be developed that either compliments the formal rules of the organisation or is in tension with it. Feminist institutionalism argues that the underlying masculine ideal found in both formal and

informal institutions reproduces norms, values, policies and laws that marginalise women by stagnating change. The masculine ideas are therefore perpetuated and gender roles and ideals do not evolve (MacKay et al. 2011, 582). In this thesis, these ideas of formal and informal norms, values and rules are important because it is in this interaction between them that can explain women's continued marginalisation as well as positive changes in the U.S. military regarding gender structure. The use of feminist institutionalism theory guided the decision to employ a feminist research methodology, which is discussed further in the following section.

(i) Historical and Sociological Institutionalism

There are several variations of new institutionalism that feminist researchers have adapted in order to create a feminist institutionalism approach. This research is carried out using the perspective of historical and sociological (also known as organisational or normative) new institutionalism, with a focus on a gendered approach. Within the sociological focus, the study will “identify the social norms and explicate their gendered effects, producing an account of the mutually constitutive character of the gender regime” (Lovenduski 2011, v). This is accomplished through analysing interview and survey responses from female military members and DoD leadership, as well as analysing information gathered from relevant literature, legislation and policies.

In sociological institutionalism there is a greater focus on the “social and cognitive features of institutions, rather than structural and constraining ones” (MacKay et al. 2011, 575). In this perspective, human behaviour is guided by ‘frames of meaning’ based on social norms, values, rules and symbol systems (MacKay et al. 2011, 575). As this thesis specifically looks for the gendered effects generated by the norms, values and rules of the military institution, this perspective best serves the research goals. An understanding of the gendered nature of the organisational culture of the armed forces based on an institutional analysis will provide a clear analysis of how those norms affect the gender hierarchy and participation and policies for women.

The historical new institutionalism focus is also necessary in analysing change in the U.S. military because it focuses “on the long-term ramifications of largely contingent events” (Krook & MacKay 2011, 9). In an organisation such as the military, where history and tradition play a significant role, historical institutionalism can provide a clear understanding of how change has occurred over time for U.S. military women and is likely to occur in the future based on previous trends. Historical institutionalism also embraces “a power-political view of institutions that emphasises their distributional effects, and many of them explain institutional persistence in terms of increasing returns to power” (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 7). Mahoney and Thelen go on to draw the conclusion, that if power relations play an important role in maintaining an institution, the shifts in power must also be an “important source of change” (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 9). This thesis employs the concept of changing power relations as a source of institutional change. Due to the rigid hierarchical rank structure, higher-ranking officers have substantial power over lower ranking officers and enlisted members. As discussed in Chapter One, women are limited in leadership roles in the military and this is a contributing factor to their lack of power in the military institution.

This research considers historical institutionalism’s idea of power relations and the structure of the U.S. military gender regime through a gendered lens. Gender power relations and structures are essential to understanding the “institutional dynamics of inclusion and exclusion” (MacKay et al. 2011, 583). The arrangements and mechanisms of power structures can provide an insight into different ways in which certain groups are disadvantaged (Kenny 1996, 462). In an example provided by Kenny, she finds that male political elites have switched to informal mechanisms to “counteract women’s increased access and presence in formal decision making sites” (Kenny 1996, 462). The male political elites attempt to hold on to power although formal rules have changed. This thesis explores, through the historical institutionalism perspective, how gendered power relations are played out in the U.S. military to provide insight into how women are disadvantaged as Kenny explained.

Critical junctures are factors of change considered by theories of historical institutionalism and are employed in this analysis of change of the U.S. military. Critical junctures are periods of time in which actions or circumstances external to the institution open up possibilities for change (Capoccia & Kelemen 2007, 34). They lighten the usual restrictions placed on institutional actors and are periods in which actors may force change more easily (Capoccia & Kelemen 2007, 34). Several episodes of critical junctures are discussed in this thesis in relation to the U.S. military. For example, the U.S. participation in wars has been a significant cause of critical junctures for women in the U.S. military. However, it is important to remember that critical junctures alone are not enough to force institutional change. Institutional actors must still exercise agency. The institutional changes assisted by critical junctures are also often resisted by the informal norms of the institution. As is demonstrated in the following chapter, although formal policies allowed women to participate, formal changes were in tension with the informal norms of the masculine-oriented institution. Therefore, there are more detailed aspects to gendered institutional change that must be explored that involve individual agency and gradual change.

(ii) New Institutionalism Theory of Gradual Change

In order to account for the limitations of the historical and sociological institutionalism ideas discussed above, this research employs a new institutionalism theory of internal gradual change put forth by James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen. The Mahoney and Thelen theory focuses on how gradual change in an institution is brought about in order to fill the gaps regarding how gradual institutional change occurs in new institutionalism theory. Mahoney and Thelen argue that past research has focused on institutional stability and has not accounted for the dynamic nature of institutions caused by power struggles and individual agency (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 9).

In order to better analyse internal institutional change, Mahoney and Thelen's basic framework begins with understanding the characteristics of the political context the institution falls under and the characteristics of that institution (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 15). They argue that the characteristics of the institution and its political context

will affect the type of change that is found in an institution and the type of actor who instigates it. They posit, “political context and institutional form have these effects because they shape the type of dominant change agent that is likely to emerge and flourish in any specific institutional context, and the kinds of strategies this agent is likely to pursue to effect change” (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 15). The table below presents the framework of Mahoney and Thelen’s theory. For the purpose of better understanding the question in this thesis, the main focus will be on ‘opportunist’ actors who work for change through ‘conversion,’ and ‘insurrectionary’ actors who bring about change through ‘displacement.’ These categories are discussed later in this section and their place in the theory can be seen in the table below.²⁶ Although this thesis is focused on institutional culture and change, it does not lose sight of the important role individual actors, specifically ‘opportunist’ and ‘insurrectionary’ actors, play in the institution.²⁷

Figure 2.1 Contextual and Institutional Sources of Institutional Change

	Characteristics of Targeted Institution		
		Low level of Discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement	High level of Discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement
Characteristics of the Political Context	Strong Veto Possibilities	Subversives (Layering)	Parasitic Symbionts (Drift)
	Weak Veto Possibilities	Insurrectionaries (Displacement)	Opportunists (Conversion)

(Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 19).

One of the main characteristics Mahoney and Thelen consider for how internal change occurs is whether or not defenders of the status quo of an institution are afforded strong or weak veto possibilities in the formation of new rules (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 19). Those in power or who largely benefit from the rules and norms of the current institution are most likely to defend the status quo. In the case of the U.S. military, this

²⁶ Please refer to page 42 in this chapter for further discussion on ‘opportunist’ and ‘insurrectionaries’

²⁷ Please refer to page 43 in this chapter for further discussion on agency vs. structure

thesis will explore if male combat officers benefit more than female military members from the status quo (Francke 1997, 181).

As can be seen in the table on the previous page, the other institutional characteristic considered in Mahoney and Thelen's framework is the level of "discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement" that is had by institutional actors (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 19). Actors may be forced to follow institutional rules closely or there could be room for interpretation of the formal rules and this is where issues of compliance and informal norms can arise. Mahoney and Thelen posit that the two characteristics of veto possibilities and discretion in rule enforcement discussed above affect the type of change agent and the methods. The table on the previous page shows the relationship between the characteristics, actors, and types of strategies they use to instigate change.

As can be seen in the table on the previous page in relation to 'Interpretation/Enforcement,' Mahoney and Thelen argue that compliance is an important variable when analysing institutional change because "even when institutions are formally codified, their guiding expectations often remain ambiguous and always are subject to interpretation, debate, and contestation" (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 11). Issues of compliance are 'soft spots' where actors can enact change; this is the gap between formal rules and their interpretation and enactment. Mahoney and Thelen posit that, "institutional change often occurs precisely when problems of rule interpretation and enforcement open up space for actors to implement existing rules in new ways" (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 4). The gap in the actual rule and its implementation can be exploited by actors who want change or it can be a new circumstance the institution is in, in which it must "accommodate a new reality" (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 11). The new interpretation and implementation of the original rule can then be used to instigate slow and gradual change in an institution. This is where the tension between formal rules and informal norms comes in to play in relation to change in the U.S. military.

Actors working to keep the status quo in the U.S. military range from having strong to weak veto powers, depending on their place in the organisation and in the greater

political structure. As was mentioned previously, the hierarchical rank structure of the military places some actors in positions that hold greater power than others. For example, young enlisted men and women could believe they benefit from the status quo of the military and may not wish to change the institution, however, they hold little power in the high-level politics of the military. While generals who wish to block change will hold power in the military institution, but still have to answer to Congressional legislation that could affect military policies. In order to best explain the gender regime of the U.S. military, this thesis considers only those in the military organisation as internal to the institution, and Congress is considered an outside institutional actor.

This thesis acknowledges that agents of change in the military can have high and low levels of discretion for rule enforcement. Depending on the level of enforcement by an actor's unit and leadership, some actors may have more opportunities for instigating change through the 'soft spots' between rules and enforcement. Leadership at unit levels all the way up through the DoD play a significant role in the way change is conducted in the military and the actors involved may not all fall into the same category laid out by Mahoney and Thelen in the table on page 34. However, for the purpose of understanding internal institutional change, this thesis focuses on the areas where change has occurred, and therefore has the most likelihood of occurring in the future. To best explain these areas of change, this thesis focuses on several of the agents and methods of change in the table on page 34 that are most applicable to the case of the U.S. military, which include 'opportunists' through 'conversion' and 'insurrectionaries' through 'displacement.'

For changes inside the institution, this thesis focuses on change that is brought about by 'opportunists' through 'conversion.' Opportunists "exploit whatever possibilities exist within the prevailing system to achieve their ends," often through conversion by interpreting and enacting old rules in new ways (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 17). The last group that will be considered is 'insurrectionary' actors who bring about change through 'displacement.' This research employs this group when analysing change from

outside of the institution. ‘Insurrectionary’ actors “seek to eliminate existing institutions or rules, and they do so by actively and visibly mobilising against them” (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 23). Instead of layering rules, they look to completely change the old rules of an institution. This group is used in order to analyse actors who take action outside of the military because many actors that have been constrained internally by the institution and have found it necessary to force change from the outside. Mahoney and Thelen posit that, “actors disadvantaged by one institution may be able to use their advantaged status vis-à-vis other institutions to enact change” (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 9). This thesis shows how military women have done this in the past, and are currently.²⁸

The utility of Mahoney and Thelen’s theory is demonstrated repeatedly in Chapter Three when analysing the ways in which change in the gender power structure has happened in the past as it applies to actors who have worked for change both internally and externally to the institution. It is also demonstrated again in Chapter Five through the exploration of policies on Female Engagement Teams and women in combat²⁹ as well as Chapter Six in the discussion of the problem of sexual harassment and assault in the military.³⁰

In evaluating change in the institution and the interactions between actors and the institution, as discussed above, this thesis does not lose sight of the importance of actors’ agency. Feminist institutionalism provides a useful framework for analysing the interactive nature of the relationship between structure and agency known as ‘bounded agency’ (MacKay 2011, 190). Women are not without agency, even as a member of an organisation. They “demonstrate agency as institutional and extra-institutional actors working in, through, and against state and political institutions to effect social and political change, but they exercise their agency within institutional, cultural, and discursive constraints” (MacKay 2011, 190).

²⁸ Please refer to Chapter Three, page 79 and Chapter Six, page 197.

²⁹ Please refer to Chapter Five, pages 155.

³⁰ Please refer to Chapter Six, pages 177.

As was discussed in Chapter One in the organisational theory section, individual actors are not free from choice; rather they are conditioned and constrained by membership of the institution. New institutionalism theorists follow the idea that the culture of an organisation can shape the behavior and beliefs of its members (Kier 1996, 202). However, individuals interpret informal norms, values and formal rules differently and therefore make their own decisions based on individual interpretations of these aspects set forth by the institution (Peters 2005, 43). Therefore, this thesis suggests that individual military members have the ability to bring about change and make individual decisions, however, the pressures and constraints of the reigning norms, values and rules of the military institution influence them and their capacity to bring about change.

(iii) Exploring Obstacles to Change

In considering institutional change, it is essential to understand the aspects of the institution that constrain actors and limit change. Chapter Six of this thesis demonstrates and explains why the informal norms of the military have been especially resistant to change. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, this research employs the path dependency theory of historical institutionalism, combined with a feminist political science analysis, to explain why informal norms in some gender aspects of the U.S. military have stayed stagnant. This section specifies two specific constructs based on the theory of path dependency employed in Chapter Six to explain how the institutionalisation of informal norms occurs in the military.

Path dependency is often used to explain why institutions are difficult to change. It is based on “the premise that organisations and actors are part of institutions that structure and channel their behavioural standards and activities along established paths” (Trouve et al. 2010, 5). Lynne Zucker argues that values, norms and rules are institutionalised by being passed down through generations (Zucker 1977, 85). She maintains that, “each actor fundamentally perceives and describes social reality by enacting it, and in this way

transmitting it to the other actors in the social system” (Zucker 1977, 85). The institutionalisation process is discussed further in Chapter Six.³¹

Under the historical institutionalism perspective, institutions are believed to be ‘isomorphic’ in that, even as change occurs, the emerging institutional ideals will be similar to the existing framework because “political actors extract causal designations from the world around them and these cause-and-effect understandings inform their approaches to new problems” (Thelen 1999, 386). Even as institutions change or are replaced by new institutions, the framework behind them will often be similar. Ian Greener argues that “choices formed when an institution is being formed, or when a policy is being formulated, have a constraining effect into the future” (Greener 2005, 2). This idea is the logic behind the following chapter in which the historical development of policies regarding women’s participation in the military is the key point. As Greener maintains, “history matters because formations put in place in the early stages of an institutional or policy life effectively come to constrain activity after that point” (Greener 2005, 2-3). This thesis argues that this is the case regarding the gender power structure of the military. The military was created as a male institution and although some change has occurred, it has been stymied by former formal policies and institutionalised norms.

Chapter Six employs two main constructs to explain why the U.S. military has been especially susceptible to the institutionalisation of its norms. The first specific framework based on path dependency theory that is employed is Lynne Zucker’s idea of ‘cultural persistence,’ and the second is Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrew’s ‘weberian construct.’³² These two constructs are combined because they are complementary and both bring ideas that are applicable to the case of the U.S. military. Zucker outlines three aspects of persistence that drive cultural persistence in an institution to include transmission of cultural ideas, maintenance, and resistance to change (Zucker 1977, 83).

³¹ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 173 for further information on the institutionalisation of informal norms.

³² Please refer to Chapter Six, page 173 for further discussion on how these constructs relate to the case of the gender structure of the U.S. military.

Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrews' 'weberian construct' goes into greater detail regarding the characteristics an institution should have to be especially susceptible to institutionalisation of its informal norms. The characteristics they posit promote institutionalisation are a strong hierarchy, resilience to change through "the bounding of the organisation from the environment," and the neutrality of experience between the actors in the institution (Ingraham et al. 2008, 72). These concepts are illustrated in Chapter Six when applied to the case of the U.S. military.

Feminist institutionalism provides the most advantageous approach to this study because its frameworks and concepts focus on the study of formal and informal institutions, institutional power relations, and institutional change and obstacles. The question of this research focuses on the evolution of a gendered institution, therefore a feminist institutional approach is most appropriate. It allows for the institutionalised values, rules and norms to be analysed and, through the merging of ideas from new institutionalism and feminist political theory, can provide the framework needed to understand the marginalisation of women in the U.S. military. The following section discusses the methodology employed to carry out this study and why it was the best choice for the successful completion of this research.

2.2 Research Approaches

To further examine the research question and women's involvement in the military, this research employs mainly qualitative methods, supported by limited quantitative data. Gelsthorpe and Morris argue that quantitative data can provide useful background information for researchers. Although feminist research is generally carried out with qualitative methods, quantitative methods should not be discounted (Gelsthorpe & Morris 1990, 86). Although quantitative data can be useful in determining the scope of a problem, statistics alone cannot provide complete comprehension of a given situation and are "divorced from the context of their construction and thus lose the meanings they had for the people involved" (Farran 1990, 101). Qualitative methods are then essential to provide a full understanding of the problem behind the numbers. This is why I used mainly qualitative methods supported by quantitative data in this research.

In order to answer the research question, I analysed statistics on women's involvement in the U.S. military since the integration of female soldiers in 1948. Statistics were particularly useful for the discussion of the problem of sexual assault in the U.S. military in Chapter Six because they provide a better understanding of the breadth of the problem for military personnel. For the majority of the quantitative data, I used existing statistics on female military members that have been collected by the DoD. I decided to analyse existing data because there have been DoD surveys carried out recently that are applicable to my research. These surveys have been administered on a large scale and it would be difficult for me to receive the same number of respondents due to timing and funding restraints of this PhD research. Therefore, the existing data provided me with a bigger picture and more quantitative data than I would be able to attain on my own. I also employ limited statistics from the primary data collected from interview and survey respondents in order to address aspects in which existing poll data was not available. I use other secondary data, such as military and civilian polls and policy statements to help triangulate my data and provide background for the information I gathered from personal interviews and surveys.

The majority of my research was conducted using qualitative methods. I reviewed available literature and current DoD policies concerning female military members. The analysis of the formal rules and policies of the DoD was an essential starting point in analysing the construction of the masculine military culture. I also analysed previous and current legislation on the matter to look at how the legislation has evolved into the current policies that govern women's involvement in the armed forces. The historical analysis of how women's participation in the military began and their evolving roles since then was essential in order to contextualise women's current position in the armed forces, as discussed in the previous section through the historical institutionalism approach.³³

³³ Please refer to page 37 of this chapter for information on the historical institutionalism approach.

I conducted face-to-face, semi-structured interviews of female soldiers to gain first hand accounts of individual women's experiences in the institution thus far and to build an illustrative picture of the gender power structure in the U.S. military by learning about the informal norms of the military. Personal interviews were the best way to gain answers for this research because they provided me with clear qualitative data on the informal norms of the military, the problems female soldiers face, and the ways in which they have tried to advance their place in the institution (Kvale 1996, 1). Examining with participants, "why they think and act as they do enriches our understanding, and is a far stronger base from which to explore potential change than knowing only what they think and do" (Kelly et al. 1994, 39). I also conducted a limited amount of surveys of female soldiers in order to reach out to those who were in locations in which they could not be interviewed.

When considering the methodology for this research, I considered interviewing male military members as well as female soldiers. Although I did interview several men for the elite interviews, I decided, for the scope of this PhD research, that it was best to only interview female soldiers for the non-elite interviews. This research is based on feminist political research methodology, which, as is discussed later in this section,³⁴ looks to emphasise the experiences of women because they are often overlooked in political and historical accounts. In order to ensure the success of this, I felt that it was most important to highlight women's experiences in the military institution. This does not mean that this research could not benefit from interviews with male soldiers in the future, but in order to conduct the interviews properly, with a sufficient number of data points, including male soldiers as well as female would not have been feasible for the limited time afforded for this PhD project.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format in order to provide the respondents with the opportunity to expand on their experiences, while also ensuring a similar outline of questions were discussed during all of the interviews. Semi-structured interviews are believed to be useful in feminist research because they help to build a

³⁴ Please refer to page 46 of this chapter for further information on the feminist methodological approach.

closer emotional bond between the researcher and the participants and therefore make the power relationship between the two more equal. This can make the participants feel comfortable about sharing their experiences (Jayaratne 1983, 145). This approach proved effective in conducting the interviews for my research. The semi-structure format allowed me to collect data on the topics pertinent to my research, while also giving military women and the elites interviewed the chance to expand on the questions. Many of the women interviewed did this and brought up interesting topics that I had not originally asked about. I interviewed a total of 48 military women with representation from each branch of service. Respondents were both officers and enlisted personnel³⁵ and their years of experience ranged from 6 months in the military to 30 years.³⁶ The surveys were conducted in the same format and with the same questions as the semi-structure interviews. I created an anonymous website online where respondents could type extended answers to the questions addressed but did not have to answer all of the questions listed. Survey respondents also had the opportunity to contact me directly and sign consent forms, as was done by interviewees. There were a total of 16 surveys conducted and the respondents were both officers and enlisted personnel. Their experience in the military ranged from 2 months in the military to 22 years.³⁷

I also carried out a small number of semi-structured elite interviews with high-ranking government and civilian DoD and Congressional officials regarding policies for military women in order to contextualise female soldiers' experiences in the military institution. I decided on the semi-structured format interview with these participants as well because there could have been some aspects of the subject matter they were not willing to talk about or could not talk about. Semi-structured interviews are the best option to avoid DoD constructed answers to questions about policy, while also gathering information they are ready to share. I found all of the interviewees to be open and willing to converse on the different questions I had asked as well as offering their own personal insights. There were two elite interviewees that chose not to answer some of

³⁵ The military is split into an Officer group and an Enlisted group. The Officer group is higher ranking and fill leadership positions while Enlisted members perform the majority of the daily tasks of the military. Please refer to Annex B for information on the rank structure of the military.

³⁶ Please refer to Annex A for information regarding the representativeness of interview respondents.

³⁷ Please refer to Annex X for further information on the representativeness of survey respondents.

the questions and I respected their decision according to best ethical practice (Better Evaluation, 2013: 1).

(i) Power Relations

In feminist methodology, the interviewing process is different from mainstream research techniques in that mainstream techniques indicate there should be a hierarchical structure during the interview in which the interviewer is in charge and the interviewee is a passive respondent. This is not the case in feminist research. Instead, it is believed that the best way to gather information through the interviewing process is for the relationship between interviewer and interviewee to be non-hierarchical (Oakley 1981, 41). Oakley argues that the best way to establish this non-hierarchical relationship is for the interviewer to be ready to share their ideas and beliefs with the interviewee and to conduct the interview as a flowing conversation. This in turn allows the respondent to become an active participant through mutual interaction and should provide them with a better opportunity to open up about their own lives and experiences (Oakley 1981, 26).

Power is an important aspect of the research process and must be properly acknowledged. It is often assumed that the researcher is in power because they are in control of the questions. Although it is important to acknowledge those interviewed may not all have equal background knowledge on the subject at hand, the power relationship between the interviewer and interviewee becomes much more complicated. It has been noted that the power relationship between interviewer and interviewee is fluid throughout the process. The feminist approach is to empower the respondents to express their experiences by making the relationship non-hierarchical, but it is ultimately the respondent's decision on how much they want to divulge. However, in the end, the analysis of the data is the responsibility of the researcher, therefore at that stage, they have the authority (Letherby 2003, 114).

The researcher's power position in relation to the respondents will partly determine the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, therefore affecting the data

gathered. Letherby points out that, “researchers do not always hold the balance of power or even have control over their own involvement, let alone the respondent’s involvement” (Letherby 2003, 115). This was particularly interesting in relation to my research, as the interviewees represented a broad range of social status, power, and educational backgrounds. Several of the respondents in this study were considered elite interviews because of their high-ranking status in the Department of Defense and the legislature. However, the female soldier respondents were not considered elite interviews.³⁸

There are several significant obstacles to elite interviewing. To begin with, access to these respondents is usually limited because of their position, power and constraints on their time. They often have gatekeepers, who filter communication and interactions. They may not receive a message sent directly to them if their staff decides they do not have time for the request. Therefore, it is very difficult to go directly to the respondent for a possible interview if there is no personal connection. In setting up interviews with these elite respondents, mainly high-ranking Department of Defense officials, my father, through professional connections, acted as a gatekeeper to provide me with access to the elite respondents that would have been difficult to have otherwise. This had the possibility to constrain me in that they could hold an even greater amount of power because they could be talking to me as a favour to my father. It could also have limited the kinds of questions I asked because I wanted to make sure I would not damage their relationship with my father. However, I counteracted this by ensuring I worded the questions I needed to ask respectfully. I did not find that I felt they held the power in the interview; rather, it was a conversational process with all of my elite interviews.

In preparing for my interviews with the elite respondents, I considered that time could be an important limiting factor. It was necessary for me to fit into their schedules and identify the key questions in order to maximise the minimal amount of time I had with them. Although I flew from overseas to meet with them, I had to be able to conduct the

³⁸ For further statistics on respondents, refer to Annex B, Table 1, page 234.

interview whenever they could make time and be flexible in case they had to change the date or time. In order for this to be practical, I stayed with friends in Washington D.C. for around two weeks to carry out as many interviews as possible with flexibility. Two of the elite interviewees had to reschedule for a different time, and I was able to make those changes by staying in the area. However, I found once I was in the interview, I had their full attention and was not cut short of time.

As I prepared the interview questions for the elite respondents, it was important to consider they could provide me with standard answers and may not be fully honest because they have to be conscious of how they portray the military to the public. Williams discusses the importance of this as many elite interviewees often speak to journalists and may interact with researchers in the same way by providing pre-scripted and official answers to questions (Williams 1980, 310). In my prior experience working in Public Affairs for the Air Force, I had worked to construct statements for military members to give to the media and the public. This experience provided me with the insight needed to find the right questions to ask in order to bypass this problem. I knew I would also be able to identify when I was given the standard DoD answers. David Richards, in 1996, addresses this as one disadvantage of elite interviewing. He argues that in order to avoid standard answers, the interviewer should attempt to establish a rapport with the respondent before asking difficult or controversial questions. He also points out that respondents could be deceitful for various reasons, and it is therefore essential to triangulate the data derived from the interviews with other sources of data, which is why I used a mixed methods approach with my sources (Richards 1996, 204). I found with the small number of elite interviews I conducted, that all respondents were forthcoming and candid. There were several questions that two of the respondents did not wish to answer and I had provided them with that choice at the beginning of the interview. I had also provided the elite interviewees the option of remaining anonymous, but none of them chose to do so and they all signed consent forms before the interview.

The elite interviewees' power was their social status, therefore they dictated the time allotted to me. They also ultimately decided how much information they shared with me. They had power in that I provided them with a copy of the transcript from their interview afterwards in case they wanted to make any changes or had any areas they wished to have kept off of the record. In these interviews, I recognised the elites as possessing the power. However, my power with these elite respondents was that I analysed and interpreted the information they provided. Therefore, I had the ability to draw my own conclusions from the material and determine what was important to my research.

My interviews with the main respondents in this study, the female military members, were not considered elite interviews. It was possible to keep a non-hierarchical structure in the interviews with female military members. I am close in age to many of them and this provided me with the opportunity to enact an interactive interview approach. I asked open-ended questions in order to establish a conversational tone for the interviews. Many of the interviews with the military women lasted longer than expected and were less formal than interviews with the elites. Like the elite respondents, these women held power because they also decided what information to share with me, therefore determining how much I could learn about their situations. All of the women were forthcoming and answered the questions I asked.

The respondents also held power because I used the snowball method to gain access to more participants. Therefore, the participants chose whether to give me additional names of female service members to interview. However, I had the power, with the semi-structured interview, to direct the conversation and to draw conclusions from the information provided. In a case study provided by Jeffery Berry consisting of interviews he carried out with political lobbyists in Washington D.C., Berry explains that the interviewer holds power as long as they can direct the questions and keep the respondents on track. He also argues that it is the power of the researcher to interpret and analyse the information given to them (Berry 2002, 680).

It was important to ensure that the interview process did not in any way oppress the interviewee (Oakley 1981, 41). There is a feminist concern regarding the impact of the interview and research process on the respondents. This depends specifically on the nature of the research (Kelly et al. 1994, 38). This pertained to my study in that all of the respondents are still a part of the organisation about which I was asking them questions and they could possibly have negative comments to make. Military members are often coached to be very careful of how they speak in public about the military and their experiences with it. There could be negative effects on their careers if they shared unflattering information. This is why I allowed respondents to remain anonymous in my research and provided them the opportunity to review the interview transcript if they wished. All of the names of the female soldiers included in the following chapters have been changed to protect the participants' identities.³⁹ All female soldier respondents will remain anonymous and the interview data will be destroyed after completion of this project. Ethical approval was granted through the ethics committee of the university.⁴⁰

(ii) Positioning

Self-identification is essential in carrying out feminist research in order to understand the process of analysing gathered data. In the gathering of information, understanding one's own position in the process positively affects the approach taken. It is necessary then for me to distinguish my position in relation to the respondents. By approaching this study through feminist research techniques, I am positioning myself as a feminist from the beginning. My position then as a feminist provides a different view than what mainstream researchers may be able to provide. As Stanley notes, feminist researchers are, "perpetual strangers, but strangers from within" (Stanley 1995, 185). By distinguishing myself as an academic feminist researcher, I am positioning myself as both an insider and an outsider.

By enacting a feminist methodology based on women's experiences of the informal norms in the military, I look to provide current military women with a voice in a

³⁹ Please see Annex D, page 237 for consent form provided to participants.

⁴⁰ Please refer to Annex D, page 237 for paperwork on ethical approval.

hierarchical, male-dominated, gendered institution in which they are underrepresented in the upper-echelon. Women have therefore been considered as ‘others’ in prior research into the military. In analysing women’s positions and experiences from their own points of view, it repositions them into the forefront of the research and provides them with the power necessary to understand and possibly change their place in the institution. In speaking for ‘others’, it is especially important to identify my own place in relation to this research. Mies notes that identifying our shared experiences with those we are researching better enables us to recognise what ties us to the respondents but also what separates us from them (Mies 1991, 135). It is essential then to consider my position as an insider/outside in relation to those I am researching. My insider/outsider status also played a role in the access I had to respondents. Female soldiers were more willing to speak with me because I am a woman, and I am part of the military institution.

Although traditional research methods place importance on the total objectivity of the researcher, this is not true in terms of feminist research. Instead, it is believed that it is not possible for the researcher to be completely objective. As Westmarland argues, “humans, be they female or male, are not computers, and are unable to process information without some degree of subjective interpretation” (Westmarland 2001, 2). It is essential therefore to identify one’s own position regarding politics, power, and beliefs in order to properly understand and articulate how the researcher has drawn conclusions. Considering this approach, Mills notes, “the social scientist is not some autonomous being standing outside of society. No one is outside society, the question is where he stands within it” (Mills 1959, 204). This approach allowed me to distinguish my position as a researcher in relation to the respondents in order to better understand my interpretation of their shared experiences.

The insider/outsider dilemma was a significant factor to consider as it played an essential role in the development of the research project. Carrying out a study in which the researcher is an insider can be beneficial in that it provides a significant insight into a culture or group. This can give the researcher important knowledge needed to

determine the right questions to ask and a sensitivity that could possibly help to build rapport with the respondents. As Westmorland states, “a close and equal relationship to the researched can actually lead to an acquisition of more fruitful and significant data” (Westmorland 2001, 8). The concern here however is that the researcher may lack enough objectivity to properly analyse the data gathered. Therefore, it is essential for the researcher to be aware of what bias they may have toward the group studied in order to provide an accurate analysis. An involvement with an issue “on whatever level does not disempower us intellectually, as it is still possible to be critical and analytical about the issue. But involvement does make a difference and it is important to acknowledge...” (Letherby 2003, 131). However, as close to an insider status as a researcher may have, ultimately, the researcher at some level will always remain an outsider. In distinguishing insider/outsider status, it is vital to determine the factors that provide us with those different statuses.

In reflecting on my fieldwork, I entered the field as both an insider and an outsider. I am American, the same nationality as those researched, and I therefore speak the same language. My gender provides me with an insider status because all of my interviewees except for a few of my elite respondents were also female and this allowed them to better relate their personal experiences to me. I am also an insider because of past work for the military. Although I was a civilian employee, I worked extensively with military personnel. I have all of the background knowledge of the different branches of the armed forces and I am able to speak the same military jargon as the female service members and the elite interviewees. I am also well aware of military policies, guidelines and procedures, and I understand how the military operates as an institution. This is especially helpful because this knowledge provided me with better insight into the obstacles that females face in a large, masculine-oriented institution.

My prior government employment also helped significantly with access to respondents. Respondents I identified to speak to in the United States came from networking with my prior military coworkers. I found this personal connection played a key role in determining which women were willing to participate in the study. I also gained more

access with an insider status at a high level through my father. The high-ranking Department of Defense officials that participated in this study agreed to take part through working relationships with my father, who is currently an Air Force civilian.

Considering that I place myself as an insider as outlined above, it can be difficult to separate my own experiences with the military institution. Letherby notes that it can be easier for the researcher and the respondents if the researcher is an outsider because closeness to the given subject may not always be desirable (Letherby 2003, 131). Although it can be helpful when carrying out the study to have insider knowledge and access, it is also possible to be too close to the given subject. There must be some objectivity and an outsider status of the researcher could be helpful to properly identify important issues that may have otherwise gone unnoticed.

The ‘outsider within theory’ of Collins (Collins 1999, 168) applies to my position in this study. It looks to identify the understanding of one’s insider position in a community that is also excluded from a specific group. In my case, although I am a part of the military community due to my past employment as well as being a military spouse and ties to my father; I am also undoubtedly an outsider as I am not in the military. I do not have the same experiences as military women, as DoD civilians have very different rules in terms of how they are expected to treat high-ranking military officials.

Rules and policies regarding clothing, appearance, and behaviour are more relaxed for civilian employees. One very important separating factor is that of deployments. Military members are expected to deploy⁴¹ at some point in their careers and must take the jobs the military gives them. There is a hierarchical structure to DoD civilians but it is significantly looser than the hierarchical structure of the military. Therefore, female soldiers could have easily automatically classified me as an outsider because I had not

⁴¹ ‘Deploy’ is a term used when military members are assigned to an overseas location for approximately 6-18 months. A deployment differs from a Permanent Change in Station (PCS) in that the military member is deployed without family members and is not moving to the new location, rather temporarily assigned there.

encountered the institution in the same way as them. I have not experienced the same kind of military, masculine culture as female soldiers because I have not been a part of what specifically makes them soldiers. However, I did not face this issue during my interviews. All of the women were friendly and wanted to help with my research project. Several of the women said they were interested in the subject and thought it was positive that attention was given to researching women's position in the military. Other respondents were a part of the same social network as me and wanted to help on a personal level.

These different aspects of myself, as an insider and an outsider, had beneficial effects on my research. I was provided with insider background knowledge and access. I also share the same gender as the majority of the respondents, which provided me with the means to build a rapport with them when asking them about gender issues. While on the other hand, I am not a part of the specific subculture I was studying; therefore, I had a greater ability to retain objectivity when considering the data I collected.

(iii) Research Process

My fieldwork was carried out mainly in the United States and several interviews were conducted in the United Kingdom. It consisted of interviews with American military women from each of the service branches: the Air Force, Army, and Navy/Marine Corps, in order to provide a perspective that is not biased by the branch of service. This is important as each branch of service carries with it a stereotype of the kind of people that join that branch and the level of masculinity associated with it, which is discussed further in Chapter Five.⁴² Also, many of the jobs are very different and this affects the experiences of the women involved (Manning 2010, 21-22).

I divided my fieldwork into two main parts. The first was the pilot field study of six U.S. military women stationed in the United States. It also encompassed five elite interviews that included two high-ranking DoD officials in Washington D.C., one Congresswoman's legislative director and one lobbyist for women's rights in the

⁴² Please refer to Chapter Five, page 128 for examples.

military, who is also a retired Navy O-6.⁴³ In this part, I carried out several face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. The second, and main part of my fieldwork was completed in Washington D.C., Ohio at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, and at Royal Air Force Base Lakenheath in the United Kingdom. This is where I conducted semi-structured interviews with more U.S. military women. The majority of my interviews were carried out in Washington D.C., as there are a high number of female soldiers residing in the greater Capital area. I was able to find more participants by employing snowball sampling. I selected this tactic because it is “effective in the research of organic social networks” (Noy 2008, 15) such as the social network of female military members. This was the most effective way of gaining more participants as I had an initial connection to the network through my former coworkers.

For the pilot field study, I interviewed six female Air Force officers. These initial interviews gave me a chance to find a flow to the interview process and questions. They also allowed me to receive feedback on my questions to ensure they were all understood properly. I started with women in the Air Force because this is the branch of service I have the most experience working with and have built a professional network in. I also interviewed five high-ranking elites in Washington D.C. who all play a role in law and policy for military women. These interviews allowed me to obtain a high-level perspective while beginning my research.

My main fieldwork was carried out over a longer time period and encompassed more female service members. My goal was to have at least 45 female soldier respondents for personal interviews, and I was able to interview a total of 48. Although it was not possible to have the same number of respondents from each branch of service, each branch had proper representation. I aimed for at least 15 of the respondents to be female officers and I was able to find exactly 15 female officers to participate. I did not expect there to be an even number of female officers and enlisted respondents as there are over 100,000 more enlisted women than female officers in the military as a whole (Manning

⁴³ An O-6 is a Navy Captain or an Army/Air Force Colonel. Please refer to Annex B for further information on the rank structure.

2010, 25). I found this to be true, and 33 of the female soldier interviewees were enlisted.

In addition to the interviews conducted, at the request of one interviewee who was interested in asking other female soldiers to participate, I set up an anonymous website with the interview questions listed so additional women could respond. The interviewee suggested the idea because she was aware of several women who she thought would like to participate but were not in the area to be interviewed as well as one female soldier who was deployed overseas. She provided me contact information of possible respondents in order to distribute the website link and ethical paperwork provided to all of my respondents. Seven female officers responded along with nine additional enlisted personnel to make a total of 16 survey respondents. I found the answers provided in the survey responses, although helpful, were not as in-depth as the responses from those interviewed. I expected this to be the case because respondents had to type their answers instead of discuss them in a conversation. However, the responses were beneficial in that they helped to provide a larger pool of data to derive conclusions from.

(iv) Interpreting the Data

The interpretation and analysis of the data collected is a process of selecting and rejecting data, finding the important trends on which to expand and ultimately finding the best way to portray the data. Letherby notes that any researcher who attempts to theorise another's experiences will be involved in carefully selecting and rejecting the data in order to create a clear picture of the research topic (Letherby 2003, 78). As I discussed earlier in the chapter, my self-identification, insider/outsider status, and power position all affected the data I chose to select and the approach I took in analysing the research.

Validity and reliability are concerns that need to be addressed, especially when interpreting data collected from interviews. The respondents did not have to tell the truth if they wished. As Berry argues, "interviewers must always keep in mind that it is

not the obligation of the subject to be objective and to tell us the truth. We...ignore the reality that subjects have a purpose in the interview too: they have something they want to say” (Berry 2002, 680). There was no way to tell for certain if a particular respondent was answering dishonestly. This is of particular concern as discussed above regarding interviews with elites. It is possible that the elite respondents may have had agendas which caused them to decide it was better to provide institutionally influenced answers than to be completely forthright.

The interviews were organised ahead of time therefore, the respondents would have had time to think about the subject matter and how they would like to answer possible questions on that topic. This makes it possible for their answers to have been constructed rather than completely honest. This is why it was especially important for me to determine the differences between the shared experiences and actual knowledge and to effectively discover the important trends that appear through analysing the data.

In order to counter the problems of validity and reliability, I used triangulation in the interpretation of the data I collected. Reinharz notes that using multiple research methods allows feminist researchers to “line the past and present and relate individual action and experience to social frameworks” (Reinharz 1992, 197). Due to the fact that not all respondents would be fully honest all the time, the use of different methods provides a tool in selecting the valid and reliable information. As Richards argues, “If the political scientist can combine the information gained from elite interviews with other sources of data, such a combination produces a powerful research package” (Richards 1996, 204). This strategy produced more reliable data for my research project.

The different research methods of the interviews and the analysis of documents and other qualitative and quantitative data provided me with the variety of comparative sources to properly and accurately triangulate the data I collected. Secondhand sources played an important role in this aspect of the research process. By analysing (1) existing statistics on women in the military, (2) literature on gender issues, women’s

involvement in the military and politics as well as new institutionalism analysis products, (3) Congressional legislation - both previous legislation and current bills, (4) DoD policies and (5) prior interviews with female soldiers, it was possible to contextualise my respondents' answers and to provide a larger picture of the issue from multiple sources. This process was also helpful in identifying important trends in the data collected from the respondents of this study. The breadth of the research conducted in this study allows me to draw conclusions concerning the informal and formal norms of the military as well as processes of institutional change. However, conclusions made concerning the effects of institutional changes on the future status of the military are speculative.

Conclusion

Under feminist institutionalism, this research blends the sociological and historical approaches because they are both needed to provide a clear picture in analysing the gendered dynamics of the U.S. military. Sociological institutionalism places a greater importance than the other prevailing approaches on the cultural and societal norms and roles in an organisation, which accounts for the importance of culture in the military. As the affects of the values, rules and norms on the military institution must be evaluated in order to answer the research question, it is essential to work from a theoretical framework that accounts for the importance of culture. In order to better understand the gendered culture and informal norms of the military, I interviewed and conducted surveys with female soldiers and several members of DoD leadership to gain information on their own experiences. Although literature on women in the military can provide useful background in this area, first-hand data on women's experiences was especially helpful because they were able to describe aspects of the informal norms that have personally affected them.

Another important aspect of this research is to explain how the gendered power structure of the U.S. military has come to its current state in 2013. The use of historical institutionalism supports this approach and analysis because it considers the historical path the institution has taken over time. I employed this concept by reviewing news

articles and policy documents concerning the past history of women in the U.S. Armed Forces. Both of these approaches also assisted in explaining ‘path dependency’ and the difficulties of changing institutions. In order to further explain what characteristics make the U.S. military susceptible to the institutionalisation of informal norms, Zucker’s ideas of ‘cultural persistence’ and Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrew’s ‘weberian construct’ are combined. These two constructs are based on historical institutionalism’s path dependency theory and are needed to explain why the gendered power structure of the U.S. military has not advanced more quickly toward gender equality. Understanding why change has been inhibited in the military institution is essential in order to understand the entire institutional change process.

In order to analyse institutional change, this thesis employs historical institutionalism’s concept of critical junctures. As is shown in the following chapter, critical junctures were an essential part of the process of change in the U.S. military. Although historical institutionalism is especially valuable when considering periods of change to institutions, it does not account for gradual processes of change. Therefore, Mahoney and Thelen’s theory of gradual change is also employed to explain gradual processes of institutional change. Mahoney and Thelen’s framework of ‘opportunist’ actors who invoke change through ‘conversion’ is most applicable to the case of internal change in the U.S. military, while ‘insurrectionary’ actors who promote change through ‘displacement’ are important to consider when looking at change that is provoked from outside the institution. Examples of ‘opportunist’ actors were found through the interviews conducted with military women, while the majority of examples of ‘insurrectionary’ actors were found through researching news articles and information concerning Congressional legislation and court cases.

The use of feminist research ideas to enact the theoretical framework, as described above, enabled me to extract and interpret the necessary information to accurately answer the research question and add to the current body of knowledge on women in the military and political institutional change. Although this methodology is not specific to feminist institutionalism, the questions and processes were guided by its theoretical

ideas. My hope was to provide a thorough institutional analysis that can be useful to understanding and informing about women's rights and place in society without placing the female respondents at a disadvantage for participating in this study. The non-hierarchical structure of feminist interviews allowed me to gather the essential data from the respondents and provided me with a better understanding of their experiences.

Self-identification and reflection on my position as an insider and an outsider, as well as my power position are all key elements in determining how I carried out and interpreted the data. I am aware of how my own values, beliefs and status affected my research and my ability to be an objective researcher and identify my own possible research bias. My insider status provided me with specific access to some of my respondents.

Triangulation allowed me to best describe and identify trends in the personal experiences of women in the military and to ensure the validity and reliability of the research I produced. Contextualising data from the respondents of my study into the existing literature and known experiences of military women ensures this reliability and ultimately makes my research more useful.

The following chapter draws on the historical institutionalism approach to provide a historical overview and analysis of women's participation in the U.S. Armed Forces. It illustrates theories of change discussed in this chapter and shows the importance of individual agency in enacting institutional change.

Introduction

This chapter offers a historical perspective on how female soldiers have come to their current positions and the effects of their service on formal military gender policies and the gender power structure of the U.S. Armed Forces. The historical background of women in the military is essential to the gendered institutional analysis of the U.S. military because it is important to “understand gendered patterns and effects” in order to analyse institutional change (Krook & MacKay 2012, 8). This chapter employs the historical institutionalism perspective discussed in Chapter Two⁴⁴ to show the processes of formal policy changes that have occurred overtime. These processes are telling because a pattern of change emerges that can be applied to the U.S. military in 2013. Also, the historical institutionalism approach utilised in this chapter is necessary to showcase previous policies because path dependency argues that past formal policies affect the policies and informal norms of the contemporary U.S. military institution. Chapter Five discusses the current, as of 2013, masculine culture of the U.S. military, but this chapter first needs to provide a historical background of women’s position in the U.S. military in order to explicate how past changes have structured gender power relations in the military.

Women pushed for equality in the armed forces for seven decades. The core military culture has obstinately resisted social change, yet women have made substantial political and legal progress. Their first steps came during the First and Second World Wars and they have lobbied throughout the decades to reach their current positions. Over approximately a 60-year period, women went from adjunct members of the military in mainly secretarial and nursing roles to, in 2013, being allowed to participate in all jobs, including the core combat roles. As of the beginning of 2013, the military lifted all policies that once barred women from specific jobs in the military. The paths

⁴⁴ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 37 for further information on historical institutionalism.

of the women discussed in this chapter can shed light on the existing gender structure and show ways in which change was enacted in the past.

3.1 Women in the First World War

Women had been participating in wars and the labour workforce for centuries, but the United States' entrance into World War I in 1917 opened up space in the labour market for more women to work outside of their households and in varying roles. During the war approximately "20 percent or more of all workers in the wartime manufacture of electrical machinery, airplanes and food were women" (World War I and the Interwar Years 2014, 1). This is compared to the late 1800s and early 1900s where it was uncommon for women to work in heavy industries. Instead many worked as teachers, dressmakers, tailors, and in the textile industry (1870 Census Report; Kim 2014, 1). The personnel demands of the war for men to be soldiers left thousands of jobs open.

Women joined the workforce in greater numbers and in varying industries due to the personnel shortages in the military and private industry in order to help the war effort (Binkin & Bach 1977, 2). This was the first critical juncture point in the 1900s in which the circumstances of the time and the personnel needs of the war opened up an area for women to participate in more roles outside of the home.⁴⁵

The military also needed women to work in non-combat roles, such as secretaries, nurses, and phone operators, in order to free more men to fight. Many women saw this as an opportunity to help their country and husbands during the war and volunteered (Doyle 2011, 1). They served in the Army and Navy Nurses Auxiliary Corps that had already been established at the very beginning of the decade. Close to 12,500 women were enlisted in the Navy and Marines Corps reserve due to vague wording in the Naval Reserve Act, which allowed for the enlistment of able-persons, not specified by gender (Manning 2010, 2). These women were referred to as 'Yeomanettes' and they carried out administrative work and received equal pay and benefits to military men (Murnane 2007, 1). However, the majority of women who served at this time, many working for the Army as clerks and operators, were considered military contractors and did not

⁴⁵ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 39 for information on critical junctures.

receive equal pay or benefits to male military members (Binkin & Bach 1977, 2). Yet, they were able to gain experience working in the public sphere, which was unusual at the time (Murnane 2007, 1).

After the war, there were no positive changes brought about as a result of these women's participation. Instead of sustained progress, Congress took a step back. They realised after the war that the language of the Naval Reserve Act, which had allowed over 12,500 women to enlist, was not specific enough to exclude women. Therefore, Congress modified the language to ensure women could not enlist again. They changed the wording of the Act, which originally stated that able-bodied citizens were allowed to enlist, to then state only able-bodied male citizens could join (Murnane 2007, 1062).

By the end of the war in 1918, the women's suffrage movement was in full swing in the United States. The women's movement advocated for their right to vote by asking why did they had helped in the efforts of the war when the United States could not bring a fair democracy to close to half of their own citizenship. In 1919, bowing to political pressure from the National Women's Party, Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, granting them the right to vote (Hakim 1995, 29).

In 1925 women found a champion in Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers, who was elected into her husband's chair in the House of Representatives after he died. She served in Congress for thirty-five years and was a strong supporter of women's rights in the military and for military veterans. Her husband had served in the Army during World War I and Rogers volunteered with the Red Cross at veteran hospitals. Through her volunteer work during the First World War she established bonds with military veterans and witnessed the unfair treatment of women working for the military during that time. There were cases of women who had served in the war as telephone operators overseas being wounded. These women did not have military status and therefore did not receive disability benefits after the war. This problem in particular drew the attention of Congresswoman Rogers and led her to sponsor the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC) Bill in 1941 during World War II (Treadwell 1991, 5). Although

she thought women should always put their families and children first, she believed in equal pay for equal work and that those who decided to work should be given equal benefits (Hakim 1995, 29).

3.2 World War II

The outbreak of World War II once again brought problems of male personnel shortages for the military and U.S. industry. This was another instance of a critical juncture in which the personnel needed for the war opened up a space for women to participate in more public roles than they would have normally in U.S. society at the time (Murnane 2007, 5). Women began filling these roles much as they did during the First World War but in greater numbers. Their participation would likely have been very similar to their limited job opportunities during World War I, except they had an advocate in Congress, Representative Edith Nourse Rogers. She was able to work with the Army Chief of Staff, General George Marshall, in order to push through legislation to provide women working for the military with better pay and benefits than they received in World War I. She created legislation, which first brought women in as auxiliary members of the military in 1941, and then new legislation in 1943 to move their status up to a reserve unit. Although women were once again expected to return to the private sphere of their homes after the war, they had gained political ground through Rogers' legislation (Hakim 1995, 10).

(i) Women's Army Auxiliary Corps Legislation

Women wanted to be a part of the war effort by joining the military. Therefore, in May of 1941, Congresswoman Rogers introduced a Bill to the House of Representatives to establish the WAAC. The Bill's purpose was to create a corps of 25,000 women that could fill non-combat roles while providing them with equal pay and benefits, unlike what was done for the majority of women during the First World War. Rogers said she believed the only way to ensure female service members received equal pay and benefits was to provide them with an official status (Morden 2000, 3). Although she originally wanted women to be full members of the military, she decided she had to settle for an auxiliary corps. Rogers stated, "I wanted very much to have these women

taken in as a part of the Army...I wanted them to have the same rate of pension and disability allowance. I...realised that I could not secure that. The War Department was very unwilling to have these women as part of the Army” (Treadwell 1991, 8).

Rogers’ Bill was introduced before the U.S. officially entered World War II because she believed the United States’ entrance into the war was imminent and that women would be needed to fill jobs in the military. However, the personnel shortages in the military were not yet there to motivate Congressmen to vote in favour of adding women, even as auxiliary members. The Bill did not get much attention and was met mainly with indifference because Congress did not believe it to be a pressing issue (Morden 2000, 4). There were enough men to fill the jobs the military needed due to conscription and the military was not yet overstretched. Also, many Congressmen were opposed to the idea of women in the military. (Murnane 2007, 7). In discussion of the Bill, Representative Fulmer argued, “I have been here more than twenty one years and it is the silliest Bill offered yet” (Treadwell 1991, 6). He went on to say that the majority of those in the House of Representatives felt the same but may not vote their true feelings (Treadwell 1996, 6).

Congresswomen Rogers’ first attempt to push the Bill through was stalled. The War Department and Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall had originally wanted more time to develop their own plan so they could control the aspects of the auxiliary corps if the legislation was passed. The main aspect of the War Department’s proposal was that, “it will tend to avert the pressure to admit women to actual membership in the Army” (Treadwell 1991, 7). The Bill was continuously referred to the Bureau of the Budget where it received no attention or action, effectively holding up any possibility of it passing (Treadwell 1991, 7). However, according to Colonel John H. Hilldring, the Director of Army Personnel, General Marshall became more enthusiastic about pushing the legislation through as it looked more certain that the U.S. would enter the war (Murnane 2007, 10). General Marshall did not want to be rushing at the last minute to fill personnel shortages. According to Hilldring, “the Chief of Staff was also influenced

by the fact that the ladies wanted in; he literally has a passionate regard for democratic ideals” (Treadwell 199, 9).

In order to help push the legislation through the Bureau of Budget, General Marshall hired Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, a newspaper editor and the future director of the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps, to establish a Women’s Interest Section of the War Department Bureau of Public Relations. Hobby worked with First Lady Roosevelt and Congresswomen Rogers in negotiations with the Bureau of the Budget and Congressional hearings (Treadwell 1991, 10).

General Marshal and Congresswoman Rogers were making significant progress with the WAAC legislation but the attack on Pearl Harbour by the Japanese on 7 December 1941 and the government’s decision to enter World War II moved the WAAC Bill through the legislative process quickly. Suddenly, the U.S. was once again facing personnel shortages in the military and the war effort in general. Congresswoman Rogers reintroduced the Bill to form a Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps to Congress after adding the recommended changes from the War Department (Morden 2000, 6). Due to the circumstances of the war, the debate on the Bill in Congress was fast, however, it also was difficult. Several in Congress, including Representatives Fulmer, Vincent and Somers, were concerned that developing a women’s Corps would reflect negatively on the manhood of the United States’ military (Sadler 1942, 1). Senator Maloney of Connecticut argued that the Bill cast a “shadow on the sanctity of the home” (Sadler 1942, 1). The specifics of women’s rank and pay and benefits were also difficult for Congress to agree upon. The issue of women’s rank was debated during hearings on this Bill. Their potential to reach the highest ranks, those of flag officer ranks, such as general or admiral was discussed and it was decided that women should not be able to reach these (Murnane 2001, 1063).

Opposition to their ability to earn flag officer ranks was not only from the military leadership and Congressmen, but also from many of the women fighting for female members’ rights. They believed that if they fought to give female members the right to

make flag officer, they would be asking for too much too soon and it could possibly hurt their chances of getting women admitted to the military in the first place, therefore the law was left in place that the highest permanent rank a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) member could reach was that of lieutenant colonel⁴⁶ (Murnane 2001, 1064). This is an example of bounded agency, as discussed in Chapter Two.⁴⁷ Military women and their advocates were constrained both internally and externally. Internally, WAAC members were constrained in their military service because they could not reach the same ranks as male soldiers and therefore had limited chances for promotion. Women's advocates were constrained externally due to some of Congress's negative feelings regarding women in the military. Therefore, they did not want to push too hard and risk women's complete exclusion. Benefits for WAAC members were also debated and it was ultimately decided that Corps members would not receive death benefits or retirement and disability pensions. Their benefits for insurance and hospitalisation were also slightly lower than for male military members (Sadler 1942, 1).

The majority of Congress was not ready to have women in their male military, yet they understood the personnel shortfalls. This is why the WAAC Bill passed in the House of Representatives with a vote of two hundred and forty nine to 86, and then passed the Senate 38 to 27 in 1942 (Sadler 1942, 1). President Roosevelt signed the legislation into law on 14 May 1942 to create the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (Murnane 2007, 1062). This represented a significant change in that it was the first time women were legally recognised as part of the military institution. Although they were not integrated members of the Armed Forces and did not receive any of the death or retirement benefits of male soldiers, they were for the first time officially recognised as adjunct members to the U.S. Armed Forces and therefore received some insurance benefits which were not afforded to those who had served in World War I.

⁴⁶ An Army Lt. Col. is equivalent to a 0-5 on the officer scale. Please see Annex B in Chapter 1 for further information on the rank structure.

⁴⁷ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 43 for further information on bounded agency.

(ii) Concerns and Double Standards

Even after the passing of the WAAC Bill, many in Congress had concerns about what types of women would join the female corps. The perception that those who wanted to enter the military were not ‘good girls’ was widespread (Herbert 1998, 2). American society believed women who would be interested in the military would be either too masculine acting or too feminine to be useful in the armed forces (Herbert, 1998: 2-3). Some were concerned that ‘trouble-women’ would want to join in order to escape family obligations or to mingle with military men (Herbert 1998, 2). To overcome these perceptions, Congress and the War Department wanted to portray WAAC members as women of superior quality and morals. Therefore Congress set much higher standards for women to enter the Corps than that of men conscripted. They specified that women in the WAAC unit had to be of high moral character and possess technical competence (Murnane 2007, 1062). Female cadets joining the corps were expected to meet higher educational standards than men joining the military but the women were extremely limited in the jobs in which they could take part.

Even with the restrictions and high standards outlined above, women joined the WAAC unit. Many of the WAAC women filled administrative jobs, but there was a group of 25 women in 1942 who were trained as pilots to escort combat planes across the ocean (Women Pilots of World War II 2013, 1). Other WAACs were trained in maintenance of airplanes and weapons systems. This gave some of the women unique skills and experiences they could not find anywhere else during this time (Manning 2010, 1). The WAAC units also provided them with on the job training and helped them gain skills in the workplace in traditionally female roles as secretaries and administrative assistants. They supplied an avenue for them to have a career during the war that was especially hard to find in the civilian workforce for women and provided them with a career path and the opportunity to progress to the leadership of the WAAC unit itself.

The WAAC units showed they could perform exceptionally in the work they were given (Treadwell 1991, 190). The different units received numerous positive reports and endorsements. Commanders who had previously fought against having WAAC units on

their posts, requested more units once they saw the quality of the work the women were producing (Treadwell 1991, 191). An Army Services Inspection Report in May of 1943 reported, “The conduct of the WAAC personnel both on the job and after working hours is satisfactory...The using people heartily endorse the use of WAACs and want to know when they are going to get more” (Treadwell 1991, 192). In October of 1942, after hearing reports of women’s successful performance as auxiliary members, and further urging from female service members, Congresswoman Rogers introduced a new Bill to take the WAACs from an auxiliary unit to a reserve unit of the Army. This was the next step toward achieving full military status. The critical juncture of the war provided women with the opportunity to participate in military support roles. The women then acted as internal agents of change or ‘opportunist’ actors, as discussed in Mahoney and Thelen’s theory in Chapter Two, by performing successfully in their given jobs.⁴⁸ Their successful performance and the work of external actors, such as Congresswoman Rogers who acted as an ‘insurrectionary’ to create change through the ‘displacement’ of old laws, helped to bring about more positive changes for women in the military.

(iii) WAC Legislation

The War Department was facing further personnel shortages and Army Chief of Staff General Marshall worked with Congresswoman Rogers and Oveta Culp Hobby to draft the legislation to move the WAAC status up from an auxiliary unit to a reserve unit (Brown 1996, 6). With the backing of the War Department, the WAC Bill was introduced to the House of Representatives. On July 1, 1943 Roosevelt signed the new law establishing the WAC unit (Brown 1999, 6). The new legislation was a positive advancement for WAC women because they began receiving pay and international legal protection equal to that of their male counterparts, while discarding the 150,000 maximum on the number of women allowed in the corps. However, the legislation discriminated against them in that it did not grant WAC women benefits or the ability to achieve the same rank as men. The law did not specify that women could not fill combat jobs, but legislators, including Rogers, had made it clear during hearings that

⁴⁸ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 39 for further information on Mahoney and Thelen’s theory of incremental change.

their intention for the WACs was not for them to be combatants (Brown 1999, 6). It was still believed at the time that women did not have the mental or physical strength required to be successful soldiers (Tuten 1982, 248).

The personnel shortfalls created by the U.S.'s involvement in World War II were a critical juncture in which women were able to move from their private roles in the home to fill jobs in the public sphere. Through the work of 'insurrectionary' agents, such as Congresswoman Rogers and Oveta Culpa Hobby, the WAAC units were created. Women's successful participation in the war and the continuing personnel needs of the War Department paved the way for the WAACs to transform into the Women's Army Corps (WACs), which made military women no longer auxiliary members of the military, but full reserve members of the U.S. Armed Forces.

3.3 Policy Changes after the Two World Wars

After the war, the 2.2 million women who worked in the public domain were expected to return to their lives at home. As the view of society at the time stipulated, "women's new roles were only for the duration and that wives and mothers must make heroic sacrifices for the nation in this time of need" (Higgonet 1987, 7). Those working were pressured by their employers to leave their jobs to make room for the men returning from the war (Higgonet 1987, 7). Those that did not want to stop working were often looked down on by society and considered rebellious. Many of the women who refused to leave were pushed out or criticised for taking the jobs of soldiers, the heroes returning from the war (Higgonet 1987, 7). Women's contributions to private industry during wartime were also quickly forgotten once the war had passed (Carreiras 2006, 9). Despite the expectation of the American public that women would return to their lives in the home after the war, many wanted to continue in the careers and jobs they had found (Carreiras 2006, 10).

(i) Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948

Over half of the Corps women wanted to stay in the WAC organisation after the war but the military had no personnel shortages and therefore no need for them to fill military

jobs (Murnane 2007, 1062). Despite the WACs' ultimately successful performance in the war, during a massive armed forces reorganisation, efforts by Chief of Staff Eisenhower to establish a place for them as regular and reserve divisions during peacetime were initially stalled before Congress in both 1946 and 1947 (Murnane 2007, 1064). Congress was concerned about integrating the WAC unit into the armed forces because they received many complaints and negative opinions on the idea from male military members (Herbert 1998, 2). Representative Dewey Short stated, "as far as high officers are concerned, and from Major down to Second Lieutenant, and an overwhelming majority of the enlisted men, they are against the Corps" (Treadwell 1991, 747.) Their main concern was that they would one day have to take orders from a woman (Treadwell 1991, 747). This opposition from the general male population of the military was the main aspect of opposition to the Bill in Congress.

The highest-ranking military leadership did not agree with the general population of the armed forces and offered their support for the Bill (Treadwell 1991, 747). Numerous top War Department officials, including Secretary of Defense James Forrestal and Generals Eisenhower and Vandenberg, testified before the Armed Service Committee of Congress in favor of integrating the WAC unit into the armed forces. According to General Eisenhower, "In tasks for which they are particularly suited, WACs are more valuable than men, and fewer of them are required to perform a given amount of work" (Treadwell 1991, 748). Conscription of men was put on hold after the war and the War Department leadership was concerned about meeting all of their personnel needs, even during peacetime (Brown 1999, 8). This fear of personnel shortfalls and the WACs' successful performance in the war meant they received the support necessary from the War Department command to push the legislation through Congress.

There was tension internal to the military regarding the Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948, between internal opposition from men inside the ranks, as well as their Congressional representatives and support for women's integration from high-ranking War Department officials. Although military men were concerned they may eventually have to take commands from women, the War Department officials were instead

concerned with personnel shortfalls and they believed that a woman's service could continue in a similar fashion to their service during World War II if they became fully integrated members (Brown 1998, 8). There was a tension between the formal policies and informal norms of the military. The formal policy was to allow women to be a part of the service, while the informal norm was that men held a more privileged status in the institution than women and they did not want their place to be threatened.

As the expiration date for the authorisation of the WAC unit drew closer, political pressure was building from women who had been in the WAC during the war and from their former director, Oveta Culp Hobby and Congresswoman Rogers (Treadwell 1991, 747). They felt the WACs had worked hard to earn their place in the corps and it was unfair for them to be barred from service if they wanted to continue in the military (Treadwell 1991 748). For these purposes, Congresswoman Rogers, with the help of Oveta Culp Hobby, reintroduced the Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948 before Congress (Binkin & Bach 1977, 6). With the backing of War Department leaders and President Truman, the Armed Forces Integration Act was passed on June 12, 1948 and officially admitted women into the general military. Although the successful passing of this Bill was a significant step toward change and women's integration into the military, it was very restrictive of women's roles (Binkin & Bach 1977, 7). As was discussed in Chapter Two, according to the historical institutionalism approach to path dependency, the initial policies set forth in an institution affect new policies in the future (Greener 2005 2). This was the case in the U.S. military because the 1948 legislation set the precedence of allowing women entrance to the military, but it also constrained their roles and the last formal policy that constrained female soldiers' career field choices was not lifted until 2013 (Christenson 2013, 1). The discriminatory policies are discussed in the following section.

(ii) Discriminatory Policies of the Armed Forces Integration Act

The legislation specifically stated that women could not command men in answer to the male military population's fears of taking orders from women (Manning 2010, 4). Female military members were as limited in rank as during the World Wars. The

highest rank they could achieve was colonel, directly below the coveted flag officer ranks (Morden 2000, 14). Yet, even if they reached colonel, they could only hold it for four years and only one woman from each unit was allowed to hold it at one time. After the four years, they were downgraded an entire rank to lieutenant colonel (Manning 2010, 4). Therefore, although a military woman had worked hard to earn the rank of colonel, she would eventually be demoted, even if her performance were exemplary.

The limitations on rank also negatively affected women's pay. While they did earn equal pay to men according to the 1948 Act, they did not have the same opportunity to rise through the ranks because of the limit placed on the rank they could achieve and their exclusion from many of the core military career fields. They were also barred from many combat and weapon related jobs. Combat experience and leadership positions were essential to promotions in the military and female members were not given the opportunity to have either (Binkin & Bach 1977, 8). Therefore, the military women, under the Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948, were formally discriminated against by official policies, which set them at a disadvantaged position in relation to male service members.

A further problem was that under the new legislation, it was illegal for a female in the armed forces to have a career and a family. Women were kept from having dependent children and discharged for becoming pregnant. This was due in part to the perception of the American public at the time that women's first place was at home with her children (Murnane 2007, 1066). It was also partly because it was not cost effective for the military. The government would lose money from having female soldiers on paid maternity leave, or missing work to deal with the needs of a child (Discrimination in the Air Force 1970, A20). Therefore, under an Executive Order of the President allowed by the Armed Forces Integration Act, it was specified that female service members had no choice but to be discharged from the military once they became pregnant (Binkin & Bach 1977, 11). They were also to be discharged if they became the legal guardian or had ongoing custody of a child under the age limit set by the Secretary of the War Department (Murnane 2007, 1066).

These specific pay, role and family limitations extremely inhibited women's advancement between 1948 and the 1970s. Also the precedence set of constraining women's roles in the military continues to affect women's status in the military in 2013. Instead of moving toward equality, they were allowed barely minimal entrance and no opportunity to have similar careers as their male counterparts. They could not hold many of the same jobs, did not have access to the same educational opportunities and could not have a family and a career, unlike male service members (Murnane 2007, 1067). The only considerable benefit that women gained in the 1948 Armed Services Integration Act was that they were finally officially recognised as a part of the United States Armed Forces.

3.4 The Civil Rights Act Era

There was a new focus on anti-discrimination and equality for all Americans in the 1960s and 1970s. This was due in part to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This Bill was intended to establish specific protections for all American citizens in different areas, including employment (Civil Rights Act of 1964 Explained 2013, 1). The evolving societal norms at this time also had a positive effect on women's participation in the armed forces. It was becoming socially acceptable for them to work outside of their homes. Therefore, more women were looking at the military as a possible career path to gain better skills and education. But, ingrained prejudices from the 1948 Armed Services Integration Act were hard for military women to overcome with the passing of the Civil Rights Act legislation alone (Murnane 2007, 1063). Female service members saw they were not afforded any changes from the Civil Rights Act, so they, along with women's groups, moved externally to the institution and applied political pressure on Congress and the president (Murnane 2007, 1065).

Along with the pressure from female military leaders and women's rights groups to enforce the Civil Rights Act, the drawn out continuation of the Vietnam War meant the military was suffering personnel shortfalls. This was another critical juncture that affected women's participation in the military. The Vietnam War created a greater need

for military personnel. This caused the Department of Defense (DoD) to open more opportunities to women. With these combined pressures, after three years, in 1967, President Lyndon Johnson signed Public Law 90-130. The major changes of this law included the lifting of the two percent restriction on women allowed in the military. It finally permitted them to reach colonel and flag officer ranks permanently (Murnane 2007, 1064-1065). This case is further evidence that women only made major progress in the armed forces when military leaders were concerned with personnel shortfalls during periods of war. Therefore, the critical junctures that occurred due to wars were essential to women's progress in the military.

(i) Legal Battles for Military Mothers' Rights

The Civil Rights Act did, however, provide female service members with the legal platform necessary to fight for their rights. More women began using the Civil Rights Act in their favour and for forcing legal change to occur (Murnane 2007, 1067). Due to the hierarchical culture of the military, which calls for strict adherence to the policies, as discussed in this section, many women felt they could only force change by going outside of the military institution and to the U.S. court system. In reference to Mahoney and Thelen's theory of institutional change, women looked to cause change by working as 'insurrectionary' actors by displacing the old policies with new policies that would not discriminate against female military members.⁴⁹

The first of these cases was that of Tommie Sue Smith, an Air Force Judge Advocate General Officer, who had joined the Air Force with a four-year-old son. As the policy at the time stated, Smith had to give up legal custody of her son to join the military and could not have him live with her for more than thirty days during the year, or she would be discharged (Murnane 2007, 1071). The old regulation was "designed to make certain that a woman granted a commission in the Air Force would not be distracted from her duties by family obligations" (Discrimination in the Air Force 1970, A20). In Smith's case, she first requested a waiver to have her son live with her and therefore have physical custody, without legal custody. However, her waiver was denied because

⁴⁹ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 39 for explanation of Mahoney and Thelen's theory.

she was unmarried (Claiborne 1970, A1). She solved this problem by signing custody of her son to her parents and sending him to a military academy within weekend commuting distance of her home (Claiborne 1970, A1).

However, in 1969, Smith received an assignment to go to the Philippines (Claiborne 1970, A1). Smith addressed the issue with her command and she was told she could not take her son with her and if she did not take the assignment she would automatically be discharged from the military. Smith filed suit in the U.S. District Court against the Air Force. In her suit she pointed out that, “no such regulation applies to male officers and that the restriction is prejudicial to all women officers of the Air Force under the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution guaranteeing equal rights to women” (Claiborne 1970, A1). The Air Force changed their policy the day after Smith filed, allowing women to then be legal guardians of minor children and for the children to accompany their mothers overseas. This was a major win for military mothers. It also proved that women could push change externally when they felt they were discriminated against by the institution. In this case, Tommie Sue Smith acted as an insurrectionary and worked externally to displace the discriminatory formal policy. Although this change was significant, Smith’s case was special because she had joined the military after her son was born. Automatic discharge of pregnant women policies were still in place, so female members could not start to have children of their own whilst in the military (Seigel 2010, 776).

In 1971, a second case came about that further emphasises my argument. Captain Susan Struck, an Air Force officer, raised the issue of automatic discharge for women who became pregnant in the military. She was a career officer and after she became pregnant, she told a disposition board that she intended to give up her child for adoption (Captain Asks Judge 1970, A38). The Air Force left her with the choice to either have an abortion or leave the military. Captain Struck was a strict Roman Catholic and refused to have an abortion (Siegel 2010, 776). She filed suit against the Air Force to reverse the policy of automatic discharge for pregnant women because the regulation was, according to her suit, “a violation of (1) equal protection, (2) Captain Struck’s

right to privacy in the conduct of her personal life, and (3) her free exercise of religion” (Siegel 2010, 777). Her case made it before the Federal District Court in Seattle (Captain Asks Judge 1970, A38).

The first two decisions on her case ruled in favour of the military, justifying their decision by using the military necessity rationale, stating that the discharge of pregnant women was in the best interest of the military, trumping any discrimination the policy brought about (Siegel 2010, 777). However, the initial rulings were overturned in 1972 and the last Federal District Court to visit the case ruled that the policy deprived women of the due process of law (Captain Asks Judge 1970, A38). The court instead suggested that pregnant service members should be reassigned in the military if their pregnancy interfered with their jobs (Captain Asks Judge 1970, A38). In 1972, two weeks before the Supreme Court was able to make an official ruling on the case, the military gave in and changed the policy, no longer automatically discharging women who became pregnant during their service (Manning 2010, 1073). This was a landmark decision that finally allowed military women to start families during their career. Captain Struck was another ‘insurrectionary’ actor who had to move her case external to the institution in order to enact changes to formal policies that were discriminatory to female soldiers.

The military could also discharge women for immorality (Double Standard 1970, B2). During the same time as Susan Struck’s case was winding through the courts, Seaman Anna Flores filed suit against the Navy in the U.S. District Courts when she was referred for discharge after becoming pregnant out of wedlock in 1970 (Double Standard 1970, B2). The father of her child was also in the Navy and no action to discharge him was taken. Flores believed the Navy’s policy to discharge unwed mothers was unconstitutional because it discriminated against women by holding them to different standards than their male counterparts (Double Standard 1970, B2). Her complaint stated, “Miss Flores maintains that she and the class (women) she represents are being deprived of due process and equal protection of laws under the Fifth Amendment and of the right of privacy under the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Ninth Amendments of the Constitution” (Double Standard 1970, B2).

The Deputy Chief of Naval Personnel in 1970, Admiral Plate, testified that he did not accept “the rationale that men and women should be held to a single standard of morality” (Murnane 2007, 1076). He argued that, “to do so would enable those men seeking to find a way to avoid their obligation under the Selective Service Act to find women willing to assist them in achieving violations of the morality standard to which military members were already being held” (Murnane 2007, 1076). Flores’s commanding officer, Capt. C.H. Sigley also believed she should be discharged despite her excellent job performance. He stated, “to do otherwise would imply that unwed pregnancy is condoned and would eventually result in a dilution of the moral standards set for women in the Navy” (Double Standard 1970, B2). The court found in 1971 that the Navy was holding their female members to a double standard and ordered that men and women should be held to the same moral standards (Double Standard 1970, B2). They ruled the retention of pregnant women should be based solely on their ability to do their jobs (Murnane 2007, 1077). However, weeks before the court’s ruling in 1971, a new admiral took the position of Deputy Chief of Naval Personnel and the Navy changed its policy to no longer automatically discharge un-wed pregnant female service members effective in 1972 (Murnane 2007, 1077).

Although the court did not rule on Seaman Flores’s case, her action, as an ‘insurrectionary’ actor who challenged the discriminatory policy external to the military institution, forced change in the formal policy internally. The policy formally discriminated against women and placed them at a disadvantaged status to male soldiers because it held them to a different moral standard for no other reason than their gender. This formal policy was a remnant of the unequal gender policy set forth initially in the Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948. Therefore, Seaman Flores’s case was particularly important because it caused the military to acknowledge and remove the formal double standard regarding morals for women in the military. Women’s rights as mothers were not the only inequalities challenged by military women in the 1970s. Female service members also fought for their entitlements to equal benefits from the military.

(ii) Women's Rights for Equal Benefits

In 1973, the case of *Frontiero v. Richardson* brought about positive changes for women and their families in the military. The policy up to that point was that wives of military men automatically received benefits from the government, but husbands of military women had to show they were more than fifty percent financially reliant on their wives to receive benefits (McFadden 1970, C4). This was due to the belief of society at the time that the husband was automatically the breadwinner for the family. Air Force Lt. Sharon Frontiero believed this was unfair. Her suit pointed out, "that if her husband were the officer and she were the college student the allowances would be paid" (McFadden 1970, C4). She filed a class action suit to find the gender-based regulations on benefits unconstitutional. The Supreme Court ruled this policy was unconstitutional and the military could not allocate family benefits based on gender (Binkin & Bach 1977, 45). The court's majority opinion found that gender could not be used as a classification. It states, "we can only conclude that classifications based upon sex, like classifications based upon race, alienage, or national origin, are inherently suspect, and must, therefore be subjected to strict judicial scrutiny. Applying the analysis mandated by that stricter standard of review, it is clear that the statutory scheme now before us is unconstitutionally invalid" (Murnane 2007, 1071). The plurality of the court asserted there was no reason military wives needed benefits more than husbands in a similar situation. The original policy was overturned in 1973 and equal benefits were then given to all military members' spouses (Binkin & Bach 1977, 45).

The Supreme Court made it clear in this case that it is illegal to use gender as a classification. The opinion of Justices Brennan, Douglas, White, and Marshall argued, "since sex, like race and national origin, is an immutable characteristic determined solely by the accident of birth, the imposition of special disabilities upon the members of a particular sex because of their sex would seem to violate the basic concept of our system" (Murnane 2007, 1070). The suits filed by Air Force Officers Smith, Struck and Frontiero and Navy Seaman Flores collectively were able to overturn military regulations that stipulated family rules and benefits by gender. All three of the women

discussed above had to act as ‘insurrectionary’ agents in order to displace the discriminatory policies externally through the U.S. judicial system. Due to the nature of the military institution, in which members often have ‘weak veto powers’ internally, their best option was to enact change by external avenues.⁵⁰

(iii) Changes in Higher Education Laws

In the early 1970s, women also began to fight military education policies that stipulated their exclusions based only on their gender by working as ‘insurrectionary’ agents and causing displacement of formal policies by using institutions outside of the military. In this case they were able to work through Congress (Murnane 2010, 1075). Education benefits were an important advantage of military service and were often used as an incentive to join. Women were excluded from military academies, which were completely tax funded. Therefore, they were not allowed to have the same education as military men. Denying women access to military academies was not only keeping them from free education, but also from career opportunities and the ability to become officers. The military academies for each service were the premier route for a military service member to become an officer (Murnane 2010, 1075). Graduating from one of the military academies was looked upon positively for promotion and leadership opportunities. As Murnane argued, “since the founding of the U.S. Military Academy in 1802, the military service academies were long considered to be extraordinarily elite educational institutions for men destined for positions of leadership in the U.S. Armed Forces” (Murnane 2007, 1075). Therefore, not allowing female cadets into the military academies was starting them out at an unequal and lower level to male service members.

Senators Jacob Javis and Jack McDonald began receiving an increasing number of requests from women who wanted to attend military academies (Barker 1973, C1). In 1971, they wanted to nominate women from their states (Barker 1973, C1). They proposed a resolution that stated women should not be kept out of the military academies because of their gender (Barker 1973, C1). The resolution passed easily in

⁵⁰ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 40 for further information on ‘weak veto powers.’

the Senate but did not pass the House Armed Services Committee (Murnane 2007, 1075).

The end of compulsory service for men in 1973 meant there were personnel shortfalls that needed to be filled. This was another critical juncture for military women to make progress in the military. The end of compulsory service greatly increased the demand for women in the military and DoD leadership began actively recruiting them for the armed forces (Binkin & Bach 1977, 14). With this new demand, and the end of the unpopular Vietnam War, more women became interested in joining the military (Binkin & Bach 1977, 14). With this in mind, the Congressmen reintroduced their proposal to allow women entrance to the military academies. They believed they would have greater support because Congress and the military would be concerned about filling their needs for personnel. The House Armed Services Committee once again turned down their proposed resolution. However, the committee agreed to hold hearings on the issue (Murnane 2007, 1076).

Up to this point, military academies refused to allow females entrance as they were not thought of as soldiers and critics feared they would bring down the caliber of the training at the academies because women were believed not to be as physically as strong as men. During the hearings, the Superintendent of the Air Force Academy, Lt. Gen. A.P. Clark, testified, “it is my considered judgment that the introduction of female cadets will inevitably erode this vital atmosphere” (Murnane 2007, 1076). Military leaders were concerned the addition of women would negatively effect male students and they did not want women to distract the men during their training by fraternising or for women to fill men’s places. General Westmoreland argued that it was “silly” to allow women admittance to West Point and that, “it’s depriving young men of the limited places that are there” (Women at West Point 1976, 15). There was apprehension from the House Armed Services Committee that those women wanting to attend these academies may just be looking for husbands and have no interest in soldiering (Murnane 2007, 1077).

The main debate on whether or not to permit women to attend the military academies was closely tied to the debate on women in combat. According to the Army's Vice Chief of Staff at the time, General Weyand, on the subject of female academy cadets, "the issue of whether women should become cadets at West point is tied directly to the basic question of whether Americans are prepared to commit their daughters to combat" (Binkin and Bach 1977, 43). Many military leaders believed that women should not be admitted to the academies because they were not allowed in combat (Binkin & Bach 1977, 44). As General Westermoreland argued, "the purpose of West Point is to train combat officers, and women are not physically able to lead in combat. Maybe you could find one woman in 10,000 who could lead in combat, but she would be a freak and we're not running the military academy for freaks" (Women at West Point 1976, 15). Howard Patton, the DoD official in charge of processing congressional nominations for the military academies, supported General Westermoreland's views. He stated, "until the enemy hits our shores or if the Commies were at our northern border, maybe we'd think about committing women to combat, until then, forget it" (Barker 1973, C1). This was one side of the argument against permitting women to attend the military academies.

However, this argument for barring women from the military academies because of their restriction from combat was countered by Representative Samuel Stratton. He issued a press release outlining a government study that found 3,777 out of 30,576 military academy graduates had never held combat assignments (Murnane 2007, 1077). The House Armed Services Committee could no longer use women's exclusion from combat against them and Public Law 94-106 was signed into law in October 1975, finally allowing women access to free education at the military academies (Murnane 2007, 1078). However, the rationale that admitted them showed that Congress and society were both still not ready for women to be combatants.

(iv) Opposition to Women's Equality Laws

The new laws in favour of women's equality discussed above were not without opposition. There were cases brought before the courts by men that looked to find the

new laws passed for the equality of women unconstitutional. In the case of *Schlesinger v. Ballard*, brought before the Supreme Court in 1975, a naval officer forced to retire after nine years of service due to two passed over promotions, challenged the law that women could stay in the Navy for thirteen years before they were forced to retire if they had missed two promotions. The Chief Lawyer for the Appellant, Harriet S. Shapiro argued, “where women and men fill substantially the same types of jobs...all officers are subject to the basic statute. The special thirteen year statute applies to women line lieutenants and certain staff women...competing for jobs against men but the statute provides that women may not serve on naval vessels except hospital and transport ships” (Oyez Project, 2011). The thirteen-year statute for some women, therefore attempted to make up for their disadvantage when competing for jobs and promotions against men with experience on combat ships (Binkin & Bach 1977, 45).

In a five-to-four decision, the Supreme Court decided that the law was constitutional because women were restricted from sea duty and they therefore had fewer promotional opportunities than men (Binkin & Bach 1977, 45-46). The case of *Schlesinger v. Ballard* showed how women’s inequality in one aspect needed to be compensated for in some way in order to level the playing field between the sexes. Although this Navy policy attempted to make men and women equal, women were still at an apparent disadvantage. The four-year extension for them could not make up for the importance of sea and combat duty in counting toward promotions, and this was what women in the Navy and other branches of the armed forces were missing on their records. Therefore, women were in a disadvantaged position in relation to their male co-workers due to the formal policy restrictions. The policy acknowledged that male seaman had more career opportunities and therefore greater chances for excelled careers.

(v) DoD Policy Changes

Before the 1970s, the percentage of women in the military remained below two percent. By 1975, the number rose to over five percent. At the beginning of the decade, they were only one in thirty of the total number of service members recruited. By 1976, that ratio had been increased to every one in 13 service members recruited being a woman

(Binkin & Bach 1977, 14). With this substantial rise in the numbers of female service members during the 1970s and their entrance into the federal military academies, there was growing pressure from more female soldiers for the Department of Defense to make meaningful changes to personnel policies. Slowly, the military began changing several policies. Women were no longer banned from command positions in which they would be commanders of both males and females. Aviation training was opened to them although they were still banned from flying combat aircraft (Manning 2010, 6).

Female service members were continuously fighting for the right to participate in more career fields however, DoD leadership only made small concessions in return. Due to the end of conscription and the greater need for personnel, by the end of 1976, all jobs, except combat positions, were then unrestricted. As mentioned above, the end of conscription was another critical juncture in which the lack of military personnel encouraged the DoD to allow women more opportunities in order to meet their personnel goals. This changed the gender structure of the military institution because, as additional occupations became available, more women began filling non-traditional jobs in the military.

At the beginning of the decade in 1972, less than ten percent of female service members were assigned to non-traditional jobs. By 1976, that percentage rose to 40 percent of women in the military as more career fields were opened (Binkin & Bach 1977, 17). Female soldiers used agency and acted as ‘opportunist’ actors to enact institutional change by working in the new career fields that were opened to them. In this case, the gender structure of the institution changed because individual actors (DoD leadership) due to a critical juncture, opened more jobs to women and some female soldiers moved into the new career fields, therefore, advancing women’s place in the military. Military policies were changing but because women continued to be restricted from the core jobs of the military, combat jobs, their promotional and career opportunities were limited. Society continued to hold the idea of combat soldier as a male-only right.

3.5 The U.S. Invasion of Panama and Military Combat Policy

Women's role in the armed forces continued to be a hotly debated topic into the next decade. In 1988, in an attempt to standardise what jobs female service members were excluded from across the branches, Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci created a DoD task force to reevaluate women's roles in the armed forces (Restrictions on Assignments of Military Women 2012, 1-2). There was confusion between the branches about which jobs women were excluded from because each branch had their own policies, however, the task force enacted a new standardised policy for their exclusion in combat. The policy, referred to as the DoD Risk Rule, specified that units at high risk to come in to combat were officially closed to female members (Restrictions on Assignments of Military Women 2012, 2). The DoD Risk Rule perpetuated the ideals behind the 1948 Armed Forces Integration Act in which women could be military participants as long as their exposure to combat was constrained. However, it was still possible for women to come in to combat through jobs that the military believed would not be high risk for combat, such as in Military Police units (Manning 2010, 7).

The new policy "set a single standard for evaluating positions and units from which the services can exclude women. As a result, 30,000 new positions were opened to women; however, units supporting ground combat operations remained closed" (Manning 2010, 7). Public attention was brought to this rule with the U.S. invasion of Panama in 1989. Female Army Captain Linda Bray commanded close to 200 soldiers in Operation Just Cause. Her troops were brought in after ground combat troops had cleared much of the area. However, her group was sent to neutralise a dog kennel with Panamanian ground forces hiding inside. Captain Bray planned a strategy of attack on the dog kennel and led her soldiers into fire from the Panamanian troops (Ruffin 2009, 62). In this case, Captain Bray was an 'opportunist' actor who was able to challenge standard military practices by taking the opportunity to lead her unit in a battle.

(i) First Woman Commander in Battle

Controversy arose when it was heard that Captain Bray had been the first U.S. woman to lead troops into battle (Ruffin, 2009: 62). Critics of women in combat thought that

this had been done illegally because the public believed it was against Army policies for women to participate in combat in any way, let alone leading men into combat (Bruen 1990, 1). Critics were upset a woman had given an order to kill another human being and they accused the DoD of secretly defying the public and sending female soldiers to fight (Bruen 1990, 1). However, it was not illegal for women to be in combat and about ten percent of the American soldiers entering Panama after the initial invasion to patrol dangerous outposts were women because of the wording of the 1988 DoD Risk Rule (Manning 2010, 7). These female soldiers, including Captain Bray's unit were assigned to Military Police companies that did not constitute front line units under the rule. Therefore, despite the policy exclusions, female soldiers participated in combat operations in Panama (Ruffin 2009, 63-64). This is one example of how the interpretation of a formal policy can be used to create opportunities for institutional actors to cause change.⁵¹

Captain Linda Bray received both praise and great criticism from the media and the public for doing her job (Bruen 1990, 1). She had fought discrimination from her male commanding officer in order to be able to go to Panama with her unit, and wanted nothing more than the right to lead her own troops in whatever task she was given by the military (Ruffin 2009, 64). When asked her feelings about women in combat, Bray stated, "before all this started, I had always wondered what would happen. After this, in my opinion, there is no difference [between men and women]. They worked together as a team, all my soldiers" (Ring 1990, A1). Women's rights activists looked at Captain Bray's efforts as evidence that women were capable of performing well in combat (Bruen 1990, 2).

Critics of Captain Bray's participation in combat asserted that the media had misrepresented Bray's accomplishments and went as far as saying Bray herself had lied to the media about how large a part she played in the capture of the dog kennel (Ruffin 1999, 64). Critics looked to discredit Bray in order to argue that women were still

⁵¹ This idea is discussed further in Chapter Five, page X in relation to a loophole in policy that allowed women to participate in combat during the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.

incapable of filling combat positions. As Susan Guenter-Schlesinger argued, “even when women enter into more combat-related roles, as they did in...Operation Just Cause, they are still encapsulated in a culture that defines their character in oppositional terms (nurturing, passive) to the more highly valued character traits (competitive, aggressive) of men” (Guenter-Schlesinger 1999, 204). Although Captain Bray had been the first to break the combat barrier for female soldiers, no military policies were changed in response to her actions and the media attention surrounding her but significant changes were visible during the Gulf War in 1990 and those are discussed in the following section.

3.6 The Gulf War and Further Integration of Women

In the next phase, female soldiers’ involvement in the Gulf War, carried out from 1990-1991, was seen as successful. They were operating under the same DoD Risk Rule as in the struggle in Panama, but it was the first time U.S. female service members were publically seen close to combat in large numbers (Lancaster 1994, A1). Their successful involvement in the war showed DoD leaders, specifically Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, that women were capable of performing well in forward-deployed jobs. After the war in 1993, this led to the opening of more traditionally male military jobs to women, including positions on combat aeroplanes and ships (Lancaster 1994, A1).

(i) Women’s Service in the Gulf War

The U.S. Armed Forces continued to be an all-volunteer service and the Gulf War was the first large-scale military operation the U.S. had entered since the end of conscription (Persian Gulf War 1992, 1). Therefore more women were needed to participate in the military and to be available to deploy to the Persian Gulf. Many female soldiers involved in Operation Desert Storm in the Gulf War had already been in the armed forces as career members (Manning 2010, 7). Female soldiers worked in many different jobs and were no longer limited to support positions, although the 1988 Risk Rule on combat jobs continued to hold. More women came into combat in their units just as Captain Bray had in Panama the year before (Persian Gulf War 1992, 1). They worked as truck drivers transporting troops and supplies. They flew helicopters and one woman

led a group of Chinook helicopters in Iraq on the first day of the war. They were flying non-combat aeroplanes and launching Patriot missiles (Persian Gulf War 1992, 1). They also served on Navy hospital and destroyer ships and commanded units of both male and female soldiers (Women's International Center 2011, 1).

The U.S. public began seeing female soldiers in combat-ready uniforms holding guns and driving trucks (Enloe 1994, 80). The image of soldiers as male continued to stick but the American public was inundated with stories of military women deployed to the Persian Gulf. The extensive deployment of female troops and positive media coverage of women in the Persian Gulf War helped to change public opinion in the United States regarding women in combat roles. Slowly, the public began seeing female soldiers as more acceptable. They were performing well in their jobs and receiving positive recognition for their actions (Enloe 1994, 80). The media focused on these women with human interest stories, showing the female soldiers as patriots fighting for their country and as good mothers concerned about their children's future (Enloe 1994, 81). There were 40,000 U.S. women deployed to the Persian Gulf at this time, which made it the largest U.S. military deployment of women ever in the world. Out of the eleven percent of female service members, close to seven percent were actually deployed to the Persian Gulf in support of the war (Enloe 1994, 81).

However, not everyone's perceptions were changed. Many people in power continued to believe that morally women had no place in combat. One critic was General Merrill A. McPeak, the Air Force Chief of Staff at the time. In his testimony before the Senate, although he admitted that women were capable of flying combat aircraft, he added, "I would personally choose a male pilot over a more qualified woman. I have a very traditional attitude about wives and mothers and daughters being ordered to kill people" (Murnane 2007, 1091). Other critics were also concerned about how women's involvement on combat aeroplanes and ships could affect society. They believed that it could open traditionally male jobs to women and move them further away from the private sphere of the home (Vobejda 1993, A6). As Kate O'Bierne, vice president of the Heritage Foundation argued, "if women are now expected to kill and be killed....we

can't pretend it won't have a very broad impact on the general society. The feminists would have achieved their gender-blind nirvana" (Vobejda 1993, A6). However, the positive perceptions of women from the Gulf War were enough for President H. Bush to convene a Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces in 1993 (Murnane 2007, 1082).

The commission was established to reevaluate women serving on combat aeroplanes and ships. One of the commission members, Marine Corps Brigadier General Thomas V. Draude, in regard to his daughter who was a pilot in the Navy, said, "I'm asked would you let your daughter fly in combat with the possibility of her becoming a P.O.W.?...And my answer is yes, because I believe we should have the best" (Enloe 1994, 104). In 1993, based on the commission's positive recommendations, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin ordered the services to open combat aircraft jobs to women and to repeal the exclusion of women on combat ships (Manning 2010, 7). In this case, the Gulf War was a critical juncture in which female soldiers and pilots had the opportunity to prove they could be successful participants in war. They acted internally as 'opportunist' agents and brought about change by their successful participation in varying roles in the war.

(ii) The DoD Ground Combat Rule

After the Presidential Commission, external pressure from military women and women's rights activists to lift the exclusion policies on all combat jobs grew rapidly. Due to the media and senate pressure on the DoD leadership, they made a smaller concession and in 1994 Secretary of Defense Les Aspin officially rescinded the 1988 DoD Risk Rule for women in combat (Lancaster 1993, A1). Aspin stated, "the results of this will be that the services will be able to call upon a much larger pool of talent to perform the vital tasks that our military forces must perform...right now we're not able to do that" (Lancaster 1993, A1). With this change, 32,700 positions in the Army were then opened to female members along with 48,000 more positions in the Marine Corps (Manning 2010, 7). A new DoD policy regarding women in combat was established, known as the Ground Combat Rule.

The new policy stated, “service members are eligible to be assigned to all positions for which they are qualified, except that women shall be excluded from assignment to units below the brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground as defined below” (Direct Ground Combat Definition 1994, 1). Secretary Aspin went on to define direct combat as, “engaging an enemy on the ground with individual or crew served weapons, while being exposed to hostile fire and to a high probability of direct physical contact with the hostile force's personnel. Direct ground combat takes place well forward on the battlefield while locating and closing with the enemy to defeat them by fire, maneuver, or shock effect” (Direct Ground Combat Definition 1994, 1). The basis of this new policy was to attempt to keep female soldiers out of way of an attack by the enemy because it was not acceptable by society to see women dying in wars overseas (Burrelli 1996, 13). The policy also tried to keep women from directly engaging in fire with the enemy, as it was believed by many that women should not be asked to kill (Burrelli 1996, 12). This updated policy was once again based off of the original sentiments of allowing women entrance into the military in 1948, in which women were allowed to participate in support roles but not take part in the core jobs (combat).

There were, however, several exclusions to the policy. Women were barred from jobs in which it was not cost effective for the military to pay for separate housing areas. It specified that they could not be in units which must physically be attached to ground combat troops and they were not allowed to be part of special operations or long-range reconnaissance operations (Direct Ground Combat Definition 1994, 1). The last restriction policy dictated that all female soldiers were to be excluded from physically demanding jobs in which it is believed the majority of women would not be able to qualify, therefore continuing to use gender as a job specification (Manning 2010, 8). With this Ground Combat Rule, the ban on women in combat jobs persisted and they continued to have a more difficult time advancing in rank than their male counterparts because they were kept from the elite positions (Manning 2010, 8).

The Ground Combat Rule policy also showed that women were not seen as equals in the eyes of the DoD and, therefore, had a difficult time being seen as equals by their male counterparts. As an article from the Washington Post stated, “it is easier for military men to dismiss women as unequal partners with lesser responsibilities when, in fact, they are just that” (Moving Military Women Ahead 1993, A20). The career fields covered in the exclusion part of the policy were the most highly sought after positions in the military, and were also considered the most masculine. The exclusion policy effectively stopped any female soldier from reaching the combat status of her male counterparts, and therefore, by the military culture, an equal status in the culture of the armed forces.⁵²

3.7 Formal Gender Policies in the 2000s

(i) Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan

At the beginning of 2003, as the U.S. military became over-stretched in two wars, there was a continuing demand for all recruits, both men and women. This was another example of a critical juncture caused by personnel needs for war in which women were given the opportunity to participate in more roles and subsequently advance their place in the military. As of January 2011, 200,000 female military members had deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan in support of all male combat units (Wood 2011, 1). This was the largest deployment of women into war as soldiers in modern times, far surpassing the number of female soldiers deployed to the Persian Gulf during Operation Desert Storm (Manning 2010, 10). Many military women from the U.S. and other NATO countries deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan have seen and participated in war firsthand (Natalie, Interview, October 2012). They have received high military awards and honours, many of which were awards saved for those who have been in combat situations (Harrel 2007, 5). The actions of these women have been publicised and praised in the media, helping to slowly evolve public belief that only men can be soldiers (Alvarez 2009, A1). As one retired Army Colonel who served as an executive officer for General David Petraeus in Iraq stated, “Iraq has advanced the cause of full integration for women in the Army by

⁵² Please refer to Chapter Five, page 128 for information on military culture.

leaps and bounds. They have earned the confidence and respect of their male colleagues” (Alvarez 2009, A1).

Due to the guerilla nature of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the specification between the front of the war, and the back, or “behind the lines” (Afshar 2004, 3), has become increasingly blurred. It is no longer easy to say that women in support units will not be prone to combat situations and attacks because the fighting is taking place in the streets of the cities and villages, so the environment of war is changing. The Ground Combat Rule governing female assignment policy became obsolete because of the lack of distinction between the front lines and the back-lines of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Military women in support positions were continuously exposed to combat. The assignment policy did not allow women to be assigned to combat units. However, commanders were able to circumvent the policy by temporarily attaching women in support roles to combat units, which ultimately became an informal norm and practice (Alvarez 2009, A1).

Female soldiers in support positions were often called on to fill positions within the combat unit. As one reporter wrote in the New York Times, “Army commanders have resorted to bureaucratic trickery when they needed more soldiers for critical jobs, like bomb disposal and intelligence. On paper, for instance women have been ‘attached’ to a combat unit rather than ‘assigned’” (Alvarez 2009, A1). Therefore, women were serving in combat jobs, but were not receiving the credit for it on their military records. This case and its theoretical implications are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.⁵³ Female soldiers, once again, worked as ‘opportunist’ change agents by taking the opportunity to fill non-traditional female roles in the military, either willingly or unwillingly. Although women performed successfully in combat roles and were not receiving official credit because it was against the formal policy, their efforts helped to enact change in 2013, with the lifting of the Ground Combat Rule.

⁵³ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 161.

(ii) Combat Policy

The overall concern of those opposed to women in combat was that women in combat could decrease military capabilities and effectiveness. The critics argued that, “if two ground combat forces meet in battle and one is composed, in part, of physically inferior personnel, the other force has a distinct tactical advantage. The physically weaker unit will be defeated. Equal opportunity on the battlefield spells defeat” (Tuten 1982, 248). Critics argued that the perceived weaknesses of women would ultimately be detrimental to the effectiveness of the U.S. military and that equality should not play a role in the national security of the country. Those in favour of female service members in combat roles and other occupations in the military pointed out that many women are capable of doing men’s jobs just as well, if not better than many men (Segal 1982, 271). This argument was made by both the equal-rights based and civic responsibility feminists who argued that gender should not be the basis of exclusion for combat jobs.⁵⁴ The debate on the combat exclusion for women was particularly important because combat jobs in the military are considered the elite career track. These jobs are the core of the military culture and the majority of the highest-ranking officers come from a combat background.

As was discussed in Chapter One,⁵⁵ a popular argument that was made by advocates for opening all military jobs to women was that female military members would not be able to be equal members unless combat jobs were opened to them (Guenter-Schlesinger 1999, 204). Female military members would not gain full acceptance in the military until the policies reflect equality. As Representative Schroeder stated, “there has been such a feeling that, well, we don’t have to do as much for women, because what have they done for the country?” (Vobejda 1993, A6). It was not only women’s exclusion from combat that was the problem but also the importance placed on combat jobs and their perceived superiority, as was argued by civic responsibility feminists in Chapter One.

⁵⁴ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for equal-rights based and civic responsibility arguments.

⁵⁵ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for feminist arguments.

Women's participation in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan prompted a new commission to reconsider women's roles in the military. President Obama created a commission in 2009 to examine the Ground Combat policy in place (Bennett 2011, 1). The Military Leadership Diversity Commission (MLDC), made up of active and retired military officers, senior enlisted personnel and civilian employees, made their recommendation that women should be allowed to fill combat roles in the military. The Obama commission reasoned that, "given the nature of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, women are currently engaged in direct combat, even when it is not part of their formally assigned role" (Bennett 2011, 1) They argued the Ground Combat rule should be rescinded "because, given current practices for employing women in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, it seems obsolete" (Bennett 2011, 1). There was no action concerning their recommendations from the DoD, Congress, or the President for two years.

At the beginning of 2013, with the US weighed down in Afghanistan, Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta announced that the DoD was going to lift the combat ban on women in the military (Military Leaders Lift Ban on Women 2013, 1). Secretary Panetta made the decision after receiving a recommendation from The Joint Chiefs of Staff. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Martin Dempsey, wrote in a letter to Secretary Panetta that the chiefs all agreed that "the time has come to rescind the direct combat exclusion rule for women and to eliminate all unnecessary gender-based barriers to service" (Bumiller & Shanker 2013, 1). This change opened 230,000 positions in the military for women, including those on the front lines (Brook 2013, 1).

According to the media, it was unclear why the Joint Chiefs of Staff made the decision at the time. However, the lifting of the ban shows the importance of 'opportunistic' actors and the agency of female soldiers internal to the institution. The lifting of the ban was praised by Representatives on the House Armed Services Committee as Representative Buck McKeon commented, "after a decade of critical military service in hostile environments, women have demonstrated a wide range of capabilities in combat operations and we welcome this review" (O'Toole 2013, 1). Secretary Panetta set a deadline of November 2013 for the services to provide the new Secretary of Defense,

Secretary Chuck Hagel, with “an assessment of the remaining barriers to full implementation of a gender-neutral assignment policy” (O’Toole 2013, 1). The overturning of the combat ban on women was a significant accomplishment and a move toward greater gender equality in the U.S. military. The following section outlines another formal policy in which its overturning also benefited gender equality in the U.S. military.

(iii) Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell

The Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell (DADT) policy against openly gay men and women serving in the military is not considered a policy specifically against women, but it is important because it affects the gender power structure of the U.S. military. The DADT policy was first enacted for the military in 1993. It was set into place for two major reasons. One was to attempt to stop discrimination by other service members towards gay men or lesbians. The other was to ban openly gay members from serving in the military because their presence “would create an unacceptable risk to the high standards of morale, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion that are the essence of military capability” (Public Law 103-160; 10 U.S.C. 1993, 1) It is not a coincidence that this reasoning was also the basis for excluding women from combat jobs. Although, with this law, legally “voluntary admission of homosexuality is not grounds for discharge in the absence of sexual conduct that interferes with the mission. In practice, individuals with exemplary service records have been involuntarily separated as a result of their admission alone” (Segal et al. 1999, 250). It created a culture suspicious of men that did not act masculine enough or were not married. Women were also given an especially hard time with DADT because their participation in the military alone was enough for many to question their sexuality.

DADT created an environment in which gays were not allowed to be open about their sexual orientation, and it clearly legitimised the idea that homosexuality had no place in the military. It allowed service members to openly categorise gays and lesbians as ‘others’ and, therefore, as the enemy. Now that DADT was overturned in 2011, gay men and women are legally allowed to be open about their sexuality. However, as one

female soldier stated, “of course people are going to be nervous about coming out when the trend for so long has been to hide who they really are” (Rina, October 2012). The discriminatory climate perpetuated by DADT in the first place has made it difficult for homosexual service members to feel comfortable being open without fear of discrimination (Rina, October 2012).

One female Air Force lieutenant said that she believed the repealing of DADT has moved the military culture in a positive direction that will be more accepting of differences. She thought that this could help the acceptance of women in the long term (Nancy, October 2012). She said, “it shows that we’re moving in the right direction. We’re moving away from the ideal notion of the jock football player. This can only be good for women too” (Nancy, October 2012). By repealing DADT, the military no longer formally sets gay men and lesbians apart as others. The informal norms that developed towards homosexuals continues in some instances, but the DoD is moving in the right direction to rid the institution of formal discrimination against gay men and lesbians by removing the formal ban on their open participation.

The policies of women’s exclusion from combat and DADT set women and gay men and lesbians apart from the mainstream male members and openly classified them as ‘others.’ These formal policies then affected the informal norms of the military institution and made it harder for those groups to fit in completely. The military system is built on conformity, and for these groups to be visibly set apart, this makes it harder for them to be accepted in the culture of the mainstream military.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a historical institutionalism analysis on how formal policy change has occurred in the gender power structure of the U.S. military since women’s initial inclusion during World Wars I and II. It highlighted the processes of change that have occurred in the past as well as the important roles of the actors who were essential in forcing change for military women. This chapter is important because it also showed the regulations of the initial gender discriminatory policies that were in place and

constrained women's participation and actions in the U.S. military. As was described in Chapter One,⁵⁶ ideas in this thesis are based on path dependency theory, which argues that original informal norms and formal rules shape the institution and reproduce similar norms and policies over time. This aspect is especially important to consider in Chapter Six when obstacles to change are discussed and it is argued that initial discriminatory policies and informal norms continue to negatively affect military women in 2013.⁵⁷

There has been a great deal of social change in the U.S. military since women began their integration in 1948. As of 2013, women make up 14 percent of the total active duty force and the policy barring women's job roles in ground combat career fields was revoked in 2013. However, throughout history, each time women were allowed entrance into the armed forces, it was due to a critical juncture owing to the fear of meeting personnel needs. It was, therefore carried out based on the military's needs of the time. Women were only allowed access when their support was absolutely necessary and then their participation was constrained. Once the need for them was there, they were still not brought in as equals, but were only allowed to partake in roles that were solely supportive, and not in the core jobs of the military.

Due to the active roles of Congresswoman Rogers, Oveta Culp Hobby and General George Marshal during World War II, female service members were able to make the first major step in legally becoming full members of the U.S. Armed Forces. The external actors, or 'insurrectionary' actors, were able to force changes in the gender structure of the military by pushing for access that advanced women's place in the military. From the starting point of the Armed Forces Integration Act, women built their rights and challenged discriminatory laws to work towards an actual equal membership in the military by relying on outside institutions such as Congress and the U.S. judicial system. They were able to change numerous policies which were originally only made for men, or made during a time when women were expected to only work in the private sphere of the home, in order to make it realistic for a woman to be mother, wife and

⁵⁶ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 33 for further information on path dependency theory.

⁵⁷ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 44 for the discussion on obstacles to institutional change.

soldier. The landmark cases of Officers Smith and Struck and Seaman Flores were all essential in overcoming the prejudicial policies that stood in the way of women's right to work and be a mother if they so chose. Although many of these discriminatory policies were changed by 2013, the exclusionary policies based on gender that were in place continued to affect women's participation in the military and the masculine-centric culture of the institution.

The formal policies of Don't Ask, Don't Tell and the combat ban against women also demonstrated how past formal policies have privileged traditional ideals of masculinity. According to path dependency theory, these formal policies also continue to affect the informal norms of the military and propagate the informal norm of placing those who do not fit the traditional masculine role of 'just warrior' as less-than in the institution. There has been significant change to the gender structure of the military since women's introduction, however, there are lasting effects from the original privileging of masculinity and the masculine-oriented nature of the institution's roots, despite nearly 60 years of changes in formal policies. The following chapter discusses in greater detail the development and maintenance of gender roles in the U.S. military and American society.

Introduction

The first chapter proposed that a feminist institutional analysis would provide a better understanding of “the formal architecture and informal networks, connections, conventions, rules and norms” of the military institution, and this is essential in answering the main research question of this thesis (Kenny 2011, x). This chapter begins to build on the feminist institutionalism branch of new institutionalism to consider how the interplay of the formal rules and informal norms affect the gender power structure of the U.S. military institution and in turn determine to what extent the gender institutional culture has evolved. In order to fully answer this question, the following chapter provides an overall cultural view of the institution which identifies “the social norms and explicates their gendered effects” (Kenny 2011, x). However, to best identify this, it is first necessary to provide context of how the U.S. Armed Forces fits into American society and the relationship between the two, as “institutions reflect political values held by society” (Franceschet 2011, 63). Also, the needs of society affect the gender roles of actors in the society. This provides the framework by which institutional actors are constrained. Therefore, this chapter looks at the role of American society’s culture of militarisation and the military’s prominent role in society. It also provides a better understanding of why women’s participation in the military is necessary.

This chapter analyses the construction of gender roles in U.S. society and the military specifically. It provides examples of the constructed gender roles through narratives of women and men whose stories were told in the media during the U.S.’s involvement in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Two of the most infamous stories that will be discussed are those of Lyndie England, a U.S. enlisted Army clerk that participated in the degradation of prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison in 2004, and Pat Tillman, an all-American football star that gave up a multi-million dollar contract to serve in the military and was killed in the Iraq war in 2004.

4.1 Militarisation and U.S. Society

(i) Normalisation of War

Militarisation in the United States has permeated American society and culture. War became normalised by the standing of a professional, all-volunteer military force, and is considered more tolerable because of advancing technologies (Maddow 2012, 20). The creation of the all-volunteer, professional military means the United States is no longer dependent on reserve units in times of war. The development of a standing army makes it easier for Congress to decide to go to war because they are calling on a pool of men and women that are already actively in service (Bacevich 2005, 592). The all-volunteer force also allowed for the armed forces to set higher moral standards for entrance while advancing technology and the need for related skills attracted different kinds of recruits (Maddow 2012, 46).

Along with the development of the all-volunteer, professional force, the military devised a moral code and system of core values for their soldiers to follow. Chalmers Johnson argues that, “the emergence of a professional military class and the subsequent glorification of its ideals,” is a sign of a militarised society (Johnson 2003, 2). The quick and successful ending of the Gulf War served to solidify this new image of the military as technologically superior, strong and moral (Bacevich 2005, 1102). American success in the Gulf War was the beginning of what Andrew Bacevich refers to as the new American militarism, which is “a marriage of militarism and utopian ideology of unprecedented military might wed to a blind faith in the universality of American values” (Bacevich 2005, 1100). He argues, “The war’s [Desert Storm] aftermath found the officer corps at peace with itself, held at high regard by the American people, and presiding over a well-honed military machine” (Bacevich 2005, 1102). With this new American militarism, the mindset of war has changed. It is no longer seen as a necessary evil or as a last resort but rather as “standard practice, a normal condition, one to which no plausible alternatives seem to exist” (Pfaff 2010, 3). This attitude, along with technological advancements that allow the U.S. to engage in wars with fewer American casualties and a greater detachment has led to the ‘normalisation’ of war in

American society, in which it is seen as an acceptable necessity of being a superpower (Bacevich 2005, 1102).

(ii) Values, Morality and Militarism

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War brought about a period of American hegemony and dominance. Although there are multilateral threats to the U.S. and rising powers such as China, as of 2013, the U.S. continues to be the world's superpower. With this position in the international hierarchy, there has been much debate on how to leverage and to what extent to use American power. One of the prevailing ideas during the administration of G.W. Bush was that of benign imperialism. This idea is rooted in a neo-conservative belief that, "the U.S. is unique because it has overwhelming global power but no imperial ambitions" (Ritchie & Rogers 2006, 144). Instead, according to Charles Krauthammer, "its [U.S.] principle aim is to maintain the stability and relative tranquility of the current international system by enforcing, maintaining and extending the current peace" (Krauthammer 2003, 14). The belief is that the U.S. is not concerned with territorial gain but looks to spread its morals and values of democracy, free trade and religious freedom internationally in order to create a safer world order (Krauthammer 2003, 14). This idea of 'benign imperialism' has lingered and permeates American militarised society, painting the U.S. military as the protectors and promoters of American moral standards and values overseas.

This new and positive view of war in the U.S. has led to the high regard of soldiers, a significant change from the Vietnam War, in which the disapproval of the war by the American public negatively affected society's view of the military (Maddow 2012, 26-27, 46). This is no longer the case. The mantra 'support the troops' is common and "the one unforgivable sin is to be found guilty of not supporting the troops" (Bacevich 2005, 603). The reverence of troops by the American people is solidified by the creation of the all-volunteer force. For many, military members are held in high regard because they are volunteering to do the jobs that the majority of Americans do not want to do and are seen as upholding traditional moral values (Bacevich 2005, 583). This

perception is supported by the Gallup poll mentioned in Chapter One in which the military has consistently been ranked first in confidence had by society out of all American institutions.⁵⁸ This poll is evidence of the positive view the American public has of military personnel. It shows that military service in the U.S. is highly valued, while the following section discusses how military service, due to this positive perception, can be a path to successful political participation in the U.S. government.

(iii) Militarisation and the Public Sphere

Military service and politics are closely tied in American society. Johnson's additional "political hallmark of militarism is the preponderance of military officers or representatives of the arms industry as officials of state policy" (Johnson 2003, 121). The American president is considered the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and the presidents that have not served time in the military have been criticised that they may not have the experience or knowledge to lead a military of which they were never members (Nagl 2012, 1). As John Nagl states, "the choice to take the nation to war is the most important decision a president can make. A commander-in-chief who has actually served on the battlefield has personal experience and can make that decision only with greater empathy" (Nagl 2012, 1).

The 2012 Presidential election was the first U.S. Presidential election since 1944 to not have one candidate with prior military service (Moody 2012, 1). Although this may point to a new trend in which less emphasis is placed on military service for the presidency, it cannot be ignored that only 12 out of 43 different presidents had no military service (Smithsonian Museum of American History, 2012). Credentials of military service are used in political campaigns and even as a way to popularise a president's image. A recent image of this strategy was of President George W. Bush during a media campaign in support of the 'War on Terror,' in which he wore a military flight suit on board the U.S.S. Abraham Lincoln surrounded by navy pilots. One PBS journalist commented, "he flashed that famous all-American grin as he swaggered around the deck of the aircraft carrier in his olive flight suit, ejection harness between

⁵⁸ Please refer to Chapter One, page 27 for further information on the poll.

his legs, helmet tucked under his arm, awestruck crew crowding around. Maverick was back, cooler and hotter than ever, throttling to the max with joystick politics...” (Dowd 2003, 1) President Bush was a pilot in the Air National Guard and was exploiting this image to gain support for the war and his presidency (Dowd 2003, 1).

In order for women to not be at a disadvantage in the wider political arena, it is important for them, as militarised as American society is in 2013, to have the option to participate fully in the American military, as is argued by both equal-rights based and civic responsibility feminists in Chapter One.⁵⁹ History has proven that military service can serve as an important precursor to public service and leadership and can affect women’s place in society as a whole. Traditional ideas of citizenship also link to the same problem of women’s underrepresentation in the public sphere. Military service has “constituted a claim to citizenship” (Peterson 2010, 22). Cynthia Enloe argues that because of this close connection between soldiering and citizenship, it places women below militarised men in society as a whole (Enloe 1993, 25). The emphasis on the militarised culture of U.S. society also affects the construction of gender roles in politics.

4.2 Militarised Gender Roles

Each society has specific gender roles and identities that are created by the needs of a society and perpetuated by cultural norms. Although culture and roles change over time, “ideal types of militarised masculinity and femininity can be seen as barometers for the military and strategic culture of a state in global politics” (Enloe 2010, 215). In western society, particularly in the militarised culture of the United States and with the all-volunteer force of the military in 2013,⁶⁰ the state has to use these cultural norms to condition citizens to be willing participants in war. War is not necessarily a natural state for many men; rather, “war is something that societies impose on men, who most often need to be dragged kicking and screaming into it, constantly brainwashed and disciplined once there, and rewarded and honoured afterwards” (Goldstein 2001, 253).

⁵⁹ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for further explanation on feminist arguments.

⁶⁰ Please refer to page 104 of this chapter for explanation on the history of the All-Volunteer military force.

This is in line with arguments made by both the equal-rights based and civic responsibility feminists that men are not naturally violent and women are not inherently peaceful.⁶¹ One of the main ways men are brought into military service in the United States is to closely tie together masculinity and soldiering, along with the enhanced status and possible political influence that coincides with military service in a militarised society. In order to make the connection between masculinity and soldiering, clear gender roles are developed and sustained in U.S. culture.

(i) Beautiful Souls

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, one of the core concepts relevant to gender roles in the U.S. military is the role of ‘beautiful souls.’ Jean Bethke Elshtain argues in 1987 that women are conditioned to fulfil specific militarised roles in U.S. society and women and men’s roles are constructed to be both dichotomous and complementary in order to fulfil society’s needs during wartime. Women are “construed as nonviolent, offering support and compassion” and are there to protect “the appearance of purity by cultivating innocence about the historical course of the world” (Elshtain 1987, 4). Due to this construction, Elshtain refers to women’s role in war as the ‘beautiful soul’ (Elshtain 1987, 4). The idea of women as beautiful souls effectively sidelines them to roles of non-combatants, whether that is a wife, mother or peace activist. As Elshtain argues, “women work and weep and sometimes protest within the frame of discursive practices that turn one, militant mother and pacifist protestor alike, as the collective ‘other’ to the male warrior” (Elshtain 1987, 1). Therefore, female roles are set to be exactly the opposite of male roles in order to reinforce masculinity and soldiering. Elshtain’s ideas of beautiful soul are originally built from traditional ideals and concepts of war. However, although Elshtain’s theory was written based on state versus state warfare, her concepts still apply to American war in the current decade. This will be discussed further in the chapter.⁶²

⁶¹ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for feminist arguments.

⁶² Please refer to Chapter Five, page 156.

As ‘beautiful souls,’ women are expected to be a soldier’s connection to home. Western society has masculinised war and feminised peace making women the symbol for home, comfort and peace after the war. Their roles “replicate traditional perceptions of women as innocent and defenseless, on the sidelines of conflict” (Sjoberg 2010, 215). The idea of women’s roles separate war from peacetime and make it easier for men to disconnect from their home lives while fighting. Women as innocent and defenseless also works to reinforce the idea of the protection of women from the horrors of war as a motivating factor in convincing men it is their duty to fight. As one Vietnam War veteran wrote, “I’d like to think something would not be touched by this brutality and vulgarity. Up to now, it’s been women” (Goldstein 2001, 305). The expectation of women to be innocent and peaceful was contradicted by the case of Lyndie England that will be discussed later in this section.⁶³ She was an enlisted Army clerk that outraged the world when pictures of her degrading male Iraqi detainees were released. The shock and outrage was not only focused on the treatment of the prisoners by U.S. personnel, but was to a large extent focused on the fact that the primary tormentor was a woman (Zernike, 2005: 1).

The feminine gender role of ‘beautiful soul’ was also constructed to symbolise the tender and feminine side of the state. This is particularly true in American society. The United States places a strong emphasis on the idea that their wars are ‘just’ and their intentions are pure, as discussed above (Enloe 2010, 216). The U.S. does not want to be seen as an unfair, aggressive bully (Enloe 2010, 216). In order to balance the war, the state must also be concerned with the image of their legitimacy both domestically and abroad. Cynthia Enloe argues that, in the United States, “the emphasis on traditional femininity shows the need to appear (tender and) just” (Enloe 2010, 216). Keeping women as ‘beautiful souls’ perpetuates the image that the U.S. can be both militarily strong (masculine) and just and fair (feminine) (Enloe 2010, 216). This is tied to the idea of benign imperialism discussed in the first section in which the U.S. has strong military power but no imperialistic desires and instead looks to spread peace and liberal democracy while promoting ‘just’ principles.

⁶³ Please refer to page 116 of this chapter.

American society has evolved since Elshtain originally wrote her theory, women are allowed to serve in all positions of the armed forces, the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' policy was overturned and "the end of the Cold War brought a phase of relative peace; society got accustomed to less militarised models of masculinity" (Vogel 2010, 3). Vogel argues, however, that Elshtain's gender dichotomy was updated and re-employed by the George Bush administration to garner support for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Due to the changes in American society, she argues that Afghan women took the place of Western women and were "conceptualised as a compensatory beautiful soul (pictured as helpless women and children tyrannised by the Taliban) to underline the myth of protection and closing the gap modern women might create" (Vogel 2010, 4). Vogel argues that the ideas of strong, yet just were perpetuated through construction of gender roles by the George Bush administration to further justify the war in Afghanistan. She states, "all of a sudden Afghan women had to be rescued" (Vogel 2010, 5). President and Laura Bush brought the subject of women's rights to the forefront of justification for the war in Afghanistan after it had already begun (Vogel 2010, 5). They were able to garner support for the war from groups in the American feminist community, which further legitimised their actions.

The feminine gender role of 'beautiful souls' is complicated and undermined by women's involvement in the U.S. military. The traditional role is ignored but has not fully evolved and therefore causes tension. Some feminists cite this as one reason why women's involvement in the military is beneficial to feminism.⁶⁴ Since traditional gender roles kept women away from combat on purpose to reinforce the link between masculinity and soldiering, women's introduction into the military as equals is especially difficult and problematic on many levels. The case of Jessica Lynch discussed later in this section, exemplifies the difficulties of female soldiers in relation to the 'beautiful soul' gender role.⁶⁵ Lynch was a female soldier that was injured and captured while serving in Iraq. The media was quick to emphasise that she had fought

⁶⁴ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for feminist arguments.

⁶⁵ Please refer to pages 114 of this chapter.

courageously until the end, while at the same time highly publicising her rescue by male Special Forces soldiers (Schmidt & Loeb 2003, A.01). She partially fitted the 'beautiful soul' role by being a victim at the end, but that was largely contrasted against the image of her in combat in the first place.

Although women are now allowed in the U.S. Armed Forces, and many are exposed to violence, as Lynch was, the military is very careful about how it "uses and deploys women" because it wants to ensure that women's involvement in the military "will not subvert the fundamentally masculinised culture of the military" (Enloe 2000, 238). This could in turn cause some young men to not want to join. As Ann,⁶⁶ an Army Staff Sgt. said, "the military has been a male culture for generations, and there are men who don't want to give it up, like it's threatening their masculinity to have women in the military" (Ann, October 2012). This is one reason why some in the U.S. have fought so hard to keep women out of combat jobs.

Although the gender construction and narratives discussed in this section regarding Western women continued to occur during both the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, it cannot be ignored that, with women participating in the military and in other public spheres, many Western women no longer completely fit the idea of 'beautiful souls.' This is beneficial to women's place in society because they are breaking traditional gender stereotypes and roles. In some instances, it has also set them in a separate category. They do not easily fit the category of 'beautiful souls' because they are not passive and non-violent observers, but they cannot be seen as 'just warriors' either simply because they are not male. It seems that instead, Western women, particularly those participating in the war, are in a category of their own as a 'third gender.' The idea of female soldiers as a 'third gender' will be discussed further in Chapter Five.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ All names of interviewees have been changed in order to protect their anonymity.

⁶⁷ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 156.

(ii) Just Warriors

The male role in society and war is less complicated than the various female roles in these arenas. However, it is complicated by the evolving expectations of society and the all-volunteer force. American society no longer has the expectation for all men to be soldiers. The slight fracture between the citizen and warrior is seen in that civilian men who choose not to join the military during wartime are not shamed. However, as the case of Andre Shepherd discussed below will show, those who desert the military after joining in order to avoid war are shamed and seen as traitors (Dougherty 2011, 1). For the men that do join the military institution, their role is to be a ‘just warrior’ (Elshtain 1987, 4). The male gender role is completely opposite that of the ‘beautiful souls’ role of women. They are to be tough and not show emotion as their role of warrior “revolves around a taboo of tenderness, not a celebration of violence” (Goldstein 2001, 268).

Their role is to display the military values of bravery, courage and toughness. For the purposes of this thesis, as was discussed in Chapter One, these values are considered the prized ‘just warrior’ characteristics or the traits of the reigning hegemonic masculinity in the U.S. military.⁶⁸ The cases of Pat Tillman and Chris Carter, discussed later in the section, demonstrate the characteristics expected of ‘just warriors.’ Pat Tillman was a professional football player who gave up a multi-million dollar contract to join the Army (Freeman 2002, 1), while Chris Carter courageously helped to save an elderly woman in the middle of gunfire (Legon 2003, 1). The characteristics Tillman and Carter exemplified are often considered masculine traits by U.S. society, because of their link to military practices.

Not all American men serve in the U.S. Armed Forces, in fact only around one third of the current male population have spent time in the military (Jones 2004, 1). However, all men in American society “are marked by the warfare system and the military virtues” (Goldstein 2001, 284). Non-military men are also expected to portray the same characteristics and military virtues such as strength (both physical and mental), tenacity, courage, and leadership that are expected of soldiers (Goldstein 2001, 284). In other

⁶⁸ Please refer to Chapter One, page 12 for further information on multiple masculinities.

words, the masculine ideals of military men are the standard against which all other U.S. males are compared. This is the case because society trains boys to be possible soldiers (Goldstein 2001, 285).

(iii) Construction and Maintenance: Gender Roles in U.S. Society

From a young age, children are guided into gender roles based on both their biological sex and social expectations set by their society. As the U.S. is a militarised culture, attention is often more focused on moulding the roles of boys as they are assumed to possibly become soldiers (Goldstein 2001, 287). Goldstein argues that boys are forced, through shame, to toughen-up and to receive harsher punishments than girls. They are taught that showing emotion is feminine. Then they are exposed to competitiveness of strength through sports. Although many girls in the U.S. also play sports, there is a greater expectation for boys to participate (Goldstein 2001, 289).

Boys are often taught what is masculine through dichotomous language and thinking, as discussed in Chapter One.⁶⁹ Charlotte Hooper warns against this dichotomised thinking as it enforces gender stereotypes put forth by society (Hooper 2001, 45). She also argues that the masculine characteristic is more valued, making the feminine characteristic of the pair seems less than. She provides several examples such as “hard/soft, rational/irrational and strong/weak” (Hooper 2001, 43). J. Ann Tickner maintains that dichotomised thinking can also lead to over simplistic thinking such as men are warlike and women are peaceful, which is the line of thought used by the ‘ethic of care’ feminists against women’s participation in the military (Tickner 2001, 6). Children learn about their own roles by contrasting them as opposite to the other gender.

The media also plays an essential role in constructing and maintaining societal gender roles. The stories they tell from times of war and how they portray men and women in different roles naturalises gender roles in society. They often “depend on the ideologies of gender roles” (Peterson 2010, 21), which, in turn, affects the way those roles are

⁶⁹ Please refer to Chapter One, page 18 for further information on gender dichotomies.

perceived in society. The media helps to promote certain characteristics of different gender roles.

4.3 Contemporary Examples of the Construction of Militarised Gender Roles

To further explain the construction of militarised gender roles through the media, this chapter employs five illustrative examples of news stories told during the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. These are the stories of Pat Tillman, Chris Carter, Andre Shepherd, Jessica Lynch, and Lyndie England. The stories of Pat Tillman and Chris Carter clearly promote characteristics of informal and formal ideal military men, or ‘just warriors’ while the story of Andre Shepherd illustrates the opposite characteristics. The stories of Jessica Lynch and Lyndie England show which characteristics of women are prized and accepted in U.S. society and how naturalised these characteristics are by the shock and horror of the Lyndie England case. These specific examples were chosen because they were all highly publicised in the American media and each case illustrates the prevalence of the expected gender roles in the military that were discussed above.

(i) Jessica Lynch

The story of Jessica Lynch is an excellent example of how the media and the military perpetuated the ideas of established feminine gender roles. Jessica Lynch was an American female soldier in Iraq. The reported story was that Lynch had been taken prisoner by Iraqi forces after her convoy was ambushed in April 2003. It was broadcasted that Lynch “fought fiercely and shot several enemy soldiers after Iraqi forces ambushed the Army’s 507th Ordnance Maintenance Company, firing her weapon until she ran out of ammunition” (Schmidt 2003, A.01). It was reported that Lynch, injured with multiple bullet and stab wounds, was tortured for eight days by her Iraqi captors. A daring and publicised rescue was then carried out by U.S. Special Forces to save the young, female soldier (Kampfner 2003, 1). Her rescue was filmed and given to media outlets. The rescue “could not have happened at a more crucial moment, when the talk was of coalition forces bogged down, of a victory too slow coming” (Kampfner 2003, 1). Her rescue boosted morale and was carried out “in the most macho made-for-TV moment of the war by elite teams of hunky U.S. Army

Rangers and U.S. Navy SEALs” (Morford 2003, 1). In the American media, she and those who saved her were hailed as heroes.

It was eventually revealed, however, that the story of Jessica Lynch portrayed by the media was not based on facts. Lynch had not been shot or stabbed; rather her injuries were from the crash of her Humvee. She had not gone down fighting as she was knocked out by the crash. She testified before Congress that the “story of the little girl Rambo from the hills who went down fighting was not true” (DeLong 2007, 1). She went on to say at the same hearing:

At first I didn't even realise ... the stories that were being told. It was quite a while afterwards, and then I found out. It was a little disappointing. And I knew that I had to get the truth out there because, one, I wouldn't be able to live with myself ... knowing that these stories were portraying me to do something that I didn't (Johnson 2009, 1).

It was also found that her captors took her to an Iraqi hospital and then fled. The doctors at the hospital said they gave Lynch the best care they could and that the Americans were told the Iraqi *fedayeen*⁷⁰ had fled the day before the rescue (Kampfner 2003, 2).

Lynch’s story is of particular interest here, not only because of the deliberate inconsistencies of the facts, but also because it delivered clear messages of appropriate gender roles in the military. Lynch became an American hero and “was characterised as brave beyond her femininity (fighting) but limited by it (needing an elaborate, public rescue)” (Sjoberg 2010, 211). The media made it a point to reiterate how abnormally brave it was of Lynch that she went down fighting, as was initially reported, as it went against the informal norm expected of her femininity, yet this would have been the formal expectation for any soldier. This point became special because she was a woman. The public rescue reinforced Lynch’s female role of victim, needing rescuing

⁷⁰ The Iraqi *fedayeen* were an irregular unit and paramilitary force under the Iraqi Army. *Fedayeen* means, “Saddam’s Men of Sacrifice.”

by male soldiers. There were also male soldiers captured, but all the emphasis was put on saving the young, American ‘girl’ (Sjoberg 2010, 211).

Therefore, in one story, Lynch was portrayed as both an especially courageous (female) hero and as a helpless victim (Sjoberg 2010, 211). Lynch’s participation in the military was the only outlier in the makeup of Jessica Lynch as a ‘beautiful soul.’ Therefore, her participation was explained away as “a girl who wanted some adventure and just happened to end up in an army supply tank with a gun in the desert in Iraq” (Sjoberg 2010, 211). Her story was that she was a reservist who had joined to be able to see the world. This characterisation of her effectively downplayed Lynch’s image as a ‘soldier’ (Sjoberg 2010, 211). One enlisted female Army soldier confirmed there was an informal stereotype in the military in which women were sometimes seen as only participating in the military for a temporary adventure and “weren’t real soldiers” (Connie, November 2012). She said, “there’s this idea that we [women] only joined because we wanted a little adventure, like we think it’s a game and don’t realise we’re fighting a war. I think it’s worse when you’re in the reserves. My dad was in the Army. I know how things are. I’m not here for a good time” (Connie, November 2012). In Lynch’s case, this characterisation of her effectively downplayed her image as a ‘soldier’ (Sjoberg 2010, 211).

(ii) Lyndie England

Jessica Lynch’s image of ‘beautiful soul’ was contrasted in the media during the war with that of Lyndie England. England’s case was special because she was characterised as everything a woman should not be (or as a ‘bad woman’) while at the same time she was portrayed as a victim. Lyndie was a private first class, administrative clerk for the Army. She was referred to as “a Jessica Lynch gone wrong” (Rich 2004, 1). She was divorced, an avid smoker, and had a baby out of wedlock while in the army (Zernike 2005, 1). The media reiterated these points after the scandal broke regarding Abu Ghraib prison (Zernike 2005, 1). England held an administrative role at Abu Ghraib and was dating one of the male prison guards, Corporal Charles Graner (Zernike 2005, 1). The scandal broke when pictures were revealed of England posing with male, Iraqi

prisoners in degrading poses (Rich 2004, 1). The pictures of a young, American woman, enjoying the degradation of male prisoners was extremely shocking to the American public (Rich 2004, 1).

Lyndie England went against the biological myths of essentialised femininity and the informal role of 'beautiful soul,' in which women were seen as peaceful and more considerate of others than men (Sjoberg 2010, 212). The men involved in the scandal were "instantaneously dismissed as a few rotten apples, with no indictment at all of the culture that produced them" (Rajiva 2007, 220). For the women, however, including England and two others, Megan Ambuhl and Sabrina Harman (who did not receive as much attention because they were not the main focus of many of the pictures, as England was) there was much discussion on how these women could have turned villainous (Rajiva 2007, 218). Enloe argues that the lack of interest in the male soldiers is as telling to the state of gender bias as the intense scrutiny of the female soldiers. She states, "women in presumable masculinised places, such as a military prison in a war zone, make a better 'story'" (Enloe 2007, 99).

The women were portrayed in the media as the victims of the patriarchal society of the military. Critics of women in the military used their participation in the scandal as an argument that women should not be close to the front lines of war. They argued that women could not handle full integration because men and women play off one another and create sexual tension. As Republican Peggy Noonan argued after the scandal:

Can anyone imagine a WAC of 1945 or a WAVE of 1965 acting in this manner? I cannot. Because WACs and WAVEs were not only members of the American Armed Forces, which responsibility brought its own demands in terms of dignity and bearing; they were women. They apparently did not think they had to prove they were men, or men at their worst. (Rajiva 2007, 218)

Noonan's argument is twofold. On one hand, she is saying that men make women do bad things, while also implying that women in today's military feel like they have to act

like men in order to fit in. The first half of this statement is problematic and the second half true in some instances. It is the feminine gender role of ‘victim’ that leads many to believe women are not responsible for their own autonomy. Chapter Five discusses the argument that women feel that they have to behave like men in the military.⁷¹

It was argued by England’s defence lawyer that England was the victim of a vicious man (Levy 2005, 3). Her defence argument was that Graner had told her to pose in the photographs and she was put in a position where she felt like she had to. In her trial, when the judge asked her why she had taken part in the degradation of the Iraqi prisoners, she stated, “ he [Charles Graner] asked me to...I refused at first... They were being very persistent, bugging me, so I said okay, whatever...I was yielding to peer pressure” (Levy 2005, 3). Although on a much lesser scale, one of the enlisted Army women interviewed supported this argument in that she has felt pressured to fit in with the male soldiers in her unit. She said, “I felt pressure to act a certain way sometimes and I gave in. My mom would wash my mouth out with soap if she heard the way I talked over there [Afghanistan]” (Regina, November 2012). The actions she took were her own choices but she acted with ‘bounded agency’ in that her actions were constrained by the norms of those around her. England’s defence that men made her behave in the way she did, along with many conservative commentators’ argument that England’s actions were the product of influence from men at war, shows just how deeply ingrained the characterisations of gender roles are in American society.

In American society, only men are seen as capable of violent behaviour. The shock of the Abu Ghraib scandal was only partially regarding the inhumane treatment of Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers; the main outrage by the media seemed to be that the persecutors were women. As Cynthia Enloe argues, the American public was shocked because “women were not—according to the conventional presumption—supposed to be the wielders of violence and certainly not torture” (Enloe 2007, 100). Conservatives such as Rush Limbaugh were quick to blame England’s actions not only on a bad man but also on culture. He argued, “I mean, I don’t know if it’s just me, but it looks like

⁷¹ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 133.

anything you'd see Madonna or Britney Spears do onstage" (Rajiva 2007, 217). England herself argued that the environment she was in did nothing to discourage degrading the prisoners. She stated, "when we first got there, we were like, what's going on? Then you see staff sergeants walking around not saying anything [about the abuse] you think, OK, obviously it's normal" (Rozen 2012, 1). In both instances, they were taking away women's autonomy, as it was believed that women could not behave in such a manner on their own. England's actions were therefore contradictory to the established informal feminine gender role of 'beautiful soul.'

(iii) Pat Tillman

Pat Tillman was a professional football player who gave up his \$1.2 million yearly contract with the Arizona Cardinals in order to join the Army as an enlisted Ranger. His brother, a professional minor league baseball player joined him in enlisting after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. His friends and family described him as someone who was a "blend of machismo and humility, of ego and selflessness" (Freeman 2002, 1). His decision to join the Army had "a lot of people - both in and out of the sports world - calling him a hero while simultaneously questioning his sanity" (Freeman 2002, 1). Tillman was dubbed a hero before he had even left for the war. Tillman's high school coach said, "he was feeling everyone was making a big deal of it and he had not seen a lot of action" (Pennington 2004, 3). The Secretary of Defence at the time, Donald Rumsfeld had acknowledged how special and selfless Tillman was for joining the military when his country needed him (False Tales of Heroism 2008, 1).

It was reiterated in the media, but not perpetuated by Tillman or his family, how selfless, courageous, and tough Tillman was in everyday life. Friends described him as someone that was always up for a challenge and wanted to accomplish things others could not (Freeman 2002, 2). His coach said he was not surprised when Tillman made the decision to enlist because "the essence of the man was to help somewhere else if he felt he was needed to help" (Pennington 2004, 2). Tillman perfectly embodied the characteristics of 'just warrior' the Bush administration was looking to portray. He was selfless, strong and courageous (Freeman 2002, 2).

The military and media showed just how dependent they were on Tillman's image to boost public opinion and morale for the war in Iraq and Afghanistan by the way Tillman's death was handled (What Happened to Pat Tillman, 2009: 1). Tillman was killed in 2004 while serving in Afghanistan with his brother. His unit was attacked and separated while on patrol. Tillman led part of his group back to help those in a broken down vehicle. In the confusion and ensuing gunfire, another American soldier accidentally killed Tillman. From 2001 to 2011, around 50 U.S. troops were killed in Iraq and Afghanistan from 'friendly fire'⁷² (Huddleston 2011, 1). However, Tillman's case was the most publicised and the fact that he was killed by 'friendly fire' was hidden from the public and his family initially. Members of his unit were told to lie to his brother about how exactly Tillman had died (Leary 2004, 1-2).

Tillman was portrayed by the military and the media as a hero who had died for the American cause. Details on his death were vague and delayed (What Happened to Pat Tillman 2009, 1). Instead, the media reiterated all of his selfless and brave qualities and how he had done his part for serving in the war. Through pressure from Tillman's family, however, the true details of Tillman's death emerged (Luo 2007, 2). His mother and brother were upset that Tillman's story had been used to garner support for the war by lying about the circumstances of his death. His brother testified that, "a terrible tragedy that might have further undermined support for the war in Iraq was transformed into an inspirational message that served instead to support the nation's foreign policy wars in Iraq and Afghanistan" (Luo 2007, 2). They testified in front of Congress to try to find those responsible for covering up his cause of death. Seven investigations were conducted and several military officers, including one, three-star general were punished for their roles in the cover up of Tillman's story (Luo 2007, 2).

Pat Tillman's case exemplified the 'just warrior', masculine role political and military leaders looked to portray. Tillman gave up a lucrative sports career and left his new wife to go overseas to serve in the war. Tillman's story aligns with formal core values

⁷² Friendly fire is when a soldier is accidentally fired upon by soldiers from their own country or an allied country.

of the military services, which will be discussed further in the following chapter,⁷³ because he put service to the military and his country before his own desires. The majority of the female soldiers interviewed in this study described what they believed was both formally and informally the military's ideal soldier as selfless, just as Tillman was described in the media. One female soldier, Ronda said, "I think the military would even put selflessness above strength. You have to be at least a little bit selfless to put yourself through some of this anyway - especially if you know what you're getting yourself into" (Ronda, October 2012). The military covered up the real cause of Pat Tillman's death because they felt it was bad publicity for the war and the military (Luo 2007, 2).

(iv) Chris Carter

Captain Chris Carter was another Silver Star recipient whose story and positive masculine characteristics were overemphasised in the media. He earned his Silver Star⁷⁴ by rescuing an elderly Iraqi woman from a bridge that was caught in the middle of an exchange of gunfire between insurgents and U.S. military personnel in Baghdad (Legon 2003, 1). Carter's story was heroic but the fact that he rescued an elderly, helpless woman was given the most attention. Focus was also then placed on Carter's own personality and characteristics. It was not enough that he had risked his own life to save a female civilian, there were also news reports on his compassion, sense of humour, and love for country music. A quote from the Senator from Carter's home state of Georgia perfectly illustrates how Americans picture the ideal military man, or 'just warrior'. Senator Chambliss said, "he loves his family, his country, not to mention Hank Williams Jr., too. Now that's my kind of all American hero" (Legon 2003, 1). Carter quickly gained semi-celebrity status and many news stories were written on him. Other successes of the war in Iraq were also directly linked to him and his unit (Sjoberg 2010, 213). Stories about Carter "were characterisations of what today's U.S. soldier should be - still virile, strong, and self-sacrificing but also closely connected to the (women) civilians who remain the *casus belli* for men's wars" (Sjoberg 2010, 213). These aspects

⁷³ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 139 for further discussion on the core values of the military.

⁷⁴ A Silver Star is the third-highest military decoration for valor.

of Carter were portrayed repeatedly in the media. They supported the informal male gender role of 'just warrior' in which the soldier was both courageous and compassionate to civilian women.

(v) Andre Shepherd

Andre Shepherd's narrative sits in opposition to that of Pat Tillman and Chris Carter's stories. Andre was an Army specialist, working on repairing apache helicopters in the Iraq War. After one, six-month deployment in Iraq, while based out of Southern Germany, he decided that he did not agree with the U.S. war in Iraq and filed for asylum with the German government (Meyer & Kaiser 2008, 1). Shepherd's argument for leaving the military was that he believed he would be "fighting for the rights of people," but after his time serving in Iraq, he believed the U.S. military's involvement in Iraq was doing more harm than good (Shepherd 2009, 5). When news of Shepherd's case for asylum in Germany reached U.S. soldiers, other military members quickly admonished him. One military website quotes, "some advocated revoking his American citizenship. Others said he should be put to death, or, at the very least, endure years of hard labour in a military prison. Words such as 'bad apple' and 'coward' were invoked" (Dougherty 2011, 1). Many U.S. soldiers saw Shepherd as a traitor (Dougherty 2011, 1).

Military leadership made few comments on Shepherd's case. The DoD and the media often play down cases of military deserters such as Shepherd. According to military statistics, "between 2001 and 2006 at least 8,000 members of the military had deserted" (Dougherty 2011, 1). Although the number of soldiers deserting has been increasing since the start of the Iraq war, "Pentagon figures earlier this year showed that the military does little to find those who bolt, and rarely prosecutes the ones they find. Some are allowed to simply return to their units, while most are given less-than-honourable discharges" (Army Deserters up 80 Percent 2007, 1). While the cases of Tillman and Carter were played up in the media to garner support for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, in comparison, the case of Andre Shepherd was given only a passing

notice and covered mainly by the German media. Many in the institution instead dismissed him as a coward and a traitor.

The examples discussed above of male and females' militarised gender roles illustrate how gender roles are constructed and perpetuated through the media in American society. War hero, and in England's and Shepherd's cases villainous, stories like these construct and reproduce expectations of masculinity and femininity in the American military. They teach what the norms of the military are and what is honoured or abhorred. Laura Sjoberg argues that war stories such as these "form the basis for the United States' (military) identity, both as it prosecutes an uncertain battle and as it ventures into the 21st century" (Sjoberg 2010, 217). The story of Jessica Lynch reinforced the traditional and informal role of 'beautiful soul' by showing a brave, feminine girl who needed to be rescued by male soldiers while the case of Lyndie England showed exactly the opposite of Lynch's idealised femininity, while simultaneously trying to portray her as a victim of men's wars. The cases of Pat Tillman and Chris Carter constructed idealised characterisations of the modern 'just warrior,' as all-in-one courageous, selfless, and compassionate men. Andre Shepherd's case, on the other hand, showed the opposite of 'just warrior' in that he was formally labeled a coward for wanting to leave the military and the war before his enlistment period was completed. These narratives promoted specific military gender roles.

Conclusion

The different aspects discussed in this chapter contextualise the link between American society and the military as well as their prescribed gender roles. In the first section, it was shown that the U.S. is a militarised society and places significance and honour on military service. There has traditionally, and continues to be, a link between masculinity and war fighting, and this link, along with the honour of military service, places women at a disadvantaged position to men in U.S. society if women are not allowed to be full participants in the U.S. Armed Forces. The idealised gender roles of 'beautiful souls' and 'just warriors' in U.S. society and their relation to the military were also discussed and showed the expectations for masculinity and femininity. These expectations are

especially evident in the U.S. military institution and masculinity with its traditional link to war fighting is especially privileged over femininity, this is evidenced further in the first section of the following chapter.

This chapter explored the connections between the militarism of U.S. society and the gender regime of the U.S. Armed Forces in order to explain how society plays an important role in shaping the culture of its institutions. In placing the military in the context of the society it serves, it provides a necessary context for the culture that feeds into the institution. The military and the militarised aspect of society are tied in an interdependent relationship. The military continues to flourish and service members enjoy a special status because society itself is militarised. As was discussed in Chapter One, this can be dangerous because it idealises the 'traditional' values the military upholds and can impede advancement for women in the military institution.

The examples of media stories from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan show how specific gender roles are portrayed in U.S. society. These roles are perpetuated through stories in the media. They provide society driven 'ideal' examples of femininity and masculinity. In the cases discussed in this chapter, the media and the military both played a significant role in how the men and women were portrayed. The ideal feminine characteristics of Jessica Lynch not only showed what feminine attributes are desired in U.S. society but also gave an example of how society believes women should act. While Lyndie England was a prime example of what society believes happens to women when they are influenced by men, especially men at war. While on the other hand, Pat Tillman and Chris Carter were held up as ideal male warriors of a just democracy, there to protect the weak, but Andre Shepherd was set as a coward for wanting to leave the military before his time was served.

From a gendered perspective, militarism is closely tied to masculinity however, women are now militarised as combatants, contrary to their traditional roles as 'beautiful souls.' The question then is does women's mobilisation change the gender regime of the U.S. military? This thesis argues that it does not completely change the overall masculine-

oriented culture of the military because U.S. society follows traditional ideas of the dichotomous roles of masculinity and femininity, as is demonstrated in the following chapter by the information collected from the female soldiers. However, the dichotomous gender characteristics and the formal policies and informal norms fall along the femininity and masculinity spectrums, often depending on the branch of service and career field, which is discussed further in the following chapter. The following chapter also discusses the issue of institutional change in the U.S. military. It first provides examples of female soldiers' experiences in the military institution and analyses their experience in order to show the current gender power structure of the U.S. military. It then covers ways in which the institution has changed and in what direction it is heading. It analyses how and why these changes have occurred by looking at the institutional actors involved in influencing the institution. It also discusses theories of institutional change as they apply to the U.S. Armed Forces.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the informal norms of the U.S. military and discusses the evolving gender power structure of the institution. In order to explain and understand the institutional change that has occurred, the current gender power structure must be explicated. To accomplish this, this chapter builds off of the discussion in Chapter Four of the development of gender roles and it provides specific experiences and examples of the gendered nature of military culture. It analyses information from interviews and surveys conducted with military women to explain the tension between masculinity and femininity in the military due to the gender roles of the institution and to show ways in which some women have tried to change or adapt to the culture. It also analyses data collected from interviews conducted with military women by other authors, literature on the subject, and media reports.

This chapter then enacts the theoretical framework of Mahoney and Thelen's theory of gradual change laid out in Chapter Two in order to analyse the evolution that has occurred in the U.S. military. Public organisations, such as the military with a strict hierarchical structure and rigid policies based on law have "the effect of rendering the organisational structures more impervious to change, and limiting ability to change without legal action" (Ingraham et al. 2008, 68). This idea is discussed in the following chapter. However, change is not unobtainable as institutions "are historically variable in their composition and effects, and are theoretically open to change" (Krook and McKay 2011, 3). Therefore, this chapter employs the theories based on new institutionalism studies, as discussed in Chapter Two⁷⁵ and provides examples of how the theories relate to changes that have occurred and could affect the future gender power structure of the U.S. military.

⁷⁵ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 36 for theoretical framework.

The previous chapter showed there is a continuing link between masculinity and war fighting. However, this chapter argues that the link has been somewhat weakened by changes in U.S. strategic culture. Section 5.2 considers the changes in U.S. strategic warfare, specifically the role technological advancements had in changing the strategic culture of the U.S. military and how this affects the link between war fighting and masculinity. Technological advancements are an important factor to consider when assessing change in the culture of the military institution because strategic cultural changes affect the priorities of the military leadership and the type of soldiers that are needed. For example, technological advancements have put a stronger emphasis for the need of soldiers that are technically competent, while physical strength has become less important. This affects the link between masculinity and war fighting because masculinity has been tied to physical strength. Less emphasis on this requirement for a soldier places women at less of a disadvantage due to their size.

This chapter also considers the effects of the U.S.'s implementation of counterinsurgency operations and peacekeeping in Iraq and Afghanistan. Counterinsurgency operations have also changed the culture of strategic warfare in the U.S. and has influenced the role of the military to become more than an institution for war, but one that also must implement peace keeping and post-war reconstruction activities and policies. Both of these aspects do not only change the strategic culture of warfare for the U.S., but they also weaken the link between masculinity and war fighting. This chapter argues that these factors have slowly changed the gender power structure and opened greater opportunities for women in the military, as is evidenced by the lifting of the DoD Ground Combat Rule.⁷⁶

The interpretations and implementations of the policies for women in the U.S. military also allowed for positive changes in the area of women's participation in combat. The main aspect of this was the lax implementation of women's ban from combat, before the lifting of the ban in 2013. Military commanders found a loophole that allowed for women to be attached to combat units instead of assigned to them full-time, which was

⁷⁶ Please refer to Chapter Three, page 93 for further information on the lifting of the DoD Ground Combat Rule.

against the DoD Ground Combat Rule set to keep women off of the front lines. The practice of attaching women to combat units instead of assigning them was another critical juncture for women who wanted to participate in front-line combat roles. This is also one area where the space, or ‘soft spots’ between the formal rules and the informal norms were exploited to positively change the institution (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 13). Female soldiers worked as ‘opportunists’ in the gaps and took the opportunity to help bring about change. Before analysing changes that have occurred, the following section discusses the informal gender norms of the U.S. military.

5.1 Informal Norms: Construction and Maintenance

In the U.S. military gender roles are closely constrained. This is clear from how long the ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ policy stood for gay and lesbian service members. It is also much easier for the military to control gender roles once members have joined the armed forces. The military profession requires a great deal of conformity and required formal training emphasises the formal policies of the military, while also introducing new recruits to the informal norms of the institution. The importance of conformity crosses over into how gender roles are constructed and maintained in the institution. The construction, or as Lynne Zucker’s theory of ‘cultural persistence’ refers to it, transmission of the informal norms of the gender roles as well as the maintenance of them are discussed in this section. However, Zucker’s construct of ‘cultural persistence’ is discussed further in Chapter Six.⁷⁷

(i) Masculine Culture

In order to understand the current gender roles of the military institution, it is important to consider the history of the military profession and its linkages with masculinity because this is where military norms originate, as discussed in Chapter One in relation to historical institutionalism. The practice of war is tied to masculinity, as was discussed in the previous chapter. A combat masculine-warrior culture is firmly implanted in the structure of the military and is instilled in its members from the beginning of their basic training (Herbert 1998, 7). Susan Burke argues that, “one of the points of male initiation

⁷⁷ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 173 for further information on Zucker’s idea of ‘cultural persistence.’

in warrior cultures is to rid the adolescent of all traces of the female. To the extent that the military brass have permitted training to operate as a male rite of passage, they have furthered a culture hostile to women” (Burke 1999, 60). Masculinising the soldier culture “depends on the denigration of anything that could be considered feminine” (Tickner 2001, 57). The culture makes it clear that masculinity is preferred over femininity.

For this research, 64 military women were interviewed and surveyed in order to understand the military culture from their perspective.⁷⁸ Out of the 64 respondents, only one, an Air Force officer, thought the military was not masculine-oriented. The rest of the women interviewed, from all branches of service, said that the overall military culture was strongly linked to masculinity. Several women described the culture as a “good ol boy’s club” (Natalie, October 2012) where there are “mostly men and the women strive to be known” (Liz, October 2012). One woman, an enlisted Marine, described it as “a he-man woman hater gun club” and that, “all of the issues society deals with regarding misogyny are magnified many times over, because it is such a smaller microcosm” (Lisa, October 2012). The informal culture also varies on the amount of emphasis placed on masculinity in different branches and jobs.

The female respondents all agreed that these aspects were exacerbated in jobs closer to combat or in certain branches, specifically the Marine Corps and the Army. Ann, an enlisted Army soldier working in vehicle maintenance pointed out that the degree of masculinity in the culture “depends on the branch. Marines are all macho and were the last to accept females as capable. Infantry units tend to be that way too. The support units which have females in them are more accepting” (Ann, October 2012). An enlisted female Marine agreed that having fewer women in a group makes it less accepting and affects the culture. She said that, “the Marine Corps, especially, is terrible about this sort of thing [emphasis on masculinity] because they are only six percent female” (Lisa, October 2012).

⁷⁸ All names of interviewees have been changed in order to protect their identities.

Ann also made the point that the Army and Marine Corps were known to be less accepting of women, she believed, because of the prevalence of combat jobs in those branches and that their link to masculinity affects the type of soldiers who want to join the combat career fields. She said, “the guys who join those units [combat] in the Army and Marine Corp already think they’re the most macho” (Ann, October 2012). Three of the Air Force women interviewed said that their experience with misogyny and discrimination depended on the branch they were working with. One Air Force officer commented that, “in the Air Force, things were equal, but when I worked with other branches, (specifically [the] Army) things were majorly skewed to the men” (Trisha, October 2012). The female soldiers interviewed singled out the Army and Marine Corps as having a more masculine-oriented culture than the Air Force and Navy due to the masculinised nature of the combat jobs in those services. Also, they had fewer women because many of the jobs that were closed to women were found in the Army and the Marine Corps.⁷⁹

In many instances, career fields are ranked on importance based on how masculine they are. For example, career fields that are closer to combat are often considered the most important and most masculine (Hinojosa 2010, 1). In a study conducted to find ideas of hegemonic masculinities from new recruits in the military, it was found that one way new recruits compared themselves against others was by how close their career field was to combat. As one enlistee stated, “the infantry is the military” (Hinojosa 2010, 7). It was found that those entering the infantry looked down on other career fields because they felt they were not truly fighting the war but were only there for support. Another recruit stated, “I just can’t do it. If I go to Iraq, I want to be saying, I fought, not sat behind a desk” (Hinojosa 2010, 7). Each recruit had their reasons as to why their chosen career field was the best, but proximity to combat and mission was found to be one determining factor in their choices.

Inter - service rivalry between the different career fields and branches, as discussed above, are not uncommon. The decision to open more career fields to women in the

⁷⁹ Please refer to Chapter One, page 9 for graph.

military was based on their proximity to combat. Therefore, it has become the norm in the military to assume that career fields opened to women are further from combat, safer, and therefore less masculine (Manning, April 2012). For example, women were first allowed in aviation through electronics and not fighter planes, and male pilots derided electronics pilots for being less masculine because women were allowed in the career field (Manning, April 2012). Career fields develop their own in-groups and women and men outside of the career field, or in one that is considered less-masculine are often cast as 'others' (Manning, April 2012).

One example of this 'others' mentality turning dangerous was the Tailhook scandal in 1991. As Manning states, "a lot of the tailhook stuff, particularly vis-a-vis the woman pilots that were mistreated as opposed to the civilian women had to do with, oh, you're one of those electronic wusses, not a real jock. Even though you're a tailhooker, you're not a fight jock" (Manning, April 2012). The Tailhook scandal began as a convention of U.S. Navy pilots gathered in Las Vegas. While they were there, it was reported that around 83 women attending the event were sexually harassed and assaulted by male Navy members (Rich 1994, 1). Male fighter pilots created a gauntlet in a hotel hallway. They tore at women's clothes and molested others as the women were forced to walk down the hallway (Rich 1994, 1). The investigation of the event by a male admiral did not find any fault of the men who attended the conference (Enloe 1994, 92). After a high-ranking, civilian woman official heard the same admiral make a sexist comment regarding the scandal she insisted the incident was investigated again. This investigation found that 14 admirals and over 300 naval aviators either carried out sexual harassment or assault or did not intervene to stop others from committing assault (Enloe 1994, 92-93).

In this case, the senior military leaders in charge of investigating these allegations had been involved in the scandal from the beginning. The admiral in question believed that women did not belong in the military and had not discouraged any of the harassing behaviour he had witnessed at the conference (Rich 1994, 1). The actions of many of

the men at the conference were derived from a group mentality that belittled the ‘other’ and the feminine (Rich 1994, 1).

(ii) Gender Identity: The Prevailing Gender Regime of Militarised Masculinity

Due to the link between the overall culture of the military and masculinity, many of the women interviewed felt they had to act more masculine and downplay their femininity in order to fit in and be accepted as one of the group. An enlisted Army soldier said that she had to “do and say certain things to put the guys at ease around me. Trust is hard won, and it takes time in the field to actually prove yourself. No amount of paper proof, reputation or talk will get a female any respect because it is assumed that we are held to lower standards” (Rachel, October 2012). The military puts a positive emphasis on conforming to the group. Jane, an enlisted Army soldier, explained that, “those who prove themselves, but also do not rock the boat, are favoured” (Jane, October 2012). An enlisted Army linguist said that those who do not conform “or immerse themselves in the culture, cause problems for the rest of us” (Erin, October 2012). Eighty-nine percent of the respondents said that conforming to the masculine culture was the best approach in order to be accepted. This supports the argument made by some feminists that women’s involvement in the military does little to change the gendered culture.⁸⁰

Ten percent of the female respondents said that they conformed to the masculine aspects of the group because they believe that the culture of the military should be masculine-oriented, while others conformed because they felt they had to in order to fit in with their male counterparts. An Army officer, in the Transportation Corps argued:

The military is and should be accepted as a male culture and industry. Females who serve must, and generally do, I believe, accept and realise they are in this environment. (Mary, October 2012)

⁸⁰ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for feminist arguments.

The majority of the women interviewed accepted the masculine culture and conformed. As one enlisted Army soldier who had worked as both a mechanic and in the intelligence career field explained that, in her experience, the military:

Rewards and encourages coldness, unemotional states, and aggression. In American culture this is more masculine, so I can see how it could be seen as male driven. If women can embrace their inner warrior they fit in ok. You cannot be cutesy or girly and be taken seriously as a fighter. (Tonya, October 2012)

Another enlisted Army soldier thought that gender roles from society were too restrictive and was proud that women are able to fill traditionally masculine roles in the military. She said, “there are plenty of women who are able to conform to these masculine ways that our military acts like. We are able to function in the same regards as the men have, regardless of the fact that we are women” (Kate, October 2012). This example fits with the equal-rights based feminist argument that women can function the same as men.⁸¹ These three Army women shed American society’s construction of femininity and were proud that they could be accepted into the masculine culture of the military.

Not all of the women interviewed felt this way. Kerry, an enlisted Army soldier, tried to adapt to the masculine culture but felt that she was never truly accepted. She said, “men ‘accepted’ me because I was a girl. Their fake kindness and manipulation and violence toward a fellow soldier and woman was never meant to do anything but hurt me. I was never accepted” (Kerry, October 2012). This female soldier consistently felt like an outsider. Erin, an enlisted Army soldier, and another enlisted sailor, said that they were often given the jobs no one else in the unit wanted to do and were out of the realm of their job duties that related to office work and making coffee (Erin, October 2012; Jessica, October 2012). They had tried to conform to the group by playing down their femininity and acting like one of the guys but were always treated differently despite

⁸¹ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for further information on feminist arguments.

their attempts to 'fit in', and were therefore still cast as 'others' despite their membership in the group.

Fifty-six percent of the women interviewed believed that the best way to change stereotypical perceptions of female soldiers and advance women's involvement in the military was to do the best job they could and that it was their individual responsibility to prove themselves. An Army officer said, "if you spoke out too much you were ostracised and marginalised. The best you could do was demonstrate that you were equal to the men and let your actions speak for themselves. You had to choose your fights" (Sharon, October 2012). One female member said that she fought the negative stereotypes of women in the military by "never letting a co-worker do my work for me. I proved I was able to do my job and earned the respect of the men" (Linda, October 2012). One soldier said she "learned the phrase 'success is the best revenge' years ago and I went out to make sure that happened. Everyone who said I'd never make it because I was a woman, weak, stupid or too sensitive, well I certainly proved them wrong" (Elizabeth, October 2012). One woman said that an important aspect of this was to try to counteract the female stereotypes. She said that, "nothing builds resentment like some female getting over because she's a 'poor helpless girl.' It makes things harder for the rest of us." That's why "I insisted that females in the unit got treated like everybody else" (Marie, October 2012).

Fifteen percent of the women also pointed out the importance of sticking up for themselves, in an attempt to change discriminatory practices and to teach those using discriminatory behaviour that it was not acceptable. An Army Colonel said that, "higher levels [of sexual innuendo] were verbally challenged to their face. I typically didn't have the face-to-face problems. My demeanor was usually enough" (Emma, October 2012). An Army member agreed that sometimes face-to-face confrontation was the best avenue to get results. She said that, "now and then some [male soldiers] crossed a line so when that happened, I told them. I did not report them or go to someone else, but actually let them know in a dignified and respectable way how I felt to their face. Most men respected that and respected me even more" (Monica, October 2012).

This approach worked for some female soldiers but not others, often depending on their rank. The above respondents were officers, so they were higher ranking in the hierarchical chain than enlisted members. As an enlisted female seaman stated:

I have to just keep my head down. You can create problems for yourself if you talk back to the wrong person. Maybe as I move up through the ranks, I'll be able to have a backbone. (Trina, October 2012)

Trina brought up a good point regarding the problems of power, rank and gender. This will be discussed further in the section.⁸²

Two of the women interviewed took the approach of 'weapons of the weak,' in which disadvantaged actors acted out in small ways to fight female stereotypes and discrimination (Scott 1985, 3). One female soldier admitted to bringing food in to work in order to "break down barriers" (Ellen, October 2012). An enlisted Army woman shared one story of how she countered discrimination. She said:

A funny story is when I was told that I, as the only female in my classroom [while attending language school], had to make the coffee for everyone else. So I made the weakest pot of coffee possible, you could see through it, and happily played dumb when everyone complained. I never had to make coffee again. (Michelle, October 2012)

Other women were less concerned about discrimination, or changing perceptions about women in the military, but were focused on how they could cope with the experience. One Army woman said, "I was too afraid to speak unless I was spoken to. If I asked about anything to take care of myself, or any kind of question about anything, I was most often reprimanded. I adapted by literally forgetting what was done to me in order to function" (Krista, October 2012). Others described the need to become desensitised

⁸² Please refer to page 137 for further information power, rank and gender.

to discrimination and said that it was important to “grow a slightly thicker skin” (Rina, October 2012). A female enlisted Marine described how she believed it was important to ignore the discriminatory stereotypes in order to cope. She said:

I let it roll off my back. You're always going to hear that you slept your way to your rank. You're always going to hear that you're a slut if you go out and party (even though the men are never ever sluts). You're going to get called a whore if you sleep with other guys, and a dyke if you turn guys down. You get 'special treatment' or 'favours' or 'extra stuff.' You just have to let it roll off your back and ignore the haters. (Danielle, October 2012)

Another female soldier said that she became “desensitised and started acting like a man...you have to shrug off things that would be offensive [normally]” (Crystal, October 2012).

Three of the women interviewed brought up issues of the tension between women trying to conform to the masculine culture and those that exude hyper femininity. Susan, an Army Lt. Col., raised the issue that, “the sub culture for women competes against itself with drive for hyper femininity encouraged” (Susan, October 2012). There are those that do not feel they need to conform to masculine ways and they can keep their femininity intact while still being good at their jobs. This is easier for women that are in support fields, or jobs further away from combat. One Air Force officer pointed out that she does not feel tension between femininity and masculinity because she is, “in the Air Force. They are great with women in military intelligence fields” (Trisha, October 2012). Another female Air Force member added, “it is different in other career fields. The Army and the Marine Corps are the most masculine branches, we’re more of a good mix in the Air Force because we’re not so focused on ground combat - we don’t have any of those infantry guys” (Linda, October 2012) According to women interviewed, there is less tension between masculinity and femininity in the Air Force because many of the jobs are not close to the front lines and therefore the culture is not as hyper-masculine as the Army and Marine Corps.

The examples discussed above show that many female soldiers face discrimination based on gender regularly and in varying forms. Formally, women are fully participating members of the U.S. Armed Forces and are legally protected from sexual harassment and discrimination, as is discussed in the following section. However, informally, they are placed as ‘others’ in the institution because of their gender. Therefore, they are placed at a disadvantage and are often expected to do tasks, such as make coffee, that male soldiers are not expected to perform. All of the women interviewed in this section looked to bring about change from the inside of the institution. Some preferred to confront the problem, while others felt that their lower status due to rank stood in the way of them defending themselves. Still, other women employed ‘weapons of the weak’ tactics to counter discrimination in discreet ways. All of the women interviewed in this section were enacting agency and working as ‘opportunist’ actors by attempting to convert informal stereotypes of women. Many of the stereotypes and informal norms discussed above were institutionalised during training. The institutionalisation process is discussed further in Chapter Six but the following section provides a background on training practices for military members.

(iii) Training

Building up the masculine identity helps the institution gain recruits and “maintains self-esteem in institutions where subservience is the norm” such as in the enlisted ranks of the military (Tickner 2001, 58). Tickner argues that misogynist training is instituted by militaries in order to teach men to fight (Tickner 2001, 57). As is discussed in Chapter Six, training is used to institutionalise the norms of the institution.⁸³ This training first begins at boot camp.⁸⁴ This is a nine-week training course which all military members have to complete, although individuals are segregated between officers and enlisted groups. It is interesting to note that the Marine Corps is the only service that has a gender-segregated boot camp and, according to the interviews

⁸³ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 173.

⁸⁴ Boot camp is an introductory course that tests physical ability and introduces new recruits to the hierarchical system of the armed forces (Martin, 2006: 1).

conducted with female members, this reflects the view that it is the most masculine-centric branch of the U.S. Armed Forces.

Boot camp training is the time for the military to break down the individual and create a soldier that will conform to the group and follow orders. This is where the military “transforms recruits from jocks and nerds, boys from the hood and women from the suburbs, into knockoffs of the same model soldier by stripping them of their clothes, shaving off their hair, forbidding them their accustomed freedoms, and calling them into the second nature of military discipline” (Burke 1999, 54). The process is different for officer and enlisted training and this is why they are segregated (Benedict 2009, 50). In officer boot camp, recruits are taught about leadership and critical thinking. They are rewarded when they show initiative to lead the group (Benedict 2009, 50). However, in enlisted training, they are punished for individual thinking and praised for going along with the group (Benedict 2009, 50).

In order to break down the individual and to build up the unit drill sergeants often denigrate recruits (Benedict 2009, 50). Although the military “now includes women, gays, and lesbians, and [there are] rules that now prohibit drill instructors from using racial epithets and curses, instructors still denigrate recruits with words like *pussy*, *girl*, *bitch*, *lady*, *dyke*, *faggot*, and *fairy*” (Benedict 2009, 50). The use of this language in training in a derogatory fashion situates women, gay men and lesbians as ‘others’ and therefore as a lower class in the institution. In a situation such as boot camp, where the goal is to build a solidified group, playing these groups as ‘others’ is dangerous and sets the tone of gender roles for the military. As one female Army enlisted soldier said regarding boot camp, “a single soldier is nothing. It’s all about the group” (Benedict 2009, 50). The group, however, is not all-inclusive and instilling in recruits that women and gays are not part of the group, and worse, less than the group, creates a discriminatory and divided culture. It also creates an environment where women, gay men and lesbians feel as though they have to conform to the mainstream military culture in order to not stick out and endure discrimination.

The use of misogynist language to indoctrinate recruits continues in the form of ‘cadence calls.’⁸⁵ Boot camp serves as training to harden soldiers to violence so that they are able to kill. As Helen Benedict states, “the bottom line is that boot camp is about training people to kill” (Benedict 2009, 49). In order to do this, soldiers are trained to be dispassionate to killing and death. Cadence calls are used as one avenue to achieve this and many of them also denigrate women. For example, below is one example of an Army cadence call set to the tune of *The Candy Man* that recruits march to and sing:

Who can take a chainsaw

Cut the bitch in two

Fuck the bottom half

And give the upper half to you (Benedict 2009, 51)

This is only one of many cadence calls that use this kind of language regarding women. A chant like the one above not only detaches soldiers from the horrors of killing but also can make them callous towards women in particular. Although ‘cadence calls’ with sexually explicit language, like the one above, are no longer formally allowed to be used by instructors, they are still used informally by some instructors and cadets. As one enlisted female soldier stated, “they’re not supposed to use that stuff anymore but depending on the drill instructor you get and some cadets do them on their own so I heard them a lot before” (Connie, November 2012). Although formal policy no longer allows ‘cadence calls’ with obviously discriminatory language, informally the explicit ‘cadence calls’ are still used. This is an example of an informal norm that has not changed with the formal policy and is therefore continuing to negatively affect the gender culture of the military institution. This is discussed further in the following chapter.

‘Boot camp’ is also trainees’ first introduction to the core values of the service they are joining. They are made to memorise the core values and repeat them throughout boot camp (Benedict 2009, 44). The core values established by the military attempt to bring all of the service members together under one umbrella for moral codes to live by with a

⁸⁵ Cadence calls are songs or chants that soldiers sing to keep rhythm when they march.

strong military identity. They are what each service believes their members should strive for. Military leadership lists the characteristics they believe are most important for soldiers to have. Each service has their own, but they are all very similar and follow the same line of thought, although they are worded differently. For example, each service has the core value that service to the country should come before the needs of the individual. The Air Force words this as, “service before self,” the Navy as, “commitment,” and the Army as, “selfless service,” which was displayed and glorified in Pat Tillman’s case (Benedict 2009, 45). The general themes of the core values for all services also include courage and honour. This is not surprising as these are traditional values of warriors. These core values are given to new recruits as the code they are expected to attempt to live by (Air Command and Staff College training manual 2012, 124).

Boot Camp is not the only place where indoctrination and transmission occurs. Military service academies also teach in the same manner and for the same purpose. The academies are focused on commissioning officers and, although conformity is still important, their goal is to produce service members that will be able to lead troops and make decisions. However, each academy has their own traditions, continued from when they were all-male institutions, which teach many of the same conformity tactics. For example, at the U.S. Naval Academy, incoming freshmen have to take on the role of ‘slave’ for the older students. This is much like the drill instructor/recruit relationship in boot camp. The recruit’s life is completely controlled by the older student and they are punished for not conforming (Fiore & Kelly 2003, 1).

For example one female cadet was academically disciplined and not allowed to graduate after she reported a case of sexual harassment to her chain of command at the Air Force Academy (Fiore & Kelly 2003, 1). The mother of the cadet said, “these boys just don't get it. They are being raised to have no respect for women, and the attitude is fostered by the male officers in charge.” (Fiore & Kelly 2003, 1). As in boot camp, women are often the brunt of jokes and cadence calls in the service academies. As one female Air Force Academy graduate stated, “there were a lot of jokes and chants the guys would do

that made fun of women in the military. They were basically calling military women ugly and weak but that is the way it is...you have to be able to handle the jokes if you want to be in the military” (Liz, October 2012). Another female Air Force officer, who attended the Air Force Academy provided an example of one of the discriminatory jokes she heard multiple times as a cadet. She said, “the joke was, why did the Army send so many women with PMS to the Persian Gulf? Because they fought like animals and retained water for 4 days” (Brenda, April 2012). Much like the cadence call stated above, the jokes and chants were tolerated because they are seen as tradition and part of the cultural norm.

Transmission and maintenance of the values, rules and norms of the institution does not stop with boot camp or officer commissioning, but continues throughout a service member’s career through career-field training and developmental education. Initiation into a specific career field is especially important because career fields often have culture and traditions of their own. Some career fields have their own entrance traditions. In the Navy for example, there is a tradition in which first-voyage sailors must perform humiliating tasks in order to be initiated as a sailor. One of the tasks is running with barely any clothing “through a gauntlet of wet towels and paddles” (Burke 1999, 55). Another is where an initiate must, “simulate oral sex by sucking on a section of rubber hose extending from the groin of King Neptune [a veteran sailor]” (Burke 1999, 55). If women choose not to participate in these kinds of ‘traditions’ they are not fully initiated into the group. However, it can be a humiliating experience for those who do choose to participate (Burke 1999, 55). Not all career field traditions such as these are harmful but many were created to show off masculinity and cross the line in an institution that now has women that should be seen as equals.

(iv) Family Roles

The base environment and military family also play a role in constructing and maintaining gender roles. Although the military has been affected by social changes, such as women playing a greater role in the workforce, “the military still lags behind the wider society in accepting new family patterns” (Segal 1999, 251). For example, it is

often expected on a base for the wife of an officer to be available to attend events when needed. It is normal for her to derive her social status from her husband's rank and be involved in volunteer groups on the base that reflect well on her husband. The higher ranking the officer is, the more duties his wife is expected to perform in the military community (Segal 1999, 251).

Although it is becoming more common for wives of military men to have careers, the tradition of the officer's wives club is slow in changing expectations for women. However, men married to female officers are not expected to perform the same role nor do they have the same kind of support structure (Segal 1999, 254). An enlisted Army soldier said, "there were plenty of wife groups for spouses but female soldiers with civilian husbands never fit into the picture. It is still geared as a man's world" (Emily, October 2012). The structure is set up for a working husband and stay-at-home wife. As a military spouse,⁸⁶ I experienced problems in which I was expected to attend ceremonies, such as change of commands,⁸⁷ during a weekday. When I did not attend, my husband was informally questioned by a higher-ranking officer about why I missed the event. My husband was also asked why I did not join the Officer's Wives Club on base. However, as Emily mentioned above, there are not the same expectations for male spouses, as the gender structure is geared toward men as the main breadwinner.

There is a double standard for married officers of different genders as well. For example, a married male officer is looked on as being stable, while a married female officer is often seen as lacking commitment to the institution and her husband is seen as an obstacle to her career (Segal 1999, 259). It is also difficult for military women that are expected to give more in the home while also being a part of the military, which is considered a 'greedy institution' (Segal 1999, 259). The military is classified as a greedy institution because it requires abnormal dedication to the institution. The military determines deployments and moves, and family issues are rarely considered in these aspects (Trina, October 2012). Trina, a Navy enlisted member stated,

⁸⁶ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 54 for explanation of my insider/outsider status.

⁸⁷ Change of Command is an official ceremony in which unit leadership is passed to a new commander.

“deployments are probably the hardest. It’s difficult to come home after a year and your kid grew six inches” (Trina, October 2012). Another female Air Force officer stated, “military life is not conducive to having a normal family” (Nancy, October 2012). There is a constant pull between dedication to the institution and dedication to the family (Nancy, October 2012).

Four of the women interviewed said that they had problems with discrimination when they were pregnant because the men in their group either thought that they had become pregnant on purpose to avoid a deployment, or that they would not be able to, physically or mentally, perform their job as well (Carly, October 2012). Pregnancy made the women feel as though they had to prove themselves more while they were pregnant and after they had their child. Their pregnancy was seen as a weakness and was a reminder to the men they worked with that they were different (Rita, October 2012) In interviews, there was a feeling that some of the men thought they should be at home raising their children instead of working in the military (Rita, October 2012; Carly, October 2012). The ideas discussed above show why the military culture often views women with a husband or family as less dedicated to the military institution than their male counterparts. These clear gender roles and expectations set a tone for military life in which men’s careers are most important and women are meant to be there as their support system. It is also difficult for some men to adapt to working with women in the military, when they expect women’s role to be in the home.

This section argued that the military profession was built on and established by strong masculine characteristics and, as such, it is not surprising that the norms and traditions established in the military are masculine-oriented and are designed to reinforce masculine characteristics and stereotypes. It showed how military training is constructed to initiate members into the culture of the armed forces and to teach them the formal rules of the institution. However, they are also then exposed to the informal norms and the framework of rules that govern their actions within the military. As is discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter Six, the informal norms are often contradictory to current formal policies; instead they are based on a masculinised

culture. The mass majority of the military women interviewed made the point that they felt the best way to fit in to the armed forces was to ‘become masculinised.’

Many of the women interviewed could not establish their own identity, but instead had to work to act like their male counterparts, so the men in their units would not feel uncomfortable. Women have not been in the armed forces long enough and in high enough numbers to completely move the culture away from its masculine roots on their own. Such norms, in an institution as established and large as the Department of Defence will not change quickly or easily. This challenge will be discussed further in Chapter Six. So far this chapter has discussed the gendered culture of the military institution. The first section focused on informal norms that make up the gender power structure of the U.S. military and what actions female soldiers have taken to be able to function in the institution or even change some of the existing gender stereotypes. The following section looks at changes that have occurred in the strategic culture of the military and how those changes affect female soldiers.

5.2 Evolution of U.S. Strategic Culture

(i) Revolution of Military Affairs

This section argues that advancements in technology have changed the culture of U.S. strategic warfare. It discusses how the advancements weakened the link between masculinity and war fighting in the U.S. military because it changed the characteristics required to be a soldier and has placed a greater significance on technological advancements above traditional warfare. In order for the U.S. military to be responsive to new missions, difficulties and capabilities, it had to considerably alter its approach to war. As discussed in chapter One,⁸⁸ there was a significant shift in U.S. strategic culture from the mass use of ground forces in World War II and the Vietnam War to a reliance on technological advancements and air power for a quick victory (Maddow 2012, 22). As Gray notes, “it is the preferred American way in war to proceed rapidly with overwhelming force against an enemy’s centre of gravity. This thoroughly

⁸⁸ Please refer to Chapter One, page 26 for further information on U.S. strategic culture.

continentalist approach finds a near perfect fit with the promise of victory through air power” (Gray 1996, 94).

The ‘victory through air power’ approach to war was used successfully in the Gulf War and the U.S. military continued to move in the same direction in the search of fast wars with little loss of life for the U.S. Luttwak refers to this as a search for ‘bloodless’ wars as post-industrial societies, such as the U.S., are less willing to accept casualties in war. He argues, “still less is there such a supply of expendable lives at present, when all other low-birth-rate, post-industrial societies refuse to sanction the casualties of any avoidable combat” (Luttwak 1995, 3-4). The U.S. has moved in this direction by developing what has been referred to as the next Revolution of Military Affairs (RMA), of robotic and precision-guided munitions technology that can conduct warfare from a distance including the use of drones or Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVS) and smart bombs (Singer 2009, 181). It was argued that the development of nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and network-centric warfare have all brought about several Revolutions of Military Affairs (RMA).

A RMA is a concept that looks to describe the role advancing technologies play in the evolution of war. This section employs the study of RMAs in order to understand the significance of technological advancements in the institutional change of the military. RMAs “typically involve the introduction of a new technology or organisation, which in turn creates a whole new model of fighting and winning wars” (Singer 2009, 181). It is a major shift in military strategy, “military doctrine, training, education, organisation, equipment, operations and tactics...” that changes the character of war (Gray 2002, 1). It has been argued that previous RMAs, after the Napoleonic Era of war, were built on developments in technology and brought about change with the “combination of fundamental economic, political and social forces” (Cooper 1994, 9). Past RMAs were aided by the development of the industrial revolution and “mass production technologies” (Cooper 1994, 9). The invention of the combustion engine and the use of aircraft in warfare brought about the third major RMA, while the invention and use of nuclear weapons were widely agreed upon as an important RMA, after their initial use

in 1945 (Cooper 1994, 9). In more recent history, however, it has been argued that a new RMA has emerged from the success of the Gulf War, one based on information technology and precision-guided munitions (Ignatieff 2000, 166; Libicki 1996, 1).

Vice Admiral Arthur K. Cebrowski argues that network technology, or “network-centric warfare” fundamentally changes the way the U.S. conducts war and therefore changed the strategic culture of the U.S. military. Network-centric warfare refers to the ability of the U.S. to virtually connect all aspects of their warfare systems (Cebrowski & Garstka 1998, 1). Michael Ignatieff argues that “this revolution in military affairs was not the result of a single technological breakthrough, but of many in combination,” which included “lasers to improve guidance and targeting” (Ignatieff 2000, 166). As Michael Sheehan describes, “future advances in military technology mean that military operations will be conducted with such speed, precision, and selective destruction that the whole character of war will change and this will profoundly affect the way that military/political affairs are conducted in the next few decades” (Sheehan 2008, 217). This was the new concept that the U.S. led with in the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The U.S. military found that the network-centric concept did not work as well in the ‘fog’ of the battlefield in that the advanced technology and computer systems they relied on to fight the war did not always work properly. The network-centric warfare “strove to shape military affairs into a perfectly modeled and controlled closed world” (Bousquet 2009, 125). The network-centric model of warfare did not work exactly as expected by leaders in the Pentagon, because in the field, the confusion of battle continued to be a problem. The next RMA of robotic or virtual warfare was developed from information technology with the purpose to lift the fog of the battlefield through the use of robotic technology for reconnaissance as well as warfare (Sheehan 2008, 217).

One of the prime examples of new robotic warfare technology that has had a revolutionary impact on the way the U.S. conducts war is the drone, also known as the Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV). According to General Allen Jamerson, the former

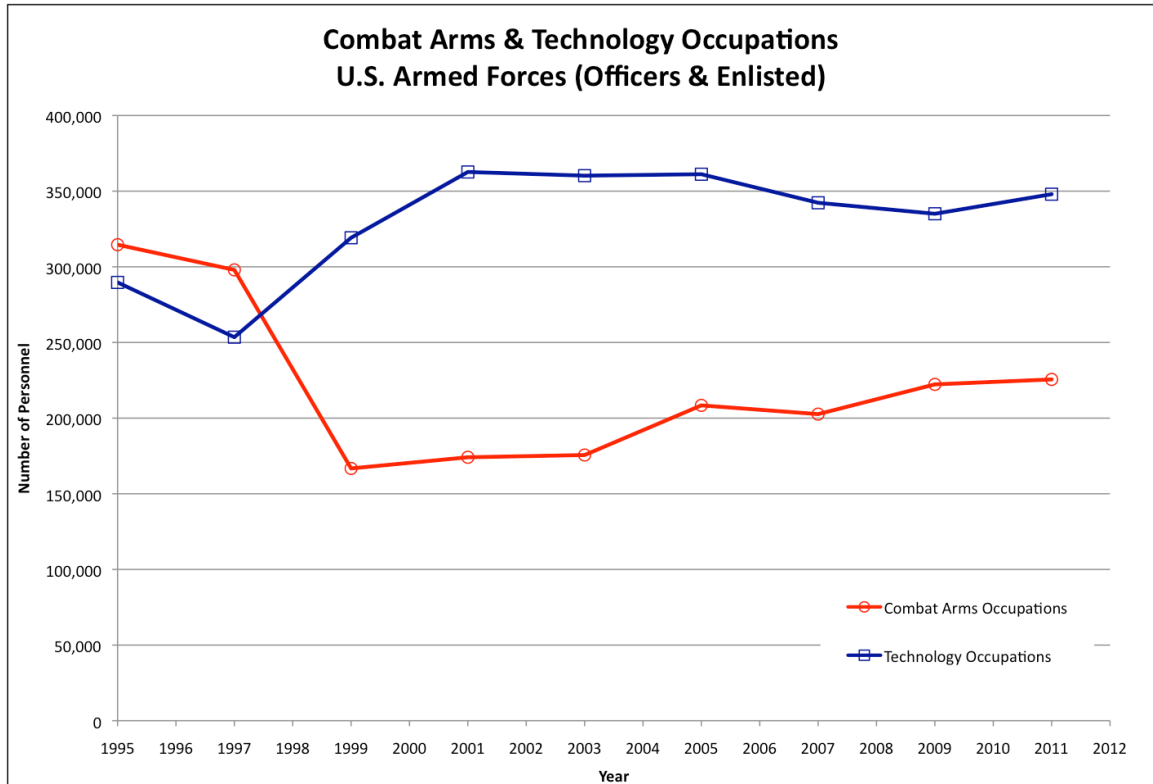
Chief of Staff for Air Force Materiel Command, “UAVS and remotely piloted and operated weapons systems have changed the nature of war in that now it is very easy to go out and strike a target without human involvement (Jamerson, May 2012). UAVs do not only provide reconnaissance for military troops on the ground but also carry out an increasing number of sorties and bombing missions in the current war in Afghanistan. According to figures released by the U.S. military from 2012, “drone strikes in Afghanistan now make up about nine percent of the overall total of aerial attacks. Last year, it was a little more than five percent. The UAVs are growing in importance while the rest of the military campaign is receding” (Scachtman 2012, 1). UAVs are playing a large part in the war, as are the pilots that fly them while located in the United States or forward operating bases outside of the warzone. The use of drones not only moves the U.S. closer to its goal of ‘bloodless’ wars but also weakened the connection between soldier and the actual experience of going to war. Although the drone pilots, engineers, and mechanics are playing a key role in the U.S. strategy for war, they are never exposed to risk.

UAVs are not the only robotic technology that has moved American military members further away from the front lines and looks to lift the fog of warfare in the field. The PackBot, for example, has been used extensively by troops in Afghanistan. It is a small, durable robot that “performs bomb disposal and other dangerous missions for troops” (I Robot 2012). The U.S. military also utilises ground robots for situational awareness, including the Small Unmanned Ground Vehicle (SUGV) and the 110 Firstlook, which can be thrown by troops for reconnaissance in small places and buildings (I Robot, 2012).

As discussed in the first section, generally in the U.S. military, the most important and most ‘masculine’ jobs have been those closest to the danger of death or injury associated with combat. However, the technological career specialties have grown exponentially since 1995, while the combat arms profession decreased overall since 1995. The following graphs show both the overall number of personnel in the

technological-based and combat at arms occupational career fields, as well as their relationship to the total number of personnel in the U.S. Armed Forces.

Figure 5.1 Combat Arms and Technology Occupations



(Job Opportunities in the Armed Forces, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011)

As is evidenced from the graph above, there was a reversal in the priorities of military occupations between 1997 and 1998. In 1997, before the wars in both Iraq and Afghanistan, there were more personnel in the combat arms occupations, such as infantry and armoury divisions, than those in technology-based career fields, such as engineers and computer maintenance technicians. Between 1997 and 1998, there was a shift and technology-based occupations gained more personnel, while the combat arms professions lost members. There was an overall decrease in personnel after the Gulf War from 1995 to 1999. Even as the overall number of personnel was decreasing, the number of personnel in technology occupations increased. This is a sign of the shift in strategic culture of the U.S. military, in which there is now a higher-reliance on technology in conducting warfare.

As of 2013, the U.S. military continues in the direction of conducting warfare with technology while reducing the role of ground troops. The concept of doing more with less resources, mainly less people, with more emphasis on technology is the idea that leads the U.S. military forward (Sheehan 2007, 218). The 2012 DoD funding document specifically states:

Looking past Iraq and Afghanistan to future threats, the force will not longer be sized for large-scale, prolonged stability operations. Instead, the DoD will focus modernisation on emerging threats, sustaining efforts to get rid of outdated Cold War-era systems so that we can invest in the capabilities we need for the future, including Intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (Department of Defence Funding 2012, 78).

The funding document specifies the necessity of resizing the military force in order to ensure “flexibility and balance” (Department of Defence Funding 2012, 77). Barbara Westgate, the Deputy Chief of Staff for Strategic Plans and Programmes for the U.S. Air Force, believes the new strategic approach will be beneficial to the military. She argues, “we’re going to be a smaller, better equipped, more superb force. And I believe that. Because again, technology has changed the way we approach warfare” (Westgate, April 2012). The emphasis on unmanned or robotic technologies and the shrinking of the U.S. ground forces shows that the DoD is reshaping its resources for a new kind of strategic warfare. A warfare that is no longer based on the large-scale ground forces of the Napoleonic culture of warfare, but rather on advancing technologies that help win wars through superior reconnaissance and intelligence gathering, while placing U.S. personnel further away from the front lines.

With the financial crisis of the current decade, the Department of Defence has had to reevaluate their strategy, tactics and priorities. As Barbara Westgate posits:

I think the tenor of warfare is changing and while you have to meet the demands and commitments that you have now in Afghanistan, Iraq, Africa, wherever there are tensions, you have to be looking at the future. Rules of war are still the rules of war. It all comes down to technology (Westgate, April 2012).

In order to successfully implement these ideas, the DoD has decided it is important to make “investments in high-priority programmes, such as unmanned surveillance aircraft and upgraded tactical vehicles, while terminating unnecessary and lower priority programmes...such as the Joint Strike Fighter at a reduced level” (Department of Defence Funding 2012, 77). This is an interesting shift in priorities because the DoD is taking away funding from a fighter jet that is hailed as the world’s most exceptional manned fighter jet, in order to obtain more funding for robotic aeroplanes. There have also been changes in personnel. In 2009, the Air Force announced that it would begin assigning more pilots to UAVs. In 2009, there were 450 UAV pilots and the Air Force announced that by 2012 it would have 1,100 UAV pilots. This increase “will make the size of the UAV pilot community second only to that of the F-16” (Mulrine 2009, 1). These shifts in funding and personnel numbers are a key indicator of the growing importance of robotic technology in U.S. warfare.

The Army is also currently developing new body armour that will be more resistant to blasts from bomb explosions than current body armour. The Jacobs School of Engineering at the University of California San Diego has a three-year contract with the Army Research lab to develop nanofoam technology for stronger armour. They began in 2013 but hope the new technology “helps disperse the force of an impact over a wider area...They will appear to be less rigid but will actually be more resistant than ordinary foams” (Engineers Develop Nanofoams 2013, 1). An additional benefit of the nanofoam technology is that it is lighter-weight than the Army’s current armour. The new armour will be lightweight because “the nanofoams are made up of a honeycomb, or porous, structure and are very light - pores make up anywhere from 50 to 80 percent of the structure” (Engineers Develop Nanofoams 2013, 1). This means that body armour for soldiers will not only be more resilient, but will also be lighter to wear. This will

benefit female soldiers because the new armour would be a better fit for some women's smaller stature than current armour in use by the Army.

(ii) Effects of Technological Advancement

The formal changes in U.S. strategic culture due to technology discussed above have an informal effect on the link between masculinity and war fighting because of changes in physical needs and exposure to combat. Men have historically been physically stronger than women and expected to be exposed to risk through combat in order to protect women. As was discussed in Chapter Three, one of the arguments against women in combat positions was their lack of physical strength.⁸⁹ However, the U.S. has moved in a direction of technological-based warfare, in the search for 'bloodless' wars, therefore, these characteristics are less necessary overall in the military.

The contemporary RMA has changed the meaning of soldiers 'going' to war. Singer argues that robotic technology is changing the definition of warrior in that, "while technology may not have ended the warrior's trade, it certainly has affected our definition of the attributes soldiers must have when they go to war" (Singer 2009, 331). Physical weakness is no longer a limitation for this kind of soldier, instead it is more important for them to be technically competent. Singer believes that this move toward technology and the pursuit for bloodless wars is changing the military profession and the institution as a whole because many soldiers now experience killing in war without the risk of combat to themselves (Singer 2009, 362).

With less emphasis placed on the need for physical strength, due to developments in body armour and increased use of drone technologies in the military, there are greater needs for personnel that are technically competent. Barbara Westgate points out that the technical skills of young military members, both men and women, are positively changing the military and recruiting skilled members is becoming increasingly important to the mission. She states, "these kids think in an electronic technical age

⁸⁹ Please refer to Chapter Three, page 97 for further information on the argument against women in combat roles.

because they've been doing all of these video games and stuff and they think of a totally different way in order to affect these repairs on our weapons systems" (Westgate, April 2012). Michael Zwein, a retired Air Force Lieutenant Colonel, and a current Programme Manager for technological development in the Air Force agreed with Mrs. Westgate. He said, "everything is about technology now. The military realises this and have changed their recruitment strategy. It is more important to go after the gamers rather than the high school football team" (Zwein, April 2012).

This was supported by the interview and survey responses from female soldiers in which 69 percent of all respondents said they believed some technological competence was essential to be successful in the U.S. military in 2012. These numbers varied with the branches of service, as 87 percent of respondents from the Air Force and Navy believed technology was important, while 52 percent of the women interviewed from the Marine Corps and Army felt the same. In comparison, only 23 percent of all respondents felt physical strength was important to be a good soldier. Only 9.6 percent of respondents from the Navy and the Air Force felt it was important, (all three respondents who felt it was important were from the Navy; no Air Force women thought strength was particularly important to be a soldier). On the other hand, 29 percent of Marine Corps and Army respondents felt physical strength was a necessary requirement of soldiers.

As evidenced above, attributes that were historically considered inherently masculine, such as physical strength, are no longer as necessary as they were when conducting warfare in the past. Also, historically, as shown in Chapter Three, women have been kept away from the risk of combat, but technological advancements have allowed for more U.S. soldiers to engage in combat without the exposure to risk. The possible effect of these aspects on the gender power structure of the military is discussed in the conclusion to this chapter. The U.S. military's reliance on air power is not the only significant change in U.S. military strategic culture. The importance of counterinsurgency operations to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan has also changed the military's approach to warfare. This is discussed in the following section.

5.3 Power Relations: Counterinsurgency Operations

In considering the U.S. military from a historical institutionalism perspective, and keeping in mind the importance of the hierarchical rank structure in which the military is based, power is an important aspect of the institution. As discussed in Chapter Two, historical institutionalism embraces “a power-political view of institutions that emphasises their distributional effects, and many of them explain institutional persistence in terms of increasing returns to power” (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 7). Mahoney and Thelen go on to draw the conclusion, that if power relations play an important role in maintaining an institution, the shifts in gender power must also be an “important source of change” (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 9). This section argues the changes in U.S. strategic culture, with the emergence on counterinsurgency strategy, also referred to as COIN, have changed the gender balance of power in which women are placed at less of a disadvantaged position than in the past. As described in the first section, as of 2013, the U.S. military has a masculine based culture.⁹⁰ This culture has not disappeared; rather, the gender needs of the military evolved in response to new missions, difficulties and capabilities.

The U.S. has not only developed more advanced weaponry that has changed its warfare tactics but the strategy of war fought is different. This section looks at the U.S. military’s shift toward peacekeeping operations and counterinsurgency and explores how these aspects opened up areas of change in gender power relations through the ‘soft spots’ between formal rules and informal norms. Urban warfare and counterinsurgency operations have become the models of modern warfare, as the U.S. operations in both Iraq and Afghanistan followed the COIN (counterinsurgency) doctrine developed by General David Petraeus. The doctrine, originally written as an Army field manual, “has moved beyond simple Army doctrine for countering insurgencies to become the defining characteristic of the Army’s new way of war. In the American Army today, everyone is a counterinsurgent” (Gentile 2009, 5). This new warfare strategy changes the American approach to warfare and therefore the strategic culture. Instead of simply focusing on combat, “population-centric counterinsurgency equals nation-building”

⁹⁰ Please refer to pages 133 in this chapter for further information on the masculine culture of the military.

(Gentile 2009, 6). The basic principles of COIN mark a shift toward peacekeeping operations and winning the ‘hearts and minds’ of the general population.

The shift in purpose of units of the military caused by the COIN strategy in Afghanistan and Iraq is an example of conversion. Conversion is a method of institutional change where instead of “dismantling old institutions” or developing new ones, existing institutions are used in different ways (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 18). According to Mahoney and Thelen’s theory of gradual change discussed in Chapter Two,⁹¹ conversion is more likely to occur when the actors, or ‘opportunists’ in this case, have a weak veto possibility and a high level of leniency in the interpretation of the formal rules of the institution. According to Mahoney and Thelen, the conversion of an institution also can re-align gender power relations (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 18).

Although change in policy to COIN was a formal policy change from the leaders of the military, the implementation of the policy was carried out by U.S. military members in the field, in which they had discretion on how to implement policies in order to best meet the challenges in the warzone (Manning, April 2012). The U.S. military’s new mission of peacekeeping and rebuilding, brought about by the induction of COIN, is markedly different than the traditional role of the military in conducting war that did not take into account the need to win the ‘heart and minds’ of the civilian population. The formal policy change to COIN was another critical juncture that opened different opportunities for female soldiers to participate in the military. As discussed in Chapter Two,⁹² critical junctures “open up opportunities for historic agents to alter the trajectory of development” in institutions that are generally rigid and difficult to change (Katzenlson 2003, 8). The instability of the institution, caused by critical junctures allows actors within the institution more room to instigate change. Female Engagement Teams discussed in this section are one example of groups of female soldiers who worked as ‘opportunists’ through the opening provided by the critical juncture of COIN strategy, who enacted change.

⁹¹ Please refer to Chapter Two page 39 for further information on Mahoney and Thelen’s theory of change.

⁹² Please refer to Chapter Two, page 39 for further information on critical junctures.

(i) Female Engagement Teams

Female soldiers were essential to the execution of the strategic shift to COIN. Female Engagement Teams, referred to as FETs, were developed first as security teams to search Muslim women in Iraq and Afghanistan when the U.S. military recognised the need for “culturally sensitive search methods,” in which male U.S. soldiers could not search Muslim women (Long, 2012, 4). The FETs were born out of necessity and the scope of their mission was widened when the U.S. realised that Afghani women were important to intelligence gathering and reconstruction efforts. Lorry Manning, a retired Navy Captain and a member of the Women’s Research and Education Institute, a lobbyist organisation working on issues for women in the military, describes why FETs are needed in the field. She explains, “you need them to interact with the locals, particularly many people don’t realise that so many Afghan men have been killed in 30 years of fighting that there are a lot more women out there, particularly once you get into some of these rural areas” (Manning, April 2012). Female soldiers were needed to connect with Afghan women in the field, a task that would be nearly impossible for male soldiers. The FET programme “highlights the recognition that female soldiers possess a capability that male soldiers cannot - female soldiers can access a greater segment of the population (women, children, and men) in these culturally conservative regions” (Dharmapuri 2011, 60). This gave female soldiers an important role in counterinsurgency operations and intelligence gathering, which is essential to the DoD strategy in Afghanistan.

FETs were not only able to interact and work with more Afghan women, but have also made inroads in interactions with Afghan men. According to Manning, “the other thing that Special Forces have found with the tribal chieftains is that they are totally beguiled by the sight of a woman and it opens a door” (Manning, April 2012). Afghan men see the female soldiers’ purpose as being there to help them (Pottinger et al. 2010, 4). They instead:

*Show a preference for interacting with them [female soldiers] over U.S. men.
Pashtun men tend to view foreign women troops as a kind of ‘third gender.’ As a*

result, female servicewomen are accorded the advantages, rather than the disadvantages, of both genders: they are extended the respect shown to men, but are granted the access to home and family normally reserved to women (Pottinger et al. 2011, 2).

The FETs have had success in facilitating communication with Afghan men and women, which has given them better access to information regarding what is needed by civilians. This knowledge played an important role in the population-centric strategy of COIN. In this case, gender was not used as a barrier, but rather provided women an opportunity to fill coveted roles based only on the basis of their sex. Female soldiers were then able to act as ‘opportunistic’ actors to advance women’s standing in the military by performing successfully in the tasks they were assigned. Women became strategically useful for the U.S. military so their role was expanded from support positions. Women’s participation in the FETs has earned them the respect of the military and their male counterparts very quickly. There has also been continuing media coverage of the FETs and their accomplishments, which has garnered them greater support for participating in roles closer to the front lines.

The success of the FET programme, led to specific training for female soldiers assigned to the FET teams. According to Manning:

The FETs began to institutionalise and by that I mean they began to take it not just at the local command but began to work with the Marine Corps authorities to get some formalised training. The interesting thing it does - was initially the women just came from whatever units happened to be over there, they just asked for volunteers. Now there is actually a FET to which these women are assigned. The women go off... out in the field and do everything that the guys they’re assigned with do. And they get some weapons training, and there are tougher PT [physical training] standards (Manning, April 2012).

Before the lifting of the combat ban on women, due to the FETs, the military also

discussed adding women to Special Forces groups, a step that has quickly been dismissed in the past. Manning asserts that the Navy SEALs “are very enthusiastic about this. The Special Forces have found a great value added to having these women because the Special Forces do a lot of different missions. And even within the men themselves, they specialise” (Manning, April 2012). The skills female soldiers have gained from the FET missions could be useful to Special Forces teams in the future as they continue to engage in COIN-based operations. This was a major step for women to be accepted into all combat roles, because the Special Forces groups of all branches, including the one percent of closed jobs in the Air Force, were closed to women before the lifting of the Ground Combat Rule (Manning 2010, 7).

However, along with this success, the FETs have faced criticism on both mission aspects and theoretical considerations. From a mission perspective, when the FETs were first established, many of the women were not given adequate training and they were only allowed to stay in one location for a few weeks at a time (Long, 2012: 28). Therefore it was difficult for the women to build “enduring relationships with a core group of local women” (Long 2012: 28). The Special Forces and Marine Corps provided standardised training for the FETs to prepare them for the front lines, however, there was a lack of standardised training for Army FETs (Holiday 2012, 92). The Army FETs were only given training through their commander’s discretion, which was often not adequate to the problems they would face on the front line (Manning, April 2012).

An unidentified member of Congress also raised an issue with the FETs because he believed their existence and operations violated the combat ban policy for women. The teams were suspended while Congress reviewed the operating procedures for the FETs and decided they were living too close to the front lines for extended periods of time (McBride & Wibben 2012, 209). The FETs were reinstated after several weeks, but began operating under different guidelines. They were only allowed to stay in the field for a maximum of 45 days and they were allowed only temporary stays at forward operating bases, where they were once living for months at a time (McBride & Wibben

2012, 209-210). The new guidelines made it more difficult for FETs to complete their mission of building relationships with the locals. It was also a rule change that was for formal show and not a significant change to the reality on the ground. The FET women were just as close to the front lines as they had been in the past, but their ability to do their job was hindered (Manning, April 2012). Inconsistencies in rule interpretations and enforcement, the ‘soft spots’ between the formal rules and informal norms, such as this, are discussed further in the following section.

Theoretical criticisms against the FETs have been focused on the stereotypical use of women for peacekeeping missions of which the FETs seem to embody. McBride and Webben argue that the use of women in counterinsurgency operations for peacekeeping plays into the dichotomy of men as violent and women as peaceful, which is an idea that is rejected by the equal-rights based feminists⁹³ (McBride & Webben 2012, 199-200). They also argue that the FET women are used to make the U.S. war in Afghanistan seem less like a war, and therefore easier to sell to the American public (McBride & Webben 2012, 200). There is a strong logic to both of these arguments. However, when looking at the reasons the FET teams were developed, the female soldiers were not placed in those positions because they were believed to be inherently more peaceful, but rather because, due to the Afghan patriarchal culture in which they are operating, the U.S. military saw that there was a gap in their interaction with civilian society, mainly women.

The use of female U.S. soldier groups to address the gap discussed above is only logical when looked at from this perspective. The FETs received positive media coverage, as can be seen by articles with titles such as, “Female Engagement Team Bring Aid to School, Orphanage” and “Female Engagement Team Builds Bridges Into Afghan Society” (Pisacubbe 2011, 1; Davis 2010, 1). Due to this, there is a fair argument that they are being used to gain more support for the war from the American public. However, the teams were created out of necessity in the field, not by DoD Headquarters in Washington. Although, as was evidenced in Chapter Three, military necessity has

⁹³ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for further information on the feminist arguments.

been the cause of critical junctures that has provided opportunities for women to participate in the military, this also does not change the fact that the development and use of the FETs provided military women with more opportunities for front line duties. A strategic need of the U.S. military led to an unintended benefit for female soldiers to advance their standing in the gender power structure of the U.S. military.

(ii) Effects of Counterinsurgency Operations on Gender Relations

The widespread use of the COIN strategy by the U.S. military was a major shift in strategic warfare. McBride and Webben agree that, “technological innovations such as drones provide one clear way to signal that war and the military are being reinvented; gendering counterinsurgency is another way to demonstrate that the United States is no longer fighting its new battles with outmoded methods” (McBride & Webben 2012, 200). The use of population-centric COIN opened a door for female soldiers to become more engaged in operations on the front lines in Afghanistan. Due to the need for interaction with the local population for the COIN strategy, women were needed to open doors in building relationships with Afghan women and even Afghan men.

The reliance on female soldiers for the FET roles has affected the gender power structure within the U.S. military because female soldiers are being perceived as more useful and closer to the mission than in the past. As the President of the Special Forces Association, John Meyer, answered as to why women should be allowed to fill all combat roles, he said, “Why? Because female...Marines proved themselves in combat repeatedly in Iraq and Afghanistan” (Kovach 2013, 1). Another male soldier who served in Afghanistan from 2009 to 2010 noted “I think that we quickly realised how effective these women were” (Penazola & Lawrence 2013, 1). Former Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, who announced the lifting of the combat ban on women in 2013 stated after a trip to Afghanistan that “they're [men and women] fighting and they're dying together. And the time has come for our policies to recognise that reality.” (Cruise & Hardzinski 2013, 1). The opportunity the women in the FETs had to show their abilities allowed female soldiers to work as ‘opportunistic’ actors and highlight their successful participation on the front lines in conflict situations.

The successful use of the teams led to better and formalised training. The achievement of the FETs initially raised the discussion of adding women to Special Forces units, which was never considered before. Although female soldiers found more opportunities through their use in peacekeeping roles, which are stereotypically feminine, this does not discount the changes their involvement in Afghanistan have brought to the U.S.'s use of female soldiers. They were closer to the front lines than women had ever been before in the past.⁹⁴ Although they were not there specifically for combat roles, the FETs have further blurred the DoD Ground Combat policy that governed their exclusion from combat roles.⁹⁵

5.4 Formal vs. Informal: Rule Interpretations and Enforcement

One of the core factors of James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen's theory of gradual institutional change is the level of discretion in interpretation/enforcement held by institutional actors.⁹⁶ They argue that, "institutional change often occurs precisely when problems of rule interpretation and enforcement open up space for actors to implement existing rules in new ways" (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 4). This gap, or 'soft spot' in the actual rule and its implementation can be purposefully exploited by actors who want change or can be a new circumstance the institution is in, in which it must "accommodate a new reality" (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 11). As discussed in the previous section, this process is referred to as conversion.⁹⁷ The new interpretation and implementation of the original rule can then be used to instigate slow and incremental change in an institution. In the case of the U.S. military, this theory of change is tested. Separate from female soldiers' involvement in the FET teams, other women were placed in ground combat roles before the development of the FETs, despite the DoD policy that banned women from ground combat. The new reality on the ground found in the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan was that it was difficult to separate the 'front' and

⁹⁴ Please refer to Chapter Three, pages 66, 68, 89, 91, and 95 for information on women's past experience in war.

⁹⁵ Please refer to Chapter Three, page 93 for the complete DoD Ground Combat policy.

⁹⁶ Please refer to Chapter One, page 39 for further information on Mahoney and Thelen's theory of gradual change.

⁹⁷ Please refer to page 154 in this chapter for additional information on conversion.

the ‘back’ lines of war due to the nature of insurgency warfare. The Marine Corps training manual stated that there were no ‘front’ lines in insurgency warfare because they were “against an enemy who hides among the sea of the people” (Nagl 2007, 2).

(i) Attachment Policy for Women in Combat

Female service members serving in combat roles in Iraq and Afghanistan was initially made possible through an administrative loophole in policy. Before the Ground Combat Rule was lifted, the policy stated that women could not be assigned to direct combat units in Iraq and Afghanistan. They were instead assigned as attachments to infantry units. Therefore, although they could not technically serve in the infantry, in being administratively attached to those units they ended up physically serving with them. Their actual duties were determined by the commanding officer of the unit (Harrell et al. 2007: 3). A RAND study found that contractors were used as cooks, freeing women to carry out other duties assigned by their commander, which eventually put them into combat (Harrell et al 2007, 3). The shortage of military personnel in Iraq and Afghanistan created a circumstance in which the military institution, to function properly, had to find a new way of implementing their own rule.

The gap between the Ground Combat policy and its implementation gave female soldiers the opportunity to take on the role of ‘opportunist’ actors and demonstrate that they could be equal in combat and instigate change.⁹⁸ Many female veterans believe they have proven themselves. A Marine Lance Cpl. deployed to Iraq stated, “If we keep doing our job well, then they will keep giving females the chance to do what we did” (Carnes 2007, 1). The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan were the first to show how female soldiers would react and work under the pressure of combat because they had not been allowed at the front lines with the ground units in the past. There was much speculation over how they would perform in combat situations but the female soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan showed they could handle the stressful situations without disrupting the bonding of units (Manning 2010, 10).

⁹⁸ Please refer to Chapter Two, pages 40 and 42 for information on ‘opportunist’ actors.

The masculine-centric culture of the military is in place, as of 2013, as seen by evidence in the first section of this chapter on military culture,⁹⁹ but it has moved in a positive direction to be more accepting of women in the military. Also, the views of many in American society have evolved to be more accepting of the idea of female soldiers. A Gallup poll conducted by telephone in 2003 showed that 38 percent of respondents believed women should fill combat jobs the same way as their male counterparts (Should Women Fill Combat Roles 2003, 1).¹⁰⁰ While in 2012, a Rasmussen Reports telephone survey found that 54 percent of respondents thought women should serve in combat roles the same way as men (Should Women Fill Combat Roles 2012, 1).¹⁰¹

Many of the women that served in Iraq and Afghanistan were in combat but did not receive credit for combat experience in their personnel files. Due to the fact that women could be assigned to a combat unit, when they were up for a promotion, their promotion board only saw the assignment that was on paper, not that the woman had served with a combat unit. Female soldiers were doing many of the same jobs as their male counterparts but they were not receiving the recognition necessary for their career advancement or to raise their status in the military (Harrel et al. 2007, 2). One female Army soldier said:

I feel they need to recognise women are in combat instead of leading the public to believe they are not then using a backdoor or different way of doing it anyways. Whether they should or shouldn't be there becomes a mute point when they ARE there but you are giving your country the impression that doesn't happen. I can't tell you how many people think I am lying and could not have served in Iraq as a gunner because that simply is not allowed (Julia, October 2012).

The attachment policy was also a problem for female soldiers because they continued to be outsiders to the group they were attached to. Lory Manning equated the attachment

⁹⁹ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 133 for examples of the masculine military culture.

¹⁰⁰ Survey information is based on 1,004 U.S. national adults.

¹⁰¹ Survey information is based on 1,000 U.S. national adults.

of female soldiers to combat groups as being “the red headed step-child who drops in for Christmas and a month in the summer and you’re not really one of them” (Manning, April 2012). In order to correct these problems, women were fighting for the right to officially hold combat jobs. With the help of lobbyist groups and members of Congress, female soldiers pushed for all jobs to be opened to them and for the DoD to no longer make policy restrictions based on gender lines. They were successful and the Ground Combat policy was overturned in 2013, as was discussed in Chapter Three.¹⁰² With the gap between the implementation and the old combat policy, women were able to work as ‘opportunist’ actors and show they could perform the jobs the military had closed to them. They found a foothold that brought about change for female soldiers.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the gender power structure of the U.S. military by considering women’s experiences inside the institution. The data shows that female soldiers experience the military as a masculine-oriented institution. The informal roles discussed in the first section show how the masculine culture plays out in day-to-day military life. It permeates every aspect of life in the institution, from the very beginning in basic training to the soldiers’ career field and even into family life on the military base. The DoD has been careful to create gender equal policies, yet the culture of the organisation is not as easy to change as policies; this will be the focus of the following chapter.

The analysis of gender roles of the informal culture of the military highlighted the difficulties of gender identity in the U.S. military. In analysing data from the interviews conducted with U.S. service women, it is clear that female soldiers feel they either must conform to the masculine culture to fit in and be accepted or they should conform because they believe the culture should be masculine-oriented. This is especially interesting because it raises the same question as the ‘ethic of care’ feminist argument in Chapter One as to whether or not women’s participation changes the gendered nature of

¹⁰² Please refer to Chapter Three, page 93 for information on how the Ground Combat Policy was overturned.

warfare.¹⁰³ Warfare is tied to masculinity, there is a traditional link between the two and many female soldiers conform to the culture rather than change the gendered characterisation of the masculine, warrior role. As was shown through the interviews with military women, the services with weaker ties to combat, i.e. the Air Force and Navy are less hyper-masculine. Women's militarisation does not completely change the traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity, as is supported by the interviews with military women. However, as was discussed in Chapter Four, women's participation does confuse the traditional gender roles. The discussion of informal norms also showed how female members, in aspects of their daily lives, experience the privileging of masculinity in the military and what actions they take to either combat the masculine-centric culture or adapt to it.

Although the military remains a masculine-centric institution, this does not mean that progress and change have not occurred. This chapter also analysed areas of institutional change and discussed specific examples of changes in the strategic culture of the U.S. military as well as informal and formal developments. As was argued in the second section, shifts in power can bring about changes in an institution and women's participation in the FETs and combat roles helped to change their place in the military. Although it is not yet evident, the shift in strategic culture toward a greater reliance on technology and the weakening link between masculinity and warfare due to technological advancements could enable the gender power structure to evolve in the future. The technological jobs were open to women even before the new 2013 policy that ended all restrictions on women's career choices, and they were not at a natural disadvantage based on physical strength for the 'in demand' jobs. This means more opportunities for female soldiers, and this could begin to shift the power structure in the military, which will be beneficial to women's participation in the U.S. Armed Forces in the future. This is in line with the civic responsibility feminist argument that the roles and jobs women are already performing should be seen as just as important as combat jobs.

¹⁰³ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for further information feminist arguments.

This is not a change that will happen overnight, it is more likely to be a slow evolution of priorities. As General Jamerson answered when asked about technology changing the culture of the military, “Can that happen? Certainly it can. Can the culture change? It can. I think it should, I just don’t think it’ll happen overnight. I think that’ll be a really slow change for us” (Jamerson, April 2012). The change in which attributes are of greatest importance for a military member to have, with more of a focus on technical competency, and less on physical strength, could evolve the culture to place a higher importance on the members with technical skills, instead of the emphasis placed on the strongest soldier. Even with the advancements in technology, some jobs have a greater need for physical strength so it will likely remain a factor of importance for some career fields, such as Special Forces.

Changing gender power relations has the ability to change the military institution. The combination of the development of revolutionary technologies and the importance of COIN to military strategy have provided women opportunities to serve in jobs closer to the front lines, and in doing so the ability to gain greater importance and respect in the eyes of male members and the DoD leadership. Although these changes have not made the culture lean toward the feminine, it has provided the opportunity to move the institution toward greater equality, which took an important formal step in 2013, with the repeal of the Ground Combat Rule. Change through the disparity in rules and their interpretation and implementation have also played a key role in women’s recent advancement in the U.S. military. Although the attachment vs. assignment issue was not awarding women their full credit of combat duty, it did give them the chance to prove themselves, a tactic which many of the female soldiers interviewed thought was a useful strategy to bring about change through discrediting stereotypes of females as weak and incapable.¹⁰⁴

In this chapter, the above examples emphasised the importance of agency to institutional change. Female soldiers worked as ‘opportunist’ actors by performing successfully in the jobs they were given by the military. This, in turn, opened greater

¹⁰⁴ Please refer to Chapter Five, pages 134 for examples.

opportunities for female soldiers and has advanced women's standing in the military institution. However, as was evidenced in the first section, the overall culture is masculine-oriented and some female soldiers have a difficult time enacting change internal to the institution. The U.S. military is a rigid institution with few mechanisms for internal change. As was discussed in Chapter Two, many actors in the military have weak veto capabilities of formal rules, and must instead find the 'soft spots' between the rules and their informal implementations.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, women have found it beneficial to instigate change through the U.S. legal system and Congress.¹⁰⁶ The major impediments to institutional change in the U.S. military will be discussed further in the following chapter. Chapter Six also considers why institutional change in the U.S. military has been slow and difficult by considering both informal norms and formal policies. It builds on existing theories to explain these areas of difficulty and discusses the case study of sexual harassment and assault in the military.

¹⁰⁵ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 39 for explanation on Mahoney and Thelen's theory.

¹⁰⁶ Please refer to Chapter Three, page 79 for examples of military women instigating change through the legal process.

Case Study: Sexual Assault in the U.S. Military

Chapter Six

Introduction

Chapter Five discussed the gender power structure of the military and ways in which changes were brought about, while this chapter discusses impediments to institutional change and provide a case study of sexual assault in the U.S. military to show the internal resistance women have faced and what actions they took in response. The military is a constraining institution in that it has set rules, practices and norms that its members are expected to follow. It also has a strict, hierarchical structure, which makes change especially difficult. As Mahoney and Thelen theorise, actors' weak veto capabilities restrain change in the institution (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 11). The U.S. military rewards those that fall in line and their commanders or peers often punish the outliers of the institution, whether formally or informally. In an institution such as this, there are many factors that impede actors and therefore the process of change.

This chapter discusses and analyses the aspects of the institution that are particularly constraining to actors within the U.S. military. It argues that the primary obstacles that stand in the way of change are the informal norms of the institution. Chapters Four and Five discussed the informal norms of the military that are perpetuated by society, training and tradition and Chapter Three discussed former formal policies of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' and women's exclusion from combat that have helped to institutionalise discriminatory practices.¹⁰⁷ The DoD is moving forward and creating new policies that are not discriminatory, but there is a lag between well-intentioned policies and the culture and norms that are lingering in the institution.

This chapter looks at how the institutionalisation of informal norms has impeded progress and employs the use of the 'weberian construct' model and problems of institutionalisation, based on path dependency theory to explain why the informal norms of the military are difficult to permeate and change. As discussed in Chapter Two, two

¹⁰⁷ Please refer to Chapter Three, pages 97-99.

constructs are employed to explain why informal norms are difficult to change.¹⁰⁸ The first is Lynn Zucker's idea of 'cultural persistence' and the second is Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrew's 'weberian construct.' Zucker argues that institutionalisation of norms in an institution can impede change. The weberian model is complimentary to Zucker's ideas and posits that strict hierarchy as well as institutional maintenance and the 'neutrality of expertise' all contribute to the difficulties of changing the informal norms of the military (Ingraham et al. 2008, 74).

In order to take a more in-depth look at the tension between formal policies and informal norms, this chapter focuses on a case study of the problem of sexual assault in the U.S. military. It discusses how encompassing the problem of sexual assault is in the military through examples from service members.¹⁰⁹ In order to illustrate the problems that have occurred because of the lack of changes, section 6.2 analyses Fiscal Year (FY) 2011¹¹⁰ statistics on sexual assault and harassment in the military. It explains the intricacies behind the numbers, as the DoD reported 3,192 cases of sexual assault, but also estimated that the actual number of sexual assaults for FY 2011 was closer to 19,000 (Panetta: Could be 19,000 Cases 2012, 1). The newly released estimate for FY 2012 states that "using anonymous surveys and sampling research, [the DoD] estimated that 26,000 personnel experienced 'unwanted sexual contact'" (Whitlock 2013, 1). While the number of perpetrators that were court-martialled for the crime in FY 2011 was only 240.¹¹¹ (The DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault for FY 2011 2012, 32).

This chapter also discusses examples of significant cases of sexual assault that have been highlighted in the American media. One case involved a female cadet that was harassed by her classmates after reporting a case of sexual assault perpetrated by a popular cadet athlete. The other two examples involve military instructors assaulting and harassing female trainees. One of the scandals took place at Lackland Air Force

¹⁰⁸ Please refer to Chapter Two, pages 44 for further information on 'cultural persistence' and the 'weberian construct.'

¹⁰⁹ Examples have been taken from personal interviews and from published interviews.

¹¹⁰ Fiscal Year refers to the government's funding cycle: Fiscal Year 2011 is October 2011 through to September 2012.

¹¹¹ Annex A, Figure 5.6 further explains the statistics.

Base and one at Aberdeen Proving ground. These two cases were well publicised in the media, and were used as examples by female soldiers to gain the support and interest of Congress. It looks at what formal changes and policies the DoD implemented in an attempt to combat sexual assault in its ranks. The case study shows how women and men who have been victims of sexual assault have had difficulties bringing about change or even reporting their assaults because of the constraints of the institution. The problem has worsened to a degree that victims have had to take their cases outside of the military and force change through lawsuits and Congressional action.

In order to explicate the problem and explain how external actions have affected the military institution, the case study will look at a proposal by Representative Jackie Speier of the House of Representatives. The Bill developed by Representative Speier looked to take the reporting chain outside of the military altogether to ensure that each case would be handled without the constraints the informal norms of the military brings with it. Senator Kirsten Gillibrand picked up the ideas from Representative Speier's Bill. Senator Gillibrand introduced a Bill to the Senate with the same goal of taking away commander discretion regarding cases of sexual assault (Fox 2013, 1). This chapter also discusses the lawsuit filed against the DoD by female and male soldiers that have been victims of sexual assault. They decided to take their case to court because they believed the DoD had not acted appropriately or quickly enough to protect them from sexual assault while serving in the military. These actions have forced change and the DoD will implement new policies in fiscal year 2013.

The case study of sexual assault in the military is the most useful example to show the problems caused by the tensions between formal policies and informal norms because the DoD has strict policies against sexual assault, but they were not always implemented properly in the field. The gap between the implementation and the rule has allowed room for sexual assaults to occur at a rate higher than in civilian society. It was estimated that "one in three military women has been sexual assaulted, compared to one in six civilian women" (O'Toole 2013, 1). When comparing these numbers, it must be taken into account that the civilian rate is over a woman's entire lifetime, while the

military rate is in a condensed time frame during their military service (Hynes 2012, 1). The comparison of these rates show that sexual assault is a significant problem in American society but is an even greater epidemic in the U.S. military. Until recently in 2013, there had been few actions taken to fight the problem, causing a culture where sexual assault has been tolerated. Even with the progression of formal policies, the informal norms have been slow to change and match the formal rules.

6.1 Formal Rules vs. Informal Norms

It is essential to consider both informal norms and formal rules in an institutional analysis, as they both play a role in the development, functioning, and overall culture of the institution (Lowndes 1996, 193). Formal rules are more easily explicated because they are easier to identify and are formalised. Formal rules are “explicit rules that rely...on formal mechanisms (the state and organisation) for their monitoring and enforcement” (Nee & Ingram 1998, 19). Fiona MacKay argues that there has been a “tendency to privilege formal institutions such as rules” in previous empirical research (MacKay 2011, 756). However, if an institutional analysis were to focus on just formal rules it would “only capture one form of institution affecting society and public organisations” (Ingraham et al. 2008, 68). Therefore, in analysing the U.S. military, formal policies, rules and structures are important aspects of analysis, but more can be learned by also considering the informal norms.

Informal norms “are rules of a group or community that may or may not be explicitly stated and that rely on informal mechanisms of monitoring, such as social approval and disapproval” (Nee & Ingram 1998, 19). They differ “from ‘rules of thumb’ in that they are recognised and shared by members of a community or society - they are not simply personal habits or preferences” (Lowndes 1996, 193). Previously, Chapters Three and Five discussed informal norms and formal policies of the U.S. military that affect the armed forces. However, this chapter focuses on the tension between the formal policies and informal norms of the military and how formal rules can change but the institutional culture may not if the informal norms do not follow.

Chapter Five discussed the different ways change has been brought about in the military. This chapter argues that informal norms can also be an impediment to change in the military. Several military women interviewed believed their actions were constrained by the informal norms of the military institution in response to cases of discrimination. Out of the 64 female respondents, only one, an Army officer, said that she used the internal complaint structure of the military through the Equal Opportunity (EO) office to officially file a complaint of discrimination in an attempt to change the behaviour and benefit other military women and it, “resulted in absolutely no action” (Vicki, October 2012). This is a prime example of the overall prevailing attitude from the women interviewed. Many of them believed that there really was nothing they could do about the discrimination. One enlisted Marine said that she, “was still much lower-ranking and there was nothing I could do about it” (Danielle, October 2012). A Navy enlisted woman added that, “there is no counteracting it, you are given orders, and you follow them” (Stephanie, October 2012). One Army Staff Sgt. pointed out that this issue was not necessarily the DoD’s fault. She said, “the military does have institutions in place if someone wanted to lodge an official complaint,” but the problem was that much of the discrimination was too subtle to report, so instead she, “pretended that I didn’t notice or didn’t care” (Alex, October 2012). These women felt like they had reached a wall in which they had no avenues for change and were affected by the informal norms of the military even when formal policies were in place to protect them.

It is clear from the responses in the interviews and surveys, and from the history of women’s advancement in the military, that sometimes change is not possible internally because of the constraints imposed by the informal norms or formal rules of the institution. This is when actors move to the outside of the institution to bring about change. Mahoney and Thelen posit that, “actors disadvantaged by one institution may be able to use their advantaged status vis-à-vis other institutions to enact change” (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 9). Military women have done this in the past, and have recently in 2012 through legislation on sexual harassment and assault, by taking their cases of discrimination to the federal courts and Congress to enact change.¹¹² This will

¹¹² Please refer to Chapter Three, page 74 for examples.

be discussed further in the chapter.

As was evidenced in Chapter Three, the U.S. military was built on a masculine-oriented culture and according to path dependency theory its original ideas and norms are difficult to change.¹¹³ As Margaret Levi argues, “the entrenchments of certain institutional arrangements obstruct an easy reversal of the initial choice” (Levi 1997, 62). Changing the informal policies of an institution is complicated by the institution’s nature in which “once a path is chosen it is difficult to change it because the processes become institutionalised” (Trouve et al. 2010, 5). This applies to the informal norms of an institution as well. According to Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrews, “in studies of civil service systems we find the state bound by a set of formal defining rules, these rules, even when changed in a formal sense, prove exceptionally difficult to change in reality, ostensibly because the formal institutions are matched by especially durable arrangements” (Ingraham et al. 2008, 66). This is true in the case of the U.S. military institution.

The DoD has established policies against sexual discrimination, harassment and assault in order to attempt to lessen the problem. However, as discussed further in the chapter, and mentioned previously, these formal policies do not stop a higher rate of cases of sexual assault from happening than in the civilian population. This is because there is a disconnect between the formal policies of the DoD and the informal norms followed by members of the military. It cannot be expected that the right formal policies will completely stop all cases of sexual assault from happening. However, it would show improvement, if the rate of sexual assaults in the military were comparable to the rate in American civilian society. As shown in examples from Chapter Two, women in the military have worked hard to formally gain equal rights, however, the informal norms of the military are rarely targeted. They “are usually in existence alongside formal rules, often ingrained in the values of organisations and society” and are therefore, more difficult to change (Ingraham et al. 2008, 68).

¹¹³ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 33 for further information on historical institutionalism path dependency.

(i) Institutionalisation of Informal Norms

In considering the ways change is brought about in the military, as discussed in Chapter Five, informal norms are more difficult to change because there is no formal structure or avenue for actors to pursue. It is difficult to distinguish what aspects of the culture to target that will bring about the desired change because informal casual mechanisms of change are opaque. In Chapter Four, female soldiers talked about how they hoped to change the masculine-centric culture of the military by performing well in their jobs and expelling stereotypes of women in the military. However, this approach is on an individual scale and it will take a long time to see results on an organisational level without a broader process of normalisation. This is because the emphasis and importance placed on masculine traits in the military has been institutionalised through years of the U.S. military being a ‘men only’ organisation. Gender stereotypes have been prevalent in the institution and the lines between the formal rules and the informal norms are blurred.

In order to explain the problem above, as discussed in Chapter Two,¹¹⁴ the first specific framework based on path dependency theory employed is Lynne Zucker’s idea of ‘cultural persistence’ and the second is Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrew’s ‘weberian construct.’ Lynne Zucker argues that institutionalisation of norms increase ‘cultural persistence’ and makes the norms more difficult to change (Zucker 1977, 83). Zucker outlines three aspects of persistence that drive cultural persistence in an institution. The first aspect is that of transmission. The informal norms have to first be passed down from previous members. She posits, “transmission from one generation to the next must occur, with the degree of generational uniformity directly related to the degree of institutionalisation” (Zucker 1977, 83). In the U.S. military this transmission is mainly carried out during training, which was discussed in Chapter Five.¹¹⁵ Those in charge of training new recruits and officers are always older service members that are tasked with, not only training the recruits in the basics of military service, but also in teaching them

¹¹⁴ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 44 for further information on ‘cultural persistence’ and the ‘weberian construct.’

¹¹⁵ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 137 for examples.

the culture, values and norms of the institution they are entering. The values and norms of the institution are presented as facts by trainers. Zucker argues that this makes it easier to complete the transmission process. She posits, “social knowledge once institutionalised exists as a fact, as part of an objective reality, and can be transmitted exactly on that basis” (Zucker 1977, 726). For many recruits, basic training is their first introduction to the military and they must rely on their trainers for information.¹¹⁶ One female soldier interviewed supported this. She said, “You feel very isolated, cut off during training. You pretty much have to just trust what your sergeants are telling you” (Kate, October 2012). This process institutionalises the norms passed down from the trainers. As discussed further in the chapter, this can be problematic when the trainers are passing down discriminatory norms and not setting acceptable examples for new recruits to follow, as the informal norms transmitted often do not correspond with formal policies.

Zucker’s second aspect for ‘cultural persistence’ is maintenance (Zucker 1977, 83). The maintenance process is continued throughout military members’ careers through war stories, specific job training and traditions passed down to new members by those already in their branch of service or career field¹¹⁷ and “each individual is motivated to comply because otherwise his actions and those of others in the system cannot be understood” (Zucker 1977, 726). Therefore, in order to assimilate, the majority of individuals accept and adhere to the norms of the institution. The final aspect is that of resistance to change. She posits that, “cultural persistence depends on the resistance to attempts to change, with the degree of resistance directly related to the degree of institutionalisation” (Zucker 1977, 83). If informal norms are successfully and strongly institutionalised, actors will be more opposed to changes in the culture of the institution. The military is an organisation in which its members are highly institutionalised and the military is a traditional organisation that rewards uniformity. This makes it more difficult to bring about change in the informal norms.

¹¹⁶ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 138.

¹¹⁷ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 141 for examples.

Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrews explain a similar construction of why informal norms of institutions are especially difficult to change. They refer to it as the ‘weberian construct.’ Although this ‘weberian construct’ was developed outside of Zucker’s aspects of ‘cultural persistence,’ the two are complimentary and this chapter combines both to better understand the case of the U.S. military. For example, the first aspect of the ‘weberian construct’ is that of a hierarchy. They argue, “the rigid ordering of authority and expertise, or hierarchy” can make institutions particularly fixed and therefore more impervious to change (Ingraham et al. 2008, 72). The hierarchical structure of an institution constrains lower-ranking actors, so they then have weak veto possibilities (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 11). This idea is specifically applicable to the U.S. military because it has a strict hierarchical structure and lower-ranking personnel are often restricted, which makes it difficult for even large groups of actors in the institution to instigate change internally. This problem of the hierarchical rank structure is discussed further in this chapter.¹¹⁸

The strict rules of adherence to the rank structure were developed out of operational necessity for combat in which it was dangerous for members to not follow orders and began with the origins of the U.S. military. General George Washington stated, “discipline is the soul of an army. It makes small numbers formidable; procures success to the weak, and esteem to all” (Allen 1988, 3). The importance of following orders from those higher ranking is reflected in the oath military members have to take. The oath states, “I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to regulations and the Uniform Code of Military Justice” (U.S.C. 502). The necessity of following orders and adhering to the hierarchical structure makes it difficult for lower-ranking actors to instigate change.

The second aspect of the ‘weberian construct’ is the “resilience to change,” maintained by the “bounding of an organisation from the environment” (Ingraham et al. 2008, 73). Zucker’s second aspect of maintenance is similar, except that she posits the maintenance comes from inside influences, while Ingraham, Moynihan, and Andrews

¹¹⁸ Please refer to this chapter, page 189.

look at the problem differently. They posit that the norms of the institution are maintained through the isolation and dependence on the institution of their members. Zucker's and Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrew's ideas are employed in this thesis because the military displays characteristics of both concepts. Maintenance of the informal norms is often transmitted internally through training and mentoring, as Zucker posits, but the bounding of an organisation from the environment can also be found in the military as those outside of the military are often painted as 'others' and military members are encouraged to bond with their units, often times more than their own families. Also, as was discussed in Chapter One, some military members have come to feel as though they are morally above civilians in their communities and this serves to isolate them further from the outside community.¹¹⁹ Military members also move regularly and rely on the base environment for their friends, daily errands and community. These aspects can effectively cut off service members from outside influence and environments, which in turn, helps to maintain the status quo.

The last aspect of the 'weberian construct' is the "neutrality of expertise within the organisation" (Ingraham et al. 2008, 73-74). Those within the institution, have similar experiences, views and rules. They are promoted "within clearly specified boundaries" and promotions are often based on "core values" of the institution. (Ingraham et al. 2008, 73-74). Neutrality of expertise in the organisation encourages uniformity in the group because the individuals are rated on similar criteria. Many military members share the same experiences and have worked and lived in the same places. There are also strict promotional guidelines that take into account the members' adherence to the core values of the institution. This builds on Zucker's aspect of resistance to change because the neutrality of expertise in the institution causes a lack of objectivity and few outside viewpoints. This encourages the status quo and makes the informal norms more difficult to change. Zucker's 'cultural persistence' and Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrew's 'weberian construct' are employed in this chapter to assist in explaining why the masculine culture of the military has been difficult to change even as formal policies and wider political and social culture become gender equal. The persistent problem of

¹¹⁹ Please refer to Chapter Four, page 105.

sexual assault in the military is an in-depth example of how the tension between institutionalised informal norms and advancing formal policies create problems for female soldiers. The case described below will show how characteristics of the military institution, as described in the ‘cultural persistence’ construct and the ‘weberian construct,’ contribute to the persistence of the informal norms of acceptance of sexual assault in the U.S. military.

6.2 Case Study Overview: Sexual Assault in the U.S. Military

There are continuing problems of sexual harassment and assault of women in the U.S. military. Many military women fear that their careers will be negatively affected for reporting these crimes, as there has been a culture of negative attitudes by soldiers toward women if they accuse a man of harassment or assault. The DoD has enacted a formal policy that dictates sexual harassment training for all military and civilian employees but the problem persists and has been getting worse over the past ten years, due to the permissive culture (Mulrine 2012, 1). The lack of serious punishment for perpetrators has led to a culture in which sexual harassment and assault have been tolerated and written off as a show of masculinity (A Failure on Military Assaults 2013, 1). One female soldier describes the problem of sexual assault in the military, she states:

Leaders in the military are responsible to train and guide young soldiers, and help them earn rank and succeed. Instead, the leaders have disappeared and soldiers are left to either suck it up and drive on or suffer massive punishments and betrayals at the hands of the people, the soldiers, who swore an oath not only to our country, but to never leave a soldier behind. Some may not be left behind in war and combat, but we are left behind and practically left for dead by our fellow soldiers. In fact, we may have been raped by the soldiers who left us behind (Rachel, October 2012).

Although many of the DoD policies discussed below are good in theory, they are not implemented in a way that takes into account the reality of women in the field and the pressures and constraints of the institution.

(i) Formal Policies

The DoD has established policies against sexual assault, harassment and discrimination. In an attempt to prevent sexual assault and harassment, the DoD has put into place awareness programmes and classes that all military and civilian DoD employees have to complete when they are hired. The DoD has hoped to combat sexual assault by eliminating occurrences of sexual harassment in the ranks. They started by setting a clear definition for sexual harassment (DoD Sexual Harassment Policy 2009, 1). The DoD's current definition of sexual harassment is:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constituting sexual harassment when: 1.) An employment decision affecting that individual is made because the individual submitted to or rejected the unwelcome conduct; or 2) The unwelcome conduct unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile, or abusive work environment. (DoD Sexual Harassment Policy 2009, 1)

If a service member is found guilty of sexual harassment or discrimination, they are generally dealt with administratively through a reduction in rank and pay or a letter of record attached to their file that can negatively affect their chances for further promotions (DoD Sexual Harassment Policy 2009, 1).

There has been substantial evolution in sexual assault and harassment policies since women first entered the military. The beginning of the 1990s put a spotlight on sexual assault and harassment in the U.S. military. The main source of this was the Tailhook Scandal in September 1991.¹²⁰ Another major scandal broke in 2003, but this time with the Air Force. It was brought to light by a female cadet at the Air Force Academy that the Academy had a large number of sexual assault cases that were neglected and never investigated. The Armed Services Committees of both the House and Senate appointed

¹²⁰ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 131 for background on the Tailhook scandal.

an independent panel to investigate the allegations against the Air Force Academy. Around the same time as this, Secretary of Defense at the time, Donald Rumsfeld, convened a panel of military and civilian personnel to evaluate the problem of sexual assault in the military. The panel “found that existing policies failed to define sexual assault adequately and lacked systems for accountability” (Clemeston 2004, 1).

In answer to pressure from Congress and the findings of the DoD panel, in 2005, the DoD increased medical and psychiatric support for sexual assault victims. They also developed a web site “designed to clarify that sexual assault was illegal and to help women report it” (Benedict 2007, 2) Also, the Sexual Assault and Prevention Office was created by the Secretary of Defense to coordinate reports and provide oversight for sexual assault and harassment policies (Benedict 2007, 2). Furthermore, there is also an anonymous hotline that women can use if they want to seek medical care but do not want to officially report the assault to the military. More recent changes were proposed for FY 2013, by the direction of Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta. He “moved the review of all sexual assault cases up the chain of command to more senior officers, colonels or navy captains, with the power to convene special court martials” to try to improve prosecution rates of sexual assault in the military (Rue 2013, 3). Special units to handle sexual assault cases are also going to be created. Both of these changes were mandated in the 2013 Defense Authorisation Act (Rue 2013, 3). These changes will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

Sexual assault and misconduct continue to be covered under the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), therefore, it is a crime for which military members can be court-martialled. If they are convicted, they could spend time in jail, receive administrative punishments, such as reduction in rank and pay, or be dishonourably discharged from the military (Department of Defense Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 32). However, commanders continue to have discretion over the cases reported and can decide whether or not to take action. As Representative Speier states, “commanders continue to have complete and total discretion over incidents of assault in their unit. A commander can choose to investigate a case or sweep it under

the rug” (Mulrine 2012, 2). There is no additional oversight of reported cases. Instead the case reports begin and can end with the commander. The Bill Representative Speier introduced in the House of Representatives looks to solve this problem by taking the power away from unit commanders regarding sexual assault reporting. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

(ii) Current Standing and Statistics

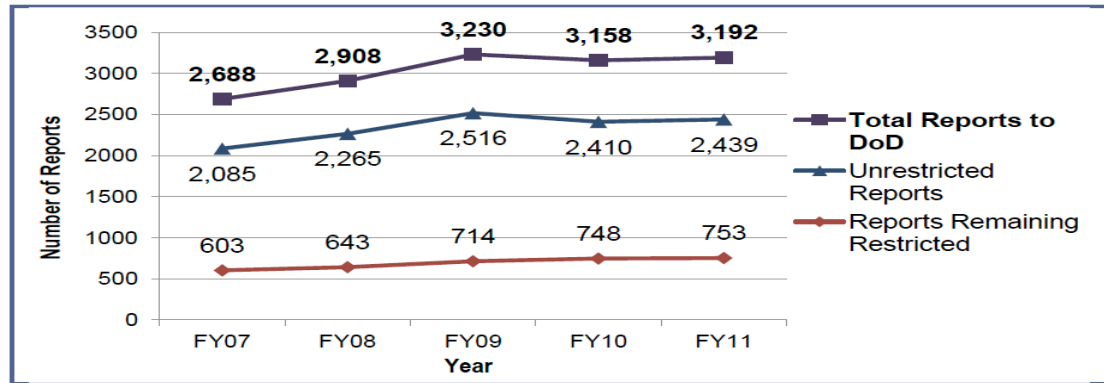
Despite these changes in formal policies, unfortunately, sexual assault has been an increasingly large problem for military women. In a study conducted by the Army, it was found that sexual assaults had increased 64 percent from 2006 to 2011 (Army Report on Sexual Crime 2011, 1). In the military as a whole, for the fiscal year of 2011,¹²¹ a total of 3,192 cases of sexual assault were reported out of 207,308 female soldiers on active duty (The DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault 2012, 32). Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta said that the number of assaults, the majority of which went unreported, was probably “actually closer to 19,000” based on estimated rates of how many women do not report assaults and an anonymous survey conducted by the DoD (Mulrine 2012, 3). The following graph shows the total numbers of reports, and the numbers of restricted and unrestricted reports for fiscal year 2011. The total number of reports includes cases of “sexual assaults committed by and against Service members” (DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 29). Therefore it includes all cases that were either committed by a military member or against military members, so the victim or the perpetrator could be a civilian. However, as the graph on the following page shows, 82 percent of assaults were known to be committed by a service member.

The DoD report describes the difference between unrestricted and restricted reports. Unrestricted reports “of sexual assault can include one or more victims, one or more subjects, and one or more crimes” (DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 29). Restricted reports, on the other hand, “by policy only involve one

¹²¹ Fiscal Years run from October to September the following year. FY 2011 numbers were the most recent reported. The DoD is currently in FY 2013.

victim reported per incident” and “no personally identifying information is maintained for alleged subjects” (DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 30). The restricted reports include victims that did not want to name their perpetrators.

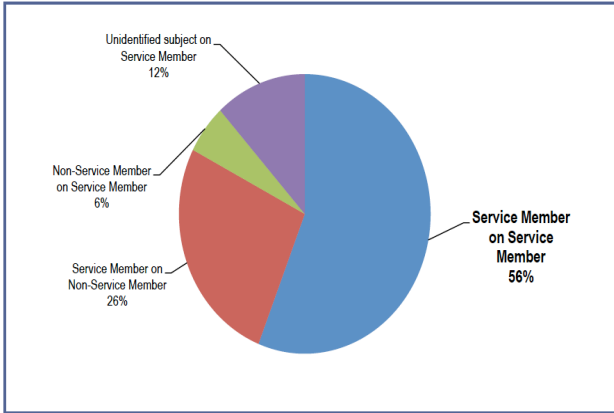
Figure 6.1 Total Number of Sexual Assault Reports Involving Military Members



(DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, page 33)

The following chart shows the statistics for fiscal year 2011 of how the service member was involved in the sexual assault. These percentages are all based on the total 3,192 reports to the Department of Defense. As shown in the graph on the following page, a military member did not perpetrate not all reported cases, nor were they all against service members. However, the majority of reports, 56 percent, were of a soldier attacking another soldier and the next highest percentage was of soldiers attacking civilians.

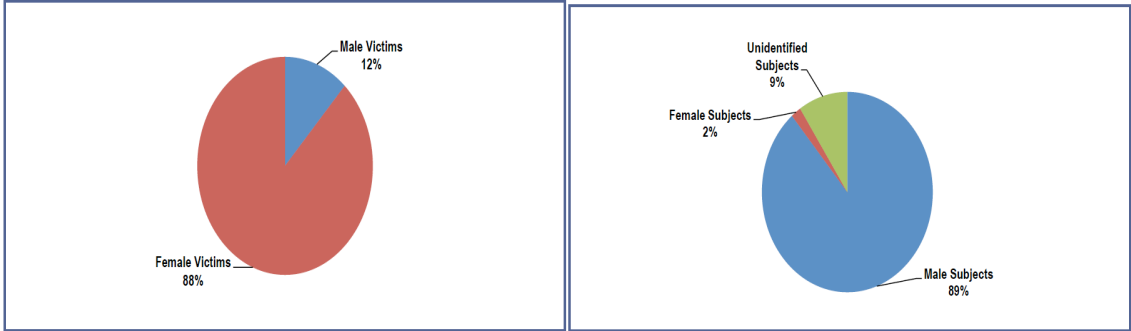
Figure 6.2 Unrestricted Reports of Sexual Assault by Service Member Involvement



(DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 36)

The total number of reported assaults also includes reports from both male and female victims, and includes cases with both male and female subjects. However, women are the vast majority of victims of sexual assault and men are the majority of subjects, as shown by the charts below.

Figures 6.3 and 6.4 Percentage of Male and Female Victims and Subjects

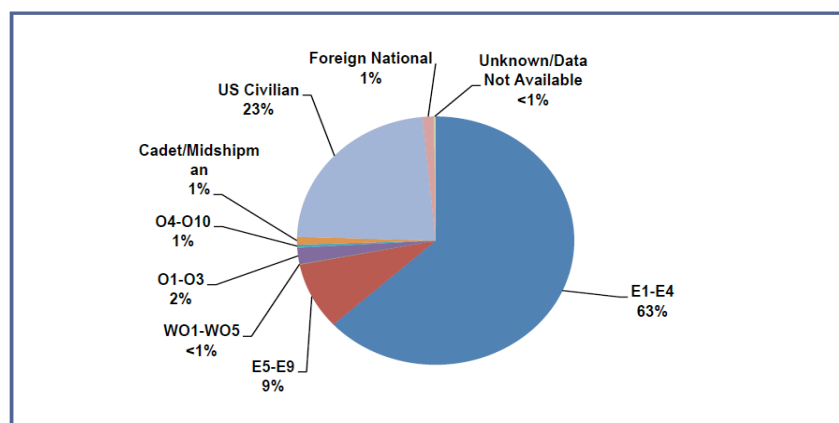


(DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 53-54)

Not only are women more likely to be the victims of sexual assault, they are also more likely to be the lowest ranking and youngest members of the military. The lowest ranking members have less power in the hierarchical structure of the military, and often have fewer avenues for resistance because of their standing in the military organisation (Hynes, 2012: 1). This is one example of how the ‘weberian construct’ characteristic of a ‘strict hierarchical structure’ can make institutions more impervious to change. This is

supported in the graph below in which 63 percent of the women assaulted were perpetrated against those in the ranks of E-1 to E4, which are the entry-level, enlisted personnel. Women in those ranks are often times even more constrained in the actions they can take than other women in the institution because they are at the very bottom of the power structure of the military. This was evidenced also in Chapter Five, when one female soldier said she did not fight back against discrimination because she did not feel that she was high enough ranking in the hierarchical structure for her to stand up for herself.¹²²

Figure 6.5 Rank of Victims in Completed Investigations of Unrestricted Reports

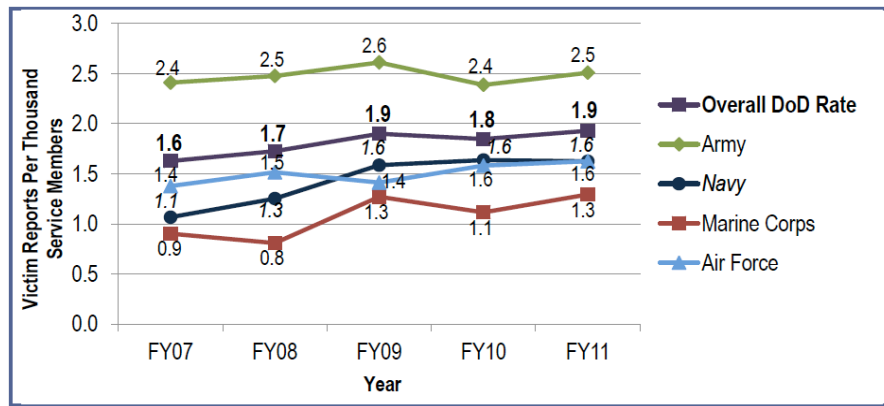


(DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault for FY 2011, page 54)

The following graph shows the overall rate of reports of sexual assaults by victims of each military branch. These numbers do not show that one branch is better than another as far as having fewer sexual assaults. The Marine Corps has the lowest rate of instances of sexual assault reports, however, the Marine Corps also has the lowest number of women in their ranks (Manning, 2010: 16) and, as discussed previously, women are vastly more likely to be victims of sexual assault than men. The Army, on the other hand has the highest number of female soldiers in their ranks, with 200,888 women and they also have the highest rate of reports of sexual assaults (Manning, 2010: 16; DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assaults for FY 2011, 35).

¹²² Please refer to Chapter Five, page 134 for example.

Figure 6.6 Reported Rates of Sexual Assaults by Military Branch



(DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 35)

The statistics above show that sexual assault has been a steady problem in the U.S. military. The rates of sexual assaults have increased from FY 2007 to FY 2011, even after the DoD enacted their policies to combat sexual assault in the military in 2005. The DoD is clear that it is illegal, against their policies, and is a continuing and worsening problem. However, their attempts at training service members to be aware of the problem have so far been ineffective. In this instance, the formal rules have not been able to drive changes in the informal norms of the military. There are problems in the reality of daily life in the military that affect the informal norms regarding sexual assault. These issues are discussed below.

6.3 Realities in the Application

The current policies are more conducive to the reality for military women in the field than prior policies, but many incidents continue to go unreported and women's careers are often negatively affected. Women that report assault and agree to press charges are subjected to the entire investigation and trial while often still stationed where they were originally assaulted. This means they are with the same unit, and if their perpetrator was as well, the women will often face insults and discrimination from others in their unit for disrupting the bonds of the group. One female soldier reported that she was laughed at when she attempted to report the assault to those in her unit and they then intimidated her into silence (Lasker 2011, 1). Many women face cases of not being believed by their

commanders or co-workers and will then face discrimination from them as well. If the accusation is initially reported to the woman's commanding officer, the commander can decide how far to take the allegations and the penalty involved. Reporting crimes of sexual assault and harassment have also been detrimental to women's careers. They have been looked at as traitors to their unit and as causing problems (Lasker 2011, 1).

(i) Culture Surrounding Sexual Assault

Sexual assault has been a taboo topic for the military in the past. In the 2010 Workplace and Gender Relations Survey of Active Duty Members, released by the DoD, it found that 67 percent of female soldiers would feel uncomfortable about reporting a sexual assault, while 54 percent said they would fear backlash from their peers or the military if they reported a case of sexual assault. The survey also found that 46 percent of men and women believed cases of sexual assault were not important enough to be reported (DoD Workplace and Gender Relations Survey of Active Duty Members, 2010). This recent survey, conducted by the DoD shows that there is a problem with the culture in the institution surrounding cases of sexual assault. It shows that the informal norm of acceptance of sexual assaults has been institutionalised in the U.S. military and according to Zucker and Ingraham, Moynihan and Weber's constructs outlined in the first section of this chapter, this makes the informal norm especially difficult to change. The statistics above are difficult to compare to civilian workplace statistics because military members often live close to their co-workers on bases. Many enlisted members live in the same dorms and this is not usually the case in a civilian workplace environment.

One female soldier interviewed said that there is a culture of reprisal against women that report sexual assaults. She said, "the victim will be painted as a troublemaker or someone that disturbs unit cohesion. Until even that one fundamental thing changes, the military is not a welcoming place for women at all" (Tina, October 2012). One case that shows the reprisal victims can face is that of Stacey Thompson. She was a Lance Corporal in the Marine Corps stationed in Japan. While at a nightclub one evening, her Sergeant, a higher ranking enlisted member, placed drugs in her drink and assaulted her

on base before leaving her on a street in the city (LaVictoire 2013, 1). Instead of punishing her attacker, he “was allowed to leave the Marine Corps, but she was investigated by the military for drug use” (LaVictoire 2013, 1). Stacey’s case is an example of the Zucker’s idea of maintenance, in which the informal norms may need to be enforced to keep them institutionalised. Stacey was punished for going against the informal norm of acceptance of sexual assault and the bonding of her unit. She was punished by those in the institution who were looking to maintain the informal norms. She was eventually given an other-than-honourable discharge¹²³ and therefore lost all of her benefits. Stacey’s case is another example of how the hierarchical rank structure of the military influenced the outcome of the situation. Due to her Sergeant’s higher rank and status, he held more power and this constrained the actions Stacey could take. Stacey’s case is one that has come before Congress in their discussions to amend how the DoD handles cases of sexual assault in the military. Congress’s actions will be discussed further in the chapter.

There was one case at the U.S. Air Force Academy between two students that is an example of the reprisal culture discussed above, which exists even in the military universities. A female cadet had been out on the weekend and had drinks with her cousin. When she returned to her dorm, a male cadet member that was a popular athlete for the university attacked her. The female cadet had a rape kit carried out at the hospital and reported the crime to the university. However, instead of prosecuting the male cadet, she was written up for drinking and fraternisation and the university said they had misplaced the rape kit she had done at the hospital. After reporting the assault, male and female cadets harassed her, told her that she did not belong there, and many of her previous friends stopped talking to her. The female cadet decided to leave the academy after four months and transfer to a civilian university. She was not able to receive Veteran’s Assistance counseling when she transferred out of the Air Force Academy (Manning, October 2012; Elliot 2012, 1).

¹²³ An other-than-honourable discharge takes away all education and health benefits that a member has earned during their time in the military.

The female cadet discussed above, came forward with several others “in January of that year [2012]...to say that when they reported being sexually assaulted, they were punished for minor infractions [such as] as drinking” (Elliot 2012, 1) This is an example of the effects from a ‘weberian construct’ characteristic in which members of the organisation are bounded from the outside environment. The victims in this case were cut off from outside support and were expected to adhere to the informal norms of the military institution that were already being enacted at the Air Force Academy. The informal norm in place with this characteristic is that members are not supposed to disrupt the bonds of their unit. When the female cadets decided to not adhere to the informal norms they were punished by those in the institution looking to keep the status quo of the unit. This reprisal, as discussed above, is an aspect of Zucker’s idea of ‘cultural persistence’ in which those who go against the informal norms are punished in order to reproduce the same informal norms.

One of the surprising aspects of the case discussed above was that female cadets were also unsupportive regarding the report of the assault. One female soldier in the military police, Jennifer, admitted that she would not be supportive of a women reporting sexual harassment or assault. She said, “I would have been angry at a female for reporting sexual harassment and making waves. And it wasn’t like anybody ever touched me - I wasn’t one of those women you could push around in that way” (Benedict 2009, 81). This is another example of the ‘weberian construct’ characteristic discussed on the previous page, in which members of military units are bound together and are expected not to disrupt the bonds of the unit. It is also an example of Zucker’s process of maintenance, in which victims face reprisal by others for breaking the informal norm. These two aspects contribute to the broader cultural problem of sexual assault in the military in which the victim is punished and blamed for the assault, not only by her male co-workers, but her female counterparts as well.

Jennifer, who was quoted above, had an incident happen to her, which she decided not to report because she did not want to disrupt the status quo in her unit. A Sergeant in her unit made unwelcome advances towards her for months. Eventually, as a social

gathering for her unit, he publically announced that he was in love with her and he was going to kill himself if she would not be with him. She called a Military Police unit to watch him for the weekend to make sure he would not hurt himself. However, after the incident he became angry with her. He was in control of the promotions for her group and he made sure hers was always denied (Benedict 2009, 80). She did not report him because she “wanted to fit in, and you can’t fit in if you make waves like that. You rat somebody out, you’re screwed. You’re going to be a loner until they eventually push you out” (Benedict 2009, 80). She did not feel as though she had an avenue to report the problem and have it taken seriously and eventually solved. Instead, women reporting sexual assaults are not only seen as disrupting unit bonds and making waves, but many are also not believed.

One enlisted female soldier had been sexually assaulted three times over her 22-year career in the military and all three perpetrators had been officers. She said, “sexual assaults happened to me several times in my 22 years in the military, a couple times that succeeded, I got even with them in my own way, but I never reported them because nobody believes you” (Benedict 2009, 81). One enlisted female soldier respondent said that she “filed a report of rape against an army member and it was not taken seriously” (Cynthia, October 2012). She felt as though her assault was a joke and no action came from her reporting the crime. This is an example of how the tension between the informal norms of the institution and the formal policy in place to combat sexual assault causes serious problems for female soldiers. The informal norm of the military is accepting of sexual assault, yet the formal policy in which the crime is supposed to be taken seriously and perpetrators should receive a punishment is not carried out properly because the informal norm of acceptance dictates the behaviour of those in charge of carrying out the formal policy. Once victims of assault are aware of this pattern, they are less likely to report assaults because they do not trust the system, as described above by the enlisted female soldier.

Commanders and unit members not taking reports of sexual assault seriously, or not believing victims, can happen for many reasons. In some instances, the accused subject

is a well-known and well-liked member of a unit. As Lory Manning states, “the guy might be their best whatever [*sic*] or somebody who is seen as a general overall good guy with 18 years in” and then there is an attitude of “why would you screw up his retirement or why would you leave his wife without support? [By reporting him]” (Manning, April 2012). Manning also points out that sexual predators are often smart about how they choose their victims, and they will go after those women that they believe they can get away with hurting. She argues:

*Some of these cases are two 19 year olds getting drunk but some of them involve a sexual predator who knows how to pick his victim and he picks ones who are [*sic*] already tarnished for some reason. Maybe she's not the strongest team player or maybe she has gotten herself in trouble once or twice drinking. So they know how to pick them and then it becomes my best guy versus this woman who has got a ding or two and who are they going to believe? (Manning, April 2012).¹²⁴*

The concern that they may not be believed or taken seriously stops some women from reporting instances of sexual assault, and is partially the reason for 3,192 cases reported out of an estimated 19,000 cases (DoD Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 1).

(ii) Rank and Command Climate

The attitude of the commanding officers of a unit is especially important for cases of sexual assault because the majority of the power lies with them in deciding what cases to take forward to prosecution. This is another area in which the ‘weberian construct’ idea of the strict hierarchal culture of the military is especially important. The hierarchical structure provides some actors with more power and others with less and this can be detrimental if those with more power are unwilling to change the informal norm of acceptance of sexual assault in the military. According to Manning:

¹²⁴ This contributes to the problem of the victim being blamed for the assault instead of the perpetrator.

I would say probably 75 to 80 percent of commanders out there probably do make the right call but it's the ones that don't and there are a lot of reasons why they don't. None of them see themselves as protecting a rapist, they see themselves as the steward of the command mission or you know, she's not reliable anyway...and they don't want to be bothered or it scares them or they're afraid they'll be blamed because there is a rape in their unit and you're the commander so you must be [doing something wrong] (Manning, April 2012).

The argument of Representative Speier and her team working on pushing through legislation that would take away commanders' purview regarding sexual assault cases is that sexual assault cases are not a commander's job to be dealing with. Their job is focused on the military functioning of their unit, while the prosecution of sexual assault cases should be handled by people with the proper training and knowledge to be dealing with such cases (Connelly, April 2012). This will be discussed further in the following section.

One female soldier interviewed believed that if commanders were going to continue their role in sexual assault cases, they should be better trained. She said:

Commanders and First Sergeants need to be better trained to be more understanding with their soldiers, both because of sexual harassment of both male and female soldiers, but also from PTSD [Post Traumatic Stress Disorder] both from combat and from betrayal by their fellow soldiers. Too many of these soldiers have been basically shoved out of the military with less than honourable discharges. I think education needs to start with the command level. Too many commanders have the General G.S. Patton attitude towards mental traumas and just about everything else (Ann, October 2012).

The General G.S. Patton attitude Ann mentions is the belief that soldiers need to ignore mental traumas and continue fighting.

Commanders can also help foster an environment that is safer for female soldiers by taking reports of sexual harassment, discrimination, and assault seriously. Eli, an enlisted female soldier, felt let down by her commanders in this area. She said a young enlisted girl told her that a higher-ranking enlisted male soldier said he wanted to have sex with her anally. Eli reported the threats to her First Sergeant and he said, “tell her to walk with her back against he wall” (Benedict 2009, 89). Eli filed a complaint against her First Sergeant for his attitude but the only outcome was that her group had to take a sexual harassment class that most of the soldiers took as a joke (Benedict 2009, 89). In this case, the acceptance of sexual assault by those in power of her unit set the climate and informal norm of acceptance for others in her unit.

One female soldier respondent believed that her commanders did not take the risk to their female soldiers seriously and were not willing to help her prevent sexual assaults. She said:

The Department of Defense is understandably very concerned with sexual attacks on females, but when I requested certain things that would protect my small group of women and pre-empt any of those types of actions, my concerns were blown off. I suggested installing code locks on our B-hut¹²⁵ because a colleague of mine expressed fear about sleeping at night with unlocked doors. My male superiors told me it couldn't be done, with no good reason, giving the impression that we didn't have anything to worry about. I even volunteered to have a friend buy equipment and send them to us to install these. If the Army is really concerned about protecting us, they need to understand that...we do need extra concessions to stay safe (Nancy, October 2012).

Instances, such as the one described by Nancy above foster the belief that military commanders do not take the possibility of sexual assault seriously and are not willing to go out of their way to protect female soldiers. As Lori Manning noted, these are not the

¹²⁵ A B-hut is a plywood shack soldiers live in while deployed in Afghanistan.

majority of commanders, but as shown by the examples above, commander discretion is part of the problem in protecting female soldiers from sexual assaults and prosecuting those involved.

The hierarchical structure of the military, as noted in the 'weberian construct' above is part of what constrains military members. Those in lower ranks have a more difficult time being heard in the organisation and have been preyed upon. As described by Jennifer, her career was negatively affected by a male service member that was higher-ranking than her and was able to block her promotions because of his privileged position. This has been an ongoing problem for the military. Some female soldiers "say they were preyed upon by men higher in the chain of command, crimes military women call 'rape by rank'" (Rape by Rank 2008, 1). This is especially problematic because women must report rape through their chain of command. There have been two major scandals of military trainers taking advantage of recruits under their command, one at Lackland Air Force Base and one at Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland.

The Lackland Rape Scandal, taking place at the Air Force training camp at Lackland Air Force Base in Texas, has been the most recent case of this nature. All Air Force recruits must go through basic training at Lackland Air Force Base. The training program "has about 475 instructors for about 35,000 airmen who graduate each year. While one in five recruits is female, most instructors are male" (Air Force Instructor Sentenced 2012, 2). The investigation has found 59 military recruits were assaulted, two victims were male (Scope of U.S. Air Force Sexual Assault Case 2013, 1). In the investigation "so far eight drill sergeants have received disciplinary action for sexual misconduct, nine have been charged and are facing court-martial and 15 are still under investigation" (Scope of U.S. Air Force Sexual Assault Case 2013, 2). Staff Sgt. Luis Walker was one of the main perpetrators and was sentenced to 20 years in prison for his actions (Air Force Instructor Sentenced 2012, 2). It was found that in only four months, Walker had had improper sexual contact with a minimum of ten female recruits. The women who testified against him said they were scared about coming forward because they thought they would be kicked out of the Air Force for making a complaint. They

also said that he had threatened their careers if they did not cooperate with him (Air Force Instructor Sentenced 2012, 3-4).

Staff Sgt. Donald Davis was another drill sergeant at Lackland Air Force Base accused of sexually abusive contact with a female trainee. The trainee reported Davis's inappropriate behaviour and testified that he and another drill sergeant, identified as Jordan, began retaliating against her and another female recruit she had confided in by calling them names during training and threatening failure that would make them have to re-take the training course (King 2012, 2). A higher-ranking instructor told her that, "if I knew what was best for me, that I would keep my mouth shut about this whole incident" (King 2012, 2). It was found during the investigation that Jordan had sent a message to Davis that read, "I need some dirt on (the victim). I'm trying to laterally transfer her" (King 2012, 2). These incidents were clearly not just a 'few bad apples' as the Air Force had hoped at the beginning of the allegations (Lackland Sex Scandal 2013, 3). The Air Force found that the allegations and complaints had not made it up the chain of command, but had been stalled with lower commanders (Lackland Sex Scandal 2013, 3-4). One victim of assault at Lackland testified that the breakdown in command reporting was especially frustrating. She said, "in my eyes, that means, OK, commander, you're the judge, jury and executioner. In the military we have one person that may or may not help you" (Scope of U.S. Air Force Sexual Assault Case 2013, 2). The Air Force is not the only branch to have this abuse of power, as a similar case took place at Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland, a training base for the Army, in 1996.

The scandal at Aberdeen included 56 female recruits and 12 drill sergeants. Twenty of the 56 recruits said they had consensual sexual relationships with their trainers. The 12 drill instructors were charged with allegations from inappropriate relationships and adultery to rape (Bowman 1997, 1). It was found that there was a culture of impropriety at Aberdeen. Some of the drill sergeants played a 'game' in which they competed to sleep with the most recruits (Wilson & Bowman 1997, 2). However, one drill sergeant, Staff Sgt. Simpson, was charged with 54 criminal counts, including 19 rape charges (Wilson & Bowman 1997, 1). Simpson was found guilty of raping 6 women and

sentenced to 25 years in prison (Spinner 1997, 2). It was found that the command reporting structure had also broken down in this case and Capt. Scott Alexander, Simpson's commanding officer at the time, testified that many of the complaints never made it to his office (Wilson & Bowman 1997, 1). Capt. John Gillespie, another company commander stationed at Aberdeen, said that, in response to the scandal, they are being more careful to enforce rules that were already there to make Aberdeen safe for recruits, such as not allowing drill sergeants to visit recruits without another soldier present (Spinner 1997, 2).

The examples discussed above show the importance of commander decisions regarding sexual assault and expose the weaknesses of the system regarding accountability and punishment. The power commanders and supervisory soldiers have over those of lower rank is substantial and has become part of the problem of sexual assault in the military. It is clear from looking at the cases at both Lackland Air Force Base and Aberdeen Proving Grounds that the low-level commanders were not properly reporting cases of sexual assault up the chain and therefore no serious action was taken. This missing link is part of the problem of low prosecution rates that is discussed in the following section.

(iii) Prosecution and Support

Inside the institution, a variation in penalties and a lack of serious prosecution has been a problem. Although the formal policy is set against sexual assault, cases of sexual harassment are often treated with a slap on the wrist, with administrative action, or a negative letter in a soldier's file being the only actions taken. It is also not uncommon for an investigation to find the allegations unverifiable and therefore, no action is taken. Sexual assault cases have had the same problem. There are no set policies on what punishment a soldier should receive if found guilty. They could be sentenced to jail time, but this does not always happen. In 2011, only six percent of attackers spent any time in jail (Rue 2013, 2). However, generally, those soldiers found guilty of sexual assault are ultimately dishonourably discharged from the military. In 2011, six percent of attackers were discharged from the military with no other action taken (Rue 2013, 3). However, if the soldier is not found guilty they are often placed back in their original

unit. This means that the woman who brought charges is forced to be once again close to her attacker.

Another problem regarding prosecutions and the hierarchical rank structure of the military that have recently come to light in 2013 is the issue of commanders overturning convictions of sexual assault. As discussed earlier in this chapter, commanders have discretion regarding the handling of sexual assault cases in their unit. There were two high profile cases in which commanders overturned sexual assault convictions of personnel under their command. In one case, Lt. Gen. Susan Helms, the first U.S. military women in space, pardoned an Air Force Captain after he was convicted by a jury of sexual assault. Her only explanation for the decision was that she reviewed the evidence and found the Captain's testimony "more credible" (Whitlock 2013, 1). The general's promotion is currently, as of June 2013, held up by Congress in order to review her decision in this case (Whitlock 2013, 1). In a similar case, Lt. Gen. Craig Franklin pardoned an F-16 fighter pilot, Lt. Col. Wilkerson, convicted of sexually assaulting a woman in his home while his wife and child were asleep. A military jury found him guilty in November 2012. He was then put up for promotion (Whitlock 2013, 1). His commander, Lt. Gen. Franklin, stated it was overturned because he "concluded that the entire body of evidence was insufficient to meet the burden of proof beyond a reasonable doubt" (Montgomery 2013, 1). In both cases, neither of the generals had been present at the trials (Whitlock 2013, 1).

In reference to Annex E, figure 6.7, the flow of sexual assault cases through the DoD justice system can be seen. This chart, with data from fiscal year 2011, shows that out of the 3,182 cases reported, 489 cases (15 percent) were taken to a court-martial, but not necessarily prosecuted, while 187 cases (5.8 percent) were given only non-judicial punishments. These could include a number of punishments, such as loss of pay or rank but no jail time. While 48 cases (about 1.5 percent) were given an administrative discharge, which means the perpetrator was believed to be guilty but was simply allowed to leave the military. While 67 attackers (2.1 percent) were only given adverse

administrative actions such as a letter of reprimand in their service files (DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 32).

This is a very poor rate of punishment for sexual assaults in the military. One female soldier respondent said, “I think that how the military handles sexual assaults plays a huge role in how women are perceived and vice versa” (Mary, October 2012). She believes that the low prosecution rate gives service members the impression that sexual assaults are not taken seriously and are therefore not important. This in turn perpetuates the informal norm of acceptance of sexual assault in the military. This is in comparison to greater U.S. society where 37 percent of rape cases were taken forward for prosecution (University of Kentucky 2011, 2). Representative Jackie Speier and Senator Kristen Gillibrand tackled this problem in the legislation they introduced to Congress. This is discussed further in the following section.

6.4 Action Outside of the Military

Support after sexual assaults have taken place has also been an area of contention. Many female soldiers that have reported cases of sexual assault feel as though they did not receive adequate treatment for the mental trauma. One female soldier respondent suggested that there should be “sexual assault survivor groups. But that would mean [admitting] that it does happen” (Laura, October 2012). As will be discussed in the last section, Secretary Panetta recently instated a policy to create new units that will make sure victims of sexual assault in the military will receive the counseling and help they need (Rue 2013, 3). It is yet to be seen if the new units will be more effective in treating victims than policies of the past. American military women have taken their fight against sexual assault outside of the military institution to instigate change because they were constrained by the institution. As was evidenced earlier in this chapter, female soldiers who attempted to counter cases of discrimination they experienced, felt that the internal, formal complaint structures did not work as they were intended, rather the informal norm of acceptance prevailed over formal policies. Instead female soldiers have had to act as ‘insurrectionary’ actors and move externally to the institution in order

to instigate change, as they had done in the past.¹²⁶ Current legislation and a lawsuits regarding sexual assault in the military are both looking to bring about a greater changes in the way assault cases are handled.

(i) Lawsuits

On February 15, 2011, Susan Burke filed charges for 17 plaintiffs, 15 women and two men, with the Federal District Court for the Eastern District in Virginia against the Department of Defense for “failure to make measurable progress and marked improvement to the Pentagon’s abysmal record that appears to tolerate sexual abuse and rape” (Domi 2011, 2). The majority of the plaintiffs reported that they were assaulted by a superior officer or enlisted member and were also “discouraged from reporting the crime” (Maze 2011, 2). One plaintiff said she did not report the crime because her past experience in the military, as an investigative agent for the Army, had made her believe her attacker would not be punished. While another enlisted female Marine soldier said that instead of investigating her case, the military threatened that she would be charged with inappropriate behaviour for drinking in the barracks and she was forced to live in the same barracks for another two years with her accused rapist (Maze 2011, 2). One plaintiff said that the way her case was handled made living with the attack more difficult. She said:

The problem of rape in the military is not only service members getting raped, but it’s the entire way the military as a whole is dealing with it. From survivors having to be involuntarily discharged from the service, the constant verbal abuse, once a survivor does come forward your entire unit is known to turn their back on you. The entire culture needs to be changed (Domi 2011, 2).

All of the plaintiffs in the case above believed that taking their case to the courts would be the best way to force change in the military (Domi 2011, 2). This lawsuit was dismissed because it was decided that, “the judiciary had to defer to military decisions

¹²⁶ Please refer to Chapter Three, page 79 for examples.

on command and discipline” (Tucker 2012, 2). However, the decision is in the process of being repealed (Tucker 2012, 2).

The same litigator, Susan Burke, filed a second lawsuit in March of 2012 on behalf of eight female soldiers, both current and former members of the Navy and Marine Corps. The suit was filed in the U.S. District Court in Washington and accused the Department of Defense of tolerating sexual offenders in their ranks while fostering a culture that blames victims (Tucker 2012, 1). One of the plaintiffs, after reporting threats and harassment while deployed in Iraq said a superior told her “that this happens all the time” (Tucker 2012, 1). Their goal in filing the lawsuit was to have their cases heard in the hope of bringing attention to the issue (Maze 2011, 1).

(ii) Legislation

Military members have also turned to Congress to provide more oversight and change DoD policies. Congresswoman Jackie Speier of California has been their advocate in the House of Representatives and has authored two Bills meant to increase prosecution rates and protect victims of sexual assault. Representative Speier introduced the first Bill, H.R. 3435, also known as the Sexual Assault Training Oversight and Prevention or STOP Act, in November 2011. The STOP Act looks to create an outside council to oversee cases of sexual assault in the military that would take away the responsibility from commanders (HR Bill 3435, 2011, 1). The Bill proposes the creation of an independent office in Washington D.C. comprised of both military and civilian personnel to investigate cases of sexual assault (HR Bill 3435, 2011, 1).

Representative Speier first became interested in the problem of sexual assault in the military when she attended a hearing on the subject several years prior to 2011, and she heard rhetoric that sounded as though people were blaming the victims instead of the perpetrators. She “got the sense that this was kind of going back to the 50’s” (Connelly, April 2012). She decided to meet with victims from the lawsuit discussed above to hear their stories and see how she could help. She heard the story of one female enlisted Marine soldier that was told to “take and aspirin and go to bed” when she reported to

her commander that she was assaulted (Speier 2011, 1). Speier said, “when that’s the prescription by the military to one of its soldiers that has been a victim of assault or rape - take an aspirin and go to bed - we’ve got a problem” (Speier 2011, 1). Representative Speier was concerned that nothing seemed to be changing within the DoD. She said, “over the years, the responses have varied but in the end the message has always been the same, [to soldiers] don’t push this complaint” (Speier 2012, 1). This made her decide that she wanted to look for the crux of the problem.

Representative Speier and her staff found that the command discretion over sexual assault cases is at the base of the problem. Speier’s legislative director, Josh Connelly argued:

We really do think it is this command discretion, chain of command issue, and circumventing that we think is vital. We think that is so important because, one, some commanding officers do a great job - we’re not painting everyone with the broad brush, but we think that inherently there is this conflict of interest problem. Whether it’s a commanding officer not wanting a bunch of rapes that get court-martialled on their record or it’s the fact that these are the most complicated cases they’re going to come across and they probably don’t have the expertise or training that these require (Connelly, April 2012).

They found that the hierarchical structure of the military was placing too much power over sexual assault reporting and prosecution with commanders who could decide to either enforce the formal policies or the informal norms with little oversight. The council they propose would take care of the conflict of interest regarding commanders and give the job to professionals that are trained to handle cases of that nature.

The second problem Representative Speier hopes to address with the Bill is to increase prosecution rates. Her and her staff members believe this could help the overall culture of the military. Connelly argues, “I think the biggest thing we can do to change the culture is to hold those perpetrators accountable” (Connelly, April 2012) and show

serial offenders that they cannot get away with assault in the military. They believe with proper prosecution, those perpetrators that are repeat offenders will be taken out of the military and properly punished (Connelly, Interview, April 2012). In order to change the norms of the military, changes must be made from the top commanders down through the ranks. As discussed in the first section of this chapter, Zucker's idea of transmission, in which informal norms are passed down from one generation to the next generation, can both develop and can maintain the norms of that institution. In the case of the U.S. military, because the commanders hold power over the sexual assault prosecutions and reporting for their units, the cultural changes must start with commanders passing down the appropriate values and teaching the younger generations that sexual assault will not be tolerated by properly prosecuting cases and not blaming the victim.

Representative Speier was also concerned about the victims of sexual assault and the blame she often saw placed on them. This concern, spurred by the Scandal at Lackland Air Force Base, motivated her to introduce a second Bill, H.R. 430, to the House of Representatives. H.R. 430, or The Protect Our Military Trainees Act, was introduced in January of 2013 and looks to "require the military justice system to acknowledge the power imbalance between trainer and trainee and strictly penalise any instructor who engages in sexual acts with a trainee during the time of instruction and for 30 days afterward" (Rep. Speier Demands Protection 2013, 1). This Bill was introduced in the hope of preventing future instances of assault by instructors after the significant problems at both Lackland Air Force Base and Aberdeen Proving Grounds came to light. Both of the Bills have been referred to committee, but Legislative Director Connelly said that he does not believe the STOP Act will make it out of committee. He said, "the chain of command is sacrosanct" but they would continue trying (Connelly, April 2012).

Senator Kirsten Gillibrand introduced a similar bill to the Senate Armed Services Committee in which the commander's discretion to prosecute sexual assault cases would be taken away and given to civilians trained in the handling of sexual assault

cases. She said, “the victims tell us they do not report because of the chain of command...they see that the chain of command will not be objective” (Dolan 2013, 1). Her legislation was replaced by Senator Carl Levin’s that “would keep prosecution of sexual assault cases with the chain of command, as the military wants” but “would require a senior military officer to review decisions by commanders who decline to prosecute sexual assault cases” (Steinhauer 2013, 1). Senator Levin’s legislation was passed in the Senate Armed Forces Committee with a vote of 17-9 (Dolan 2013, 1). Senator Gillibrand and others feel that this action will not be sufficient and she is planning to reintroduce her legislation later in the summer of 2013 (Steinhauer 2013, 1).

If any of the Bills discussed are passed through Congress, the DoD will be forced to abide by the provisions laid out in the Bill. Congress could add provisions into the Defense Authorisation Act, which provides the DoD with its yearly operating budget. The DoD would then change their policies to reflect the legislation. As Jeremy Herb, a Washington D.C. columnist, argues, “measures to force the military to deal with the issue are almost certain to become law - partly because Congress almost never fails to approve the annual Pentagon authorisation bill” (Herb 2013, 1). As was discussed in Chapter Three, many of women’s advancements in the military have been made through the help of Congressional legislation.

6.5 Actions Taken by the Institution

(i) DoD Policy Changes

In 2012, Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta announced significant changes to the way sexual assaults are to be handled in the military in the future. The new initiatives look to address the problems outlined above. In order to address the problem of command discretion, Secretary Panetta has proposed the Special Court-Martial Convening Authority that will be signed into law by an executive order. This will take all cases of sexual assault to a separate group of senior-ranking officers. He believes taking the reports outside of unit command discretion will raise the prosecution rate, as was argued by Representative Speier and Senator Gillibrand (Daniel 2012, 1). Secretary Panetta said:

There is no silver bullet when it comes to this issue. But what is required is that everyone, from the secretary and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff all the way down, at every command level, be sensitive to the issue. The most important thing we can do is prosecute the offenders, deal with those who have broken the law and committed this crime (Hlad 2012, 1).

Also to help with prosecution rates, Secretary Panetta proposed the creation of Special Victim Units. Each service branch will have their own unit and will be specially trained in the investigation and prosecution of sexual assaults. The DoD has established more funding for training in these areas that will also be charged with tracking the progress of all sexual assault cases with a total increase of \$9.3 million over a course of five years (Parrish 2012, 1).

In order to address the issue of command climate, Secretary Panetta ordered a review of how commanding officers and senior enlisted members are trained “on sexual assault prevention and response” in order to see what gaps the DoD can fill to strengthen the training they receive (Parrish 2012, 1). By addressing the training weaknesses, the DoD hopes commanders can be more aware of the climate they create in the prevention of sexual assault in their units. New training requirements were also created for all military personnel, requiring them to have a briefing on sexual assault policies during their first two weeks in the military (Defense Secretary Panetta Announces Initiative 2012, 1).

The DoD has addressed victim safety and recovery. Secretary Panetta announced that the DoD will establish a certification programme in order to ensure victim advocates are certified to the national standard and victims receive the highest standard of care possible (Parrish 2012, 1). In order to address problems of safety and the victims continued exposure to the attacker, there will be a new policy that allows victims that report a case of assault to be transferred from their unit quickly. This transfer request policy requires the victim’s command to respond to their request within 72 hours. If the request is denied, they can appeal to a higher-ranking officer (Parrish 2012, 1).

Representatives of Congress and advocates for victims of sexual assault have welcomed the changes. Representative Loretta Sanchez of California said that when she entered Congress in 1997, military leadership did not “see sexual assault as a problem. To have Panetta and Dempsey say they want to do something about it is in itself a big change in the culture” (Hlad 2012, 1). Anu Bhagwati, a former female Marine and an advocate for sexual assault victims, agreed that these initiatives were significant. She said, “this is hugely radical and extremely necessary for the military” (Ellison 2012, 2). Secretary Panetta and General Dempsey worked with both sides of Congress to outline the initiatives and receive support for the DoD’s recommendations to be included in the DoD Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 2013 (Parrish 2012, 2).

Secretary of Defense Panetta closed his introduction of the new policy initiatives by addressing those military members that had been victims. He said, “I deeply regret that such crimes occur in the U.S. military. And I will do all I can to prevent these sexual assaults from occurring in the Department of Defense. I’m committed to providing you the support and resources you need and to taking whatever steps are necessary to keep what happened to you from happening to others” (Parrish 2012, 1). The new policy changes introduced by Secretary Panetta clearly took into account the main problems that plague the system of sexual assault reporting and prosecution in the U.S. military. By removing the cases from unit-level commanders, the DoD is allowing a more objective group to handle the cases that will receive the proper training and funding for dealing with highly complicated cases. Medical care, both physical and psychological, will also be given greater attention and more resources than it has received in the past. The new policies show that the DoD no longer wants the problem of sexual assault to be ignored, but rather taken seriously to improve the problem.

Conclusion

It is clear from the case study of sexual assault in the military that informal norms are an important aspect to consider when analysing institutional change. As seen with DoD policies on sexual assault in the past, formal policy changes forced by Congressional

legislation do not necessarily mean a change in practice for those in the organisation. Instead, informal norms can be isolated and resistant to change as described through Zucker's institutionalisation and the 'weberian construct' in which transmission of norms through the rank structure is often impervious to outside ideas, as military members are often expected to bond with their units and are sometimes isolated from outside influence. Informal norms are often more difficult to change and not specifically targeted by formal policies. In the case of sexual assault in the military, the symptoms of the tension between the advancing formal policies moving toward greater gender equality and the masculine-oriented informal norms have increased overtime and military members that once tried to take action inside the institution were forced to take their grievances and stories to other institutions externally, as described in Mahoney and Thelen's theory of change. In the case of these particular actors, their weak veto possibilities and disadvantaged status inside the institution, due to the strict hierarchical structure, forced them to work through congressional and judicial institutions where their rank or position in the military was not an issue. The action outside of the military, by victims, through lawsuits and working with Congress to pass new legislation, has led to new DoD policy initiatives to target informal norms.

Several main informal problems behind sexual assault in the military were identified in this chapter. The command climate plays a significant role in how reports are handled in terms of prosecution and also how victims are treated if they choose to report the assault. Also, due to the rank structure and the 'cultural persistence' transmission process, commanders are supposed to uphold the values of the institution. If commanders undervalue reports of sexual assault, this sends a message to lower ranking officers and enlisted personnel that they should also not take it seriously. The new DoD initiatives to target training for commanders is designed to ensure all commanders take reports of sexual assault seriously, instead of belittling the complaints and responses as has been done in the past. Sexual assaults continue to be a problem because their effects have been diminished and victims have been blamed for disrupting unit cohesion and bonding. This is an example of the 'cultural persistence' concept of maintenance. Those

who wish to maintain the current informal norms of the institution often punish those who report sexual assaults for breaking the informal norms.

Low prosecution rates have exposed a culture that has not made prosecuting sexual predators a priority but has preferred to keep the status quo. Representative Jackie Speier's Bill was designed to increase prosecution rates and therefore, hopefully change the informal norms around sexual assaults where cases are not taken seriously or perpetrators are not brought to justice. Although Representative Speier's Bills have not yet been passed, the DoD has acted to in the future remove complete discretion from commanders in the handling of sexual assault cases. The Senate Armed Services Committee also passed legislation in order for the DoD to implement a structure in which all cases where a commander has decided not to prosecute a case of sexual assault must be reviewed. Many of the new policies and initiatives put forth by the DoD for fiscal year 2013 have not yet been activated. However, the fact that the problems of the informal norms of sexual assault are being targeted shows that institutional change is moving in a positive direction in this area.

Introduction

This thesis has evaluated the formal gender policies and the informal norms of the U.S. military institution in order to answer the prime question proposed in Chapter One,¹²⁷ which was: (1) To what extent has the gendered institutional culture of the U.S. Armed Forces evolved? This thesis also looked at how changed has occurred and why it sometimes has not. The main hypothesis was that that even though positive formal changes have occurred for women, the informal norms of the U.S. military are especially resistant to change and they play an important role in the structure of the U.S. gender regime. Therefore, the gendered institutional culture has evolved to be more inclusive of women than ever before in the past but informal norms have continued to privilege masculinity. In order to answer the proposed question and prove the hypothesis, Chapter Three provided a historical context of women's participation in the U.S. Armed Forces. It also highlighted emerging patterns of how and why women were able to make substantial inroads into the military. Chapter Four discussed the character of the gender regime and the connection between the military and society. It provided examples from female soldiers of the masculinised culture of the military and its impact on informal norms.

Chapters Five looked at the masculine culture of the military and it provided examples from female soldiers. There have been significant changes to women's involvement in the U.S. military over the past 20 years. Chapter Five also explored how recent changes in U.S. strategic culture affected the link between masculinity and war fighting. Chapter Six explained the institutionalisation of norms in the U.S. military. It provided a case study of the problem of sexual assault and how actors have worked to change the discriminatory practices. Although female soldiers have made substantial progress, as can be seen from the recent lifting of the combat ban policy on women in February 2013, the masculine-centric informal norms have lagged behind formal changes and symptoms of this, specifically with sexual discrimination and assault, remain.

¹²⁷ Please refer to Chapter One, page 8 for main questions of the thesis.

This thesis argued that there have been many positive changes in DoD policies for women in the U.S. military yet masculinity remains privileged in the institution. It is important to look at the masculine-oriented informal norms for answers to this puzzle. Chapter Five illustrated that many women felt the U.S. military culture was masculine-centric and discussed examples of why and how they believe this is the case, such as the continued informal use of denigrating the feminine during military training.¹²⁸ As discussed in Chapter Four, the profession of soldier in Western society was traditionally male and many of society's constructed gender identities were built around the traditional idea of Jean Beth Elshtain's 'just warriors' and 'beautiful souls.' The usage of the 'beautiful soul' role has evolved, due to Western women's greater participation in the workforce and in the military, to now include women in Afghanistan.¹²⁹ While 'beautiful souls' is still applicable to some Western women as well, military women have emerged as a third gender in some instances.¹³⁰ Although the 'beautiful soul' role has evolved, the traditions built on the original model continue to affect women's participation in the military in 2013.

The following two sections analyse the findings of this thesis in order to make conclusions regarding the evolution of the gender power structure of the U.S. military. In order to ensure the validity of this study, it was essential "to acquire valid and reliable multiple and diverse realities" (Galofshani 2003, 603). As was discussed in Chapter Two, this study analysed data derived from participant interviews and surveys, as well as data from formal government policies, polls, and academic literature on women in the military. Johnson argues that triangulation between different methods and sources of qualitative research ensure greater validity in the research paradigm. He argues that it is essential to "use investigator triangulation and consider the ideas and explanations generated by additional researchers" (Johnson 1997, 284). Triangulation between the different data sources mentioned above was used in order to establish validity to the arguments made throughout the thesis.

¹²⁸ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 137 for examples.

¹²⁹ Please refer to Chapter Four, page 156 for examples.

¹³⁰ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 156 for explanation on female soldiers as the third gender.

The research in this thesis looks to add knowledge to the field of new institutionalism theory in regards to institutional change and the gendered nature of the U.S. military. In order to accomplish this goal, the issue of generalisability must be addressed. Nahid Galofshani argues that, “the quality of research is related to the generalisability of the result” (Galofshani 2003, 603). However, generalisability in qualitative research must be approached differently than quantitative research, as the methods and goals of the research are different. Cuba and Lincoln argue that “generalisations are impossible since phenomena are neither time nor context free (although some transferability of these hypothesis may be possible from situation to situation, depending on the degree of temporal and contextual similarity” (Cuba & Lincoln 1982, 238). Therefore, this research cannot draw conclusions on human nature; rather it is confined to the context of institutions that have similar characteristics to the case study of this thesis, the U.S. military.

As shown in new institutionalism theory, the processes of change can be applicable to other institutions that have similar characteristics. This is supported by the theoretical framework applied in this study that is based on historical and sociological institutionalism as well as Mahoney and Thelen’s theory of change. Their theory is an effective framework for this study because it focuses on slow and incremental change, which has occurred in the gender power structure of the U.S. military. Their theory also identified disparate characteristics of various institutions that produce distinct methods and actors of change. Mahoney and Thelen’s theory is also especially useful for this case because it accounts for aspects of both agency and structure. It provides a framework to explore how institutional actors are constrained by institutional norms, rules and characteristics.

As female soldiers in the U.S. military institution are constrained by many of the same factors as their female co-workers, it is possible to draw some generalisations from the interview and survey data collected for this research. There was a representation of respondents from all branches of the military services as well as respondents from both

enlisted and officer ranks. This ensured different levels of rank were represented,¹³¹ which was important in this case study, as women's place in the rank structure can affect their experience in the military. As was described in Chapter Five, each branch of service has their own separate sub-culture, so it was important to have representative respondents from each branch of service to produce more reliable information that can be generalised to the greater institution. In comparison to the 156,000 female soldiers in the U.S. military, 64 total respondents is a small number, therefore, it is not possible to draw exact conclusions that state the absolute nature of the U.S. military. However, it is possible to draw general conclusions that are based on and supported by the knowledge and experiences of the women interviewed and surveyed.

This thesis provides original research into the study of women's participation in the U.S. military as well as new and feminist institutionalism research. It is original in that interviews and surveys were conducted to collect new data from participants in order to produce new knowledge. This research also approached the subject of change in the gender power structure of the U.S. military from a feminist institutionalism perspective based on new institutionalism theory, which has not been done in the past. Feminist institutionalism theory is a developing field and the U.S. military has not yet been used as a case study. The following two sections apply the concepts from new institutionalism theory to draw conclusions based on evidence gathered on the gender power structure of the U.S. military. The third section discusses possible future implications for women's status in the military and society and the final section provides an overview of how the research from this thesis relates to the field of new institutionalism.

7.1 Formal Rules vs. Informal Norms

In order to explain how the formal policies and informal norms have come together to form the gender power structure of the U.S. military, and have either helped to cause or impede change, this section first provides an overview of the main points argued in this thesis regarding formal rules and informal norms in the case of the U.S. military. It then

¹³¹ Please refer to Annex A, pages 232-233.

explains both the negative and positive effects of the gaps between formal policies and informal norms on women's status in the military institution. Stagnant informal norms have held back women's progress in the U.S. military but there are also instances in which informal norms in relation to the previous Ground Combat Rule were beneficial to women.

(i) Overview

According to path dependency theory, as was discussed in Chapter Two, the original formal policies of an organisation sets the values, norms and policies for the institution. The original framework is perpetuated by the initial institution and is difficult to change.¹³² In the case of the U.S. military, the Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948 instilled discriminatory policies into the framework of the institution. The original formal policies set forth in the Bill laid the groundwork for the institution to be skewed toward masculinity. As was discussed in Chapter One, Carol some feminists argued that by not allowing women to participate in the core jobs of the military (combat roles), femininity was placed as less than masculinity in the military institution. This thesis agrees with this argument and accepts that women's underprivileged status in the military was perpetuated because of their lack of participation in combat roles.¹³³ The lingering effects of the Armed Forces Integration Act, which first constrained women's participation in varying roles of the military, persisted in formal policy until the lifting of the DoD Ground Combat Rule in 2013.

As was evidenced in Chapter Three, the U.S. military was not developed with the consideration of gender equality. Military necessity and operational effectiveness took precedence. Women were allowed to enter the military only when they were needed to fill personnel needs. Women worked for over 60 years for equal policies for both genders and the lifting of the Ground Combat Ban in 2013 ended the last constraining formal policy that discriminated based on gender. Although all formal gender

¹³² Please refer to Chapter Two, page 33 for further information on Path Dependency Theory.

¹³³ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for further information on feminist arguments.

discriminatory policies were lifted, they continue to affect the informal norms of the military, as discussed in Chapter Five.

The informal norms of the military were developed from past formal policies and the initial military culture. The formal policies and informal norms of the military come together to create the gender power structure of the U.S. military. Past formal policies are important because they set women at a disadvantaged position to men. The informal norms of an institution are more difficult to change than formal policies because often there is no formal avenue for actors to work through to enact change and informal norms are rarely targeted in regards to institutional change. Also, once norms are institutionalised, they are more impervious to change.

As was discussed in Chapter Six, the masculine culture has been institutionalised¹³⁴ in the U.S. military. Chapters One and Six¹³⁵ discussed Lynne Zucker's theory of 'cultural persistence' and Ingraham, Moynihan and Andrew's 'weberian construct' to explain why it is particularly difficult to change the informal norms of an institution and how norms become institutionalised. Between these two ideas, they suggest that the informal norms of an institution are especially difficult to change if there is a process for transmission and maintenance of the cultural ideas, if actors in the institution are resistant to change and have similar experiences, and if there is a strict hierarchy in place.

The military has all of the qualities laid out by the two above constructs. As was discussed in Chapters Five and Six, initial training, such as basic training and Officer Training School (OTS), serve as the transmission process for new recruits to learn the formal rules and the informal norms of the military.¹³⁶ Career field training and

¹³⁴ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 44 for theory behind the institutionalisation of the masculine military culture.

¹³⁵ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 44 for further information on 'cultural persistence' and the 'weberian construct.'

¹³⁶ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 137 for further information on basic training.

continuing education and leadership classes¹³⁷ as well as mentoring programmes from senior ranking officers can serve as maintenance for the institutions ideas. As was evidenced in Chapter Six, with the cases of sexual assault, maintenance also occurs when actors informally or formally punish those who they believe broke an informal norm.¹³⁸ The military is also an institution built on traditional practices and customs and those are passed down to new members during training periods. The hierarchical structure makes the institution less permeable because the few at the top hold significantly more power than the actors at the bottom. Those in the military are taught to conform to the group and bonding is encouraged through subjecting members to similar trials and experiences. All of these factors combine to make the culture of the institution more resilient to change because individual actors are taught the customs and traditions and are expected to uphold them as well as conform to the norms they have been taught. This, along with the strict hierarchical structure, makes it difficult for individual actors to question or act against the informal norms they have been taught.

The gap between the formal policies and the informal norms of the U.S. military affect the current gender power structure. As of 2013, as mentioned above, all formal policies that placed femininity at a disadvantage to masculinity had been lifted. This is clear evidence that the gender institutional culture has changed significantly since women's first official conclusion in 1948. However, as was evidenced in Chapter Five, the military culture is still masculine-oriented and women continue to be placed at a disadvantage because femininity was formally considered inferior in the past policies of the military institution. This inferiority of femininity and privileging of masculinity is consistently seen in the informal norms of the military, as was evidenced in Chapter Five. There were formal avenues for actors to push change in favour of gender equality in the U.S. military, but women could only work for changes in the informal norms of the institution through informal actions. Many of these actions, as discussed in Chapter Five, were carried out on an individual basis when female soldiers tried to change the

¹³⁷ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 141 for further information on developmental education in the military.

¹³⁸ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 174 for further examples of maintenance.

stereotypes of women in the military through their own actions.¹³⁹ The formal avenues that are in place for service members to report instances of informal discrimination often do not work, as evidenced by female soldiers responses in Chapter Six.¹⁴⁰

The informal norms of the U.S. military lag behind positive changes in formal policy in regards to gender equality because the informal, masculine norms were institutionalised through the years of masculine-oriented history and tradition of the military and there is no effective formal avenue for actors to force change in the informal norms. The past formal policies and the masculine-oriented informal norms of the U.S. military, come together to form a gender power structure in which masculinity is privileged, yet formally women are allowed participation.

As discussed in Chapter One,¹⁴¹ although there are multiple masculinities and not all male soldiers fit the ideal characteristics, as was demonstrated by the narrative of Andre Shepherd in Chapter Four,¹⁴² femininity inherently sits at opposition to the reigning military hegemonic masculinity. Although masculinities fall along the masculinised spectrum in relation to the reigning hegemonic masculinity or the ‘just warrior’ characteristics of the military, women automatically fall to the opposite end of the spectrum. In other words, female soldiers often have a more difficult time achieving the hegemonic masculinity or ideal ‘just warrior’ characteristics simply because they are women. Female soldiers feel as though they have to adopt traditional masculine characteristics in order to fit in to the institution and advance in their careers.¹⁴³ The gap between formal policies and the informal norms of the military have had both positive and negative affects on women’s status in the institution. Although informal norms in relation to the previous Ground Combat Rule benefitted women, overall the informal norms of the military, due to their masculine-oriented nature, have held women back. The negative and positive effects are outlined in this section.

¹³⁹ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 134 for further examples.

¹⁴⁰ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 185 for examples.

¹⁴¹ Please refer to Chapter One, page 12 for a further explanation of masculinities.

¹⁴² Please refer to Chapter Four, page 122 for the narrative on Andre Shepherd.

¹⁴³ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 133 for examples.

(ii) Negative Effects

Significant symptoms of the lack of women's full acceptance into the military are the issues of sexual harassment and assault. These particular problems were found in the tension areas between informal norms and significant formal policy changes in favour of women. In order to better clarify this tension, two main positive changes in formal policy that were introduced in Chapter Three will be discussed in this section. They are: the lifting of the DoD Risk Rule and women's admittance into the military academies. The lifting of the DoD Risk Rule is considered rather than the lifting of the DoD Ground Combat Rule because the latter change was made so recently that it is difficult to effectively explicate the effects on women in the military.

The prevalence of sexual harassment and assault is an indicator that, although women were accepted into the institution formally, they were not fully accepted into the masculine-based culture. Masculinity continues to be privileged because this was the idea on which the military was established and the hierarchical and closed nature of the military institution has made the informal norms more impervious to change. Each of the significant positive changes in policy mentioned has been negatively marked by cases of sexual harassment and assault. In considering the opening of 'traditionally male' career fields to women, such as pilot slots, the Tailhook scandal discussed in Chapters Three and Four¹⁴⁴ is an example of when the formal policy of allowing women to fly aircraft was at tension with the informal cultural norms of the Navy pilot career field. The cultural stereotype was that Navy pilots were particularly hyper-masculine because they landed aircrafts on ships. The Tailhook scandal, in which many Navy pilots were accused of sexually harassing and assaulting hundreds of women, many of them Navy pilots as well, showed how female pilots were not informally accepted into the traditionally masculine career field. Also, the subsequent handling of the Tailhook cases, in which high-ranking male officers in the Navy and the DoD initially ignored women reporting the incidents, showed that there was a cultural acceptance of the sexually harassing behaviour. This acceptance of the masculine informal norms is why

¹⁴⁴ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 131 for further information on the Tailhook scandal.

greater change has not occurred in the gendered institutional culture of the U.S. military.

The expansion of women into more roles also meant the integration of women into co-ed boot camp training. The same institutionalisation of hyper-masculine ideas as mentioned above was found in basic training.¹⁴⁵ Drill sergeants often used denigration of the feminine to motivate male cadets into better performance.¹⁴⁶ Although it was a positive change that women were able to fill more jobs in the military and therefore participate in the same training programs as men, they were still not informally accepted. The traditional hyper-masculine culture was persistent and caused serious problems in the gender regime. There were several major cases of sexual harassment and assault that took place in training camps by multiple male drill sergeants against female trainees. One major scandal took place at the Marine Corps training camp of Aberdeen Proving Ground.¹⁴⁷ While another far-reaching scandal took place at Lackland Air Force Base, where the Air Force conducts basic training.¹⁴⁸

There were also similar problems after it was determined that women were allowed to attend military academies. Chapter Six discussed specific cases of major scandals of sexual assault and harassment at the military academies. The Air Force Academy had several high-profile cases because it was found that reports of sexual assault from female cadets were often ignored and no action was taken by the university on behalf of the victims to prosecute the offenders.¹⁴⁹ In one specific case discussed, the female victim was eventually forced to transfer schools because she was socially condemned by her male and female classmates for reporting the assault. In Chapter Five, several of the female military members who had attended a military academy said sexual harassment and jokes that denigrated women were commonplace and their best option

¹⁴⁵ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 137 for information on military training.

¹⁴⁶ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 139 for examples.

¹⁴⁷ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 192 for further information on the cases at Aberdeen Proving Ground.

¹⁴⁸ Please refer to Chapter Six, pages 192 for further information on the cases at Lackland Air Force Base.

¹⁴⁹ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 140 for further information on cases of sexual assault and harassment in the U.S. Air Force Academy.

was just to ignore them.¹⁵⁰ Although women have come a long way to be included in the academies, the incidents discussed in this thesis show that informal norms of those institutions have lagged behind the formal policy changes in the acceptance of female cadets. The academies were a training ground for military cadets and the masculinised nature of the institution was emphasised in training, as discussed in Chapter Five.¹⁵¹

Part of what perpetuated the problem of sexual assault and harassment and affected the informal norms of the institution was the low prosecution rates for sexual assaults in the military. Chapter Six discussed the different possible reasons for this, but it also shows that, by not properly punishing perpetrators to the full extent of the formal policy, there was some informal acceptance of the problem in the military. This can also be seen in the responses from female interviewees from Chapter Five, in which many said that harassment and discrimination based on their gender was expected and something they had to accept to be a part of the institution.¹⁵² This idea is discussed further in the third section of this chapter, which looks at possibilities for gender relations in the future. Although the informal norms have been detrimental to female soldiers in the cases discussed above, they have benefitted from some informal norms.

(iii) Positive Effects

The gap between formal policies and informal norms of the military does not always put women at a disadvantage. In some cases, the policy placed women at a disadvantage and the informal norms opened opportunities for them that they would not have been afforded by policy. For example, until early 2013, female soldiers were governed by the Ground Combat Rule, which barred women from pursuing careers in ground combat positions.¹⁵³ As was discussed in Chapter Five, the role of the U.S. military has evolved to include counterinsurgency and peacekeeping missions as well as combat operations. With these missions came a need for different skills. For example, women became essential members of peacekeeping and intelligence teams through the Female

¹⁵⁰ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 141 for quotes from female military members on their experiences at the military academies.

¹⁵¹ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 139 for information on masculinity during military training.

¹⁵² Please refer to Chapter Five, page 141 for examples.

¹⁵³ Please refer to Chapter Three, page 97 or further information on the Ground Combat Rule.

Engagement Teams¹⁵⁴ (FETs) because they were able to better access the female population in Iraq and Afghanistan. With this need, a critical juncture occurred and a role opened up for women to be closer to the front lines and contribute to combat missions through intelligence gathering. Also, as discussed in Chapter Three, the front lines and back lines of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan were often blurred, so by women engaging in the forward operating areas in FETs and by other avenues as discussed below, many have found themselves in combat. A critical juncture occurred in this case due to military necessity. Operations in the field drove the need to bring women into intelligence-gathering teams. The change started at the bottom of the institution, with soldiers in the field, and eventually moved up to influence decisions by DoD leadership.

FETs were examples of Thelen and Mahoney's theory of gradual change in which the conversion of the purpose of an institution, such as the military also gaining peacekeeping and counterinsurgency roles, opens up areas for actors or 'opportunists' to bring about change. In the case of the FETs, although the Ground Combat Rule was in place, women were allowed to fill ground roles that were close to combat and in forward operating locations. They used the opportunity the FET jobs provided to act as 'opportunist' actors and prove that they were able to contribute and be successful in forward operating roles. This method of change is discussed further in the following section.

The gap between the formal and informal also allowed female military actors to bring about change in the case of women's attachment to combat groups, as discussed in Chapter Five.¹⁵⁵ The loophole attached female soldiers to combat ground combat units although they could not be formally assigned to them. In many cases, the women would end up in combat by filling roles their commander assigned them to. This was unfair to female soldiers because many were in combat but were not receiving credit from the military for their time. One female soldier in Chapter Five said that many people would

¹⁵⁴ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 155 for further information on FETs.

¹⁵⁵ Please refer to Chapter Five, pages 161 for information on the attachment policy.

not believe her when she said she had been in combat. However, much like the FETs, the attachment policy gave women the opportunity to become ‘opportunist’ actors and prove that they could successfully perform in combat. As was argued in Chapter Five, their successful performance helped to convince leaders to lift the last remaining ban on combat jobs for women and therefore raise their status in the U.S. military institution.¹⁵⁶

What is particularly interesting about women’s advancement in the military through these different areas is that they progressed because they moved closer to what are considered the most masculine jobs in the military. In the case of the FETs, women are performing peacekeeping and intelligence roles, roles that were traditionally considered feminised, particularly peacekeeping roles. However, they gained ground in the military through the FETs because they were closer to combat, or the most masculinised roles in the military. This supports both the equal-rights based and civic responsibility arguments that women must be allowed to participate in all jobs of the military to find equality. The same is true in the case of the attachment policy. Female soldiers progressed because they were closer to combat. As can be seen in Chapter Three, historically, women have made progress in gaining more rights in the military by filling gaps or needs in the institution during wartime. They were able to take advantage of the opportunities to participate in limited military positions and eventually expand their rights. They also gained rights during periods of major institutional change in which there were a shortage of personnel, such as wartime.

It is especially interesting that women gained rights during wartime because war is considered a masculine activity and yet women benefitted through greater equality in the Armed Forces. In analysing women’s involvement from a historical institutionalism perspective, this is an example of the theory of change of ‘critical junctures.’¹⁵⁷ Areas were opened up in the institution for limited periods of time because of outside circumstances that allowed them to change the institution. In the case of the U.S.

¹⁵⁶ Please refer to Chapter Three, page 97 for further information on the lifting of the DoD Ground Combat Rule.

¹⁵⁷ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 39 for further information on ‘critical junctures’.

military, wars created critical junctures that allowed for change. This model of change is discussed in the following section.

The importance of the hierarchical power structure of the U.S. military in the treatment of women was also discussed in Chapter Six. The assertion that overall, women are disadvantaged in relation to their male counterparts does not ignore the issue of rank. The assertion is generalised based on data and literature collected from female representatives from all ranks of the military. Rank is a factor in how much power an individual actor is likely to have but does not necessarily mean that the larger group has a higher status based on the individual actor. For example, if a female or male commander has power over a unit and implements gender-equal practices and informal norms, then the women in that unit will likely not be disadvantaged to their male counterparts. Also, some women who hold high ranks will likely have more power and status than those in lower ranks. However, this thesis is concerned with an overall, general picture of the gender power structure.

The negative and positive affects of the interaction between formal policies and informal norms of the U.S. military, as outlined above, create the current gender power structure of the U.S. military. They show that significant changes have occurred to move the military toward a more equal gender institutional culture but that informal norms of stagnated major cultural changes. As the branches of service enact their plans to open all jobs to women, formally, women and men will be equal in the institution. However, informally, this is not the case. Although, as discussed above, some informal norms have been beneficial to women's status in the military, overall the informal norms hold women's advancement back and place femininity as less than masculinity in the gender power structure of the U.S. military. This is evidenced in Chapter Five, in which women said that the military prefers masculinity to femininity.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, they feel they must act in a masculine way in order to be included in the military. As the U.S. military moves towards greater usage of technology in order to remove personnel from risk, the link between masculinity and war fighting is likely to weaken more than it

¹⁵⁸ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 133 for examples.

already has. This could advance women's standing in the gender power structure in the future. However, as of 2013, female soldiers continue to be valued less than their male counterparts by the military institution.

7.2 Evolution of the Institution

This thesis looked at theories and areas of institutional change and how they relate to the U.S. military institution, such as Mahoney and Thelen's ideas of conversion and historical institutionalism's 'critical junctures.' From analysing the changes in the gender regime of the institution through these theories, it can be seen that institutional change has occurred but that the masculine-oriented change lags behind. The changes in formal policy that affect gender, such as the lifting of the combat ban on women, are positive signs that the military is moving away from the idea that all soldiers must be male. As discussed in Chapter Five, there were also significant changes to U.S. strategic culture and mission priorities over the past 20 years in which there is now a greater reliance on technological skills and less on physical strength for many soldiers. This change has placed women at less of a disadvantage than in the past because women were limited by their physical strength.

Greater U.S. society has also evolved to be more accepting of women in the workplace and public sphere. From the research included in this thesis, it can be seen that the military institution has changed and women are playing a more significant role. This section discusses why and how the military institution has become more accepting of women and the strong link between masculinity and war fighting has been weakened. The overall gendered institutional culture of the military has been skewed, but there has not been a major shift away from a masculine-oriented culture.

Changes in the gender power structure of the military have occurred in two main ways. Change was enacted internally, based on military necessity and the actions of 'opportunistic' actors or externally by 'insurrectionary actors' and societal factors. One major theme of change that was explicated throughout the thesis was a bottom-up approach in which informal norms and practices developed in response to military

necessity and brought about change from the soldier level up to DoD leadership. First an external event or situation, most often the U.S.'s participation in a war, would open a critical juncture that lessened the institutional constraints on women's participation in the military. This would create a gap between the informal norms of the military and the formal policy, such as with the FET units and the combat ban. Then, women, working as 'opportunist' actors, would perform well overall in the tasks they were given. Once their participation was seen as successful in the positions they were given, DoD leadership often opened more positions to women. In other words, informally, women would participate in new roles because the military needed personnel and after their successful performance, the formal rules would then be changed to reflect the realities on the ground in the military. This was done several times throughout the 20th century. This model of change occurred after every war, beginning with World War II. It also occurred after the end of conscription in 1973.¹⁵⁹ This supports Mahoney and Thelen's theory of gradual change in which institutional change can occur when 'soft spots' are created by the improper implementation of formal rules (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 4).

'Insurrectionary' actors, who had been too constrained in the institution to work as 'opportunist' actors, often instigated the second main approach. Their lack of progress internal to the institution, forced them to pursue other institutions outside of the military through the judicial or legislative branches. The 'insurrectionary' actor would bring a formal court case against the military to displace a specific policy. Members of Congress lobbying for changes to be made to the military were also considered 'insurrectionary' actors because they worked external to the military and looked to completely displace formal policies. The formal policy change would then be forced from the top down from Congress or the U.S. court system ruling against the military. As was discussed in Chapter Three, the DoD was then forced to change their policy, or the DoD would change the policy before an actual court ruling was enacted or piece of legislation was passed. This approach was used consistently throughout women's participation in the military. Most recently however, victims of sexual assault used this

¹⁵⁹ Please refer to Chapter Three, page 74 for examples.

model in order to force change in how the DoD handles prosecutions of sexual assault cases.¹⁶⁰

Although women have worked their way into a higher status in the military, and there was a weakening of the link between masculinity and war fighting, the military culture continues to be masculine-oriented and women are not fully accepted. As was discussed in the first section, and is discussed further in the following section, this is due to the institutionalisation of the masculine norms of which the military institution was originally built on. Until recently, in 2013, combat jobs were limited to men's participation only. Therefore, the link between combat and masculinity remained intact. As was discussed in the literature review section in Chapter One, many feminist researchers believe that women's exclusion from combat roles caused them discrimination from men in the institution and stood in the way of their ability to be viewed as full and equal members of the military.¹⁶¹ This thesis agrees with this assessment, as of 2013 the combat jobs are considered the core career fields of the military. Women need to be able to fill those jobs if they want to be considered as important and equal to male soldiers. Chapter Five posited that this could change in the future as technological jobs may start to be considered the 'core' jobs of the military. This evolution can already be seen because U.S. strategic culture shows a greater reliance on technologies that move soldiers away from risk. If this is the case in the future, it will not be as important for women to serve in combat roles to be considered equal members.¹⁶²

7.3 Possible Future Impact for Women

(i) Women in the Military

As was discussed in Chapter Three, Secretary of Defense, Leon Panetta lifted the last policy in place restricting women's participation in combat jobs at the beginning of 2013.¹⁶³ Overcoming the last major obstacle in formal policy to women's full

¹⁶⁰ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 198 for examples.

¹⁶¹ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for these arguments.

¹⁶² Please refer to Chapter One, page 23 for civic responsibility argument.

¹⁶³ Please refer to Chapter Two, page 97 for information on the lifting of the Ground Combat Rule.

involvement in the military was a major positive accomplishment for female soldiers. They are no longer restricted from career fields because of their gender. Now that the formal obstacles for women's participation in the 'core' jobs of the military are gone, what does this mean for the future of women in the U.S. military? As mentioned above, this research posits that female soldiers must be able to participate in all combat jobs in order to gain equality in the military. However, this is not something that will happen instantaneously. The masculine cultural norms are thoroughly imbedded in the institution and women's participation in all combat jobs may not overcome the masculine culture on its own.

The military will stay a masculine centric culture if femininity is continuously denigrated in training and in the academies. Women should not have to act in a masculine manner in order to feel they are accepted.¹⁶⁴ The 'ethic of care' feminists argue that women adapting to the masculine culture hurts feminism.¹⁶⁵ Although this thesis does not agree with this argument, this research showed that women's acceptance of the culture and discriminatory practices impedes positive gender institutional change. The military has a formal 'zero-tolerance' policy against sexual harassment and discrimination. This means that anyone who displays these actions should be punished quickly and sternly. However, from the data collected from female interviewees, the policy is not universally enforced. Many of the women interviewed said it was a consistent problem from the time they were in the military academy or basic training to throughout their careers. The women who had attended the academies in particular said it was an accepted practice and they learned to ignore it. If it is accepted in the academies, which are supposed to be training young officers and future military leaders, it will continue to be accepted as they progress through the ranks. Until this overall informal norm of acceptance of sexual harassment and discrimination is addressed through members reporting incidents and their command taking strict actions, women will not be able to be equal members in the U.S. Armed Forces.

¹⁶⁴ Please refer to Chapter Five, page 133 for quotes from female military members.

¹⁶⁵ Please refer to Chapter One, page 25 for 'ethic of care' argument.

Due to the issues discussed above, this research posits that changing the masculine centric culture of the military will be a slower and a more difficult process than it was for the formal discriminatory policies against women to be lifted. The lifting of the combat ban on women is an important first step toward equal treatment, as it formally places women as equal members. However, as was shown in this thesis, the informal norms do not always follow changes in formal policy. In order for the masculinised culture to change, the culture of acceptance of sexual harassment and assault must change. The ideas from Representative Speier's and Senator Gillibrand's legislations to remove sexual assault reporting and prosecuting power from the chain of command could go a long way in ensuring cases are no longer ignored and help improve prosecution rates. This could in turn show that sexual assaults will not be tolerated and change the current culture of acceptance.

It must also be addressed that the attack is not the fault of the victim. As discussed in Chapter Six, some victims feel as though they are blamed for their own assault. As was the case with Stacey Thompson, victims that report assaults feel they have then been targeted for lesser charges in retaliation for their report and as a way to place blame on them instead of the perpetrator.¹⁶⁶ Many women have also felt that after reporting an assault they were ostracised by their own unit and friends, including both male and female soldiers and punished for breaking the informal norm of acceptance of sexual assault. Command climate and leadership can help address this issue. In the past, sexual assault reports have negatively affected the career of a commander and are a negative mark against a unit. It is often seen as a blemish on the unit's record.¹⁶⁷ This has led to the feeling that the report of a sexual assault disrupts the bonds of the unit. Therefore, it is important that when a case of sexual assault does occur, that the commander of the unit is clear that it is not the victim's fault for reporting the case. Due to the hierarchical structure of the military, the transmission of informal norms occurs from commanders and officers passing down norms to others in the military. A commander, or high-

¹⁶⁶ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 185 for further information on Stacey Thompson's case.

¹⁶⁷ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 189 for further information on commanders and sexual assault reports.

ranking officer can set the tone for their unit by passing down the appropriate response to cases of sexual assault and harassment.

There is hope of the problems of sexual assault and harassment lessening in the future because Congress has started forcing change. Congress enacted one significant and positive change to the rule of commander's discretion in June of 2013. As was discussed in Chapter Six,¹⁶⁸ commanders had the power to overturn guilty convictions of sexual assault. There were two cases in 2013 that garnered significant media attention in which two generals overturned the guilty verdict for male officers in their units after a jury found the officers guilty.¹⁶⁹ Congress took notice of these cases and on June 5, 2013, the U.S. House Armed Services Committee passed a bill that stripped "commanders of their longstanding authority to reverse or change court-martial convictions" (Cassata 2013, 1). The same Bill also required for anyone found guilty of a "sex-related crime" to "receive a punishment that includes, at a minimum, a dismissal from military service or a dishonourable discharge" (Cassata 2013, 1). The Bill is expected to be included in the Defence Authorisation Act for FY 2014, discussed below.

A recent report regarding the Defence Authorisation Act, that must be passed every year by Congress to provide funding to the DoD, stated that ways to counter sexual assaults in the military are to be an important discussion in the passing of the Defence Authorisation Act for FY 2014. It said, "broad, bipartisan outrage over the problem has built up after a series of embarrassing incidents and a report that found 26,000 assaults last year - an increase of more than a third from 2011" (Herb 2013, 1). Although the problem has had to become severe for lawmakers to take notice, it is a positive sign that it is now receiving notice not only from lawmakers, but from the public as well. When military victims were not able to instigate change inside the institution, they took their

¹⁶⁸ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 195 for further information on commanders' ability to overturn sexual assault convictions.

¹⁶⁹ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 195 for further information on the cases.

fight outside to federal courts and Congress. The publicity they have received may be able to enact greater structural changes to the reporting chain of sexual assaults.¹⁷⁰

As described above, there have been significant positive formal policy changes for women in the U.S. Armed Forces. Although there have been formal changes, many of the masculine-oriented informal norms of the military institution have not followed the formal policy, but have instead been at tension with it. Although the formal combat ban against women was lifted and I posited that this would need to be done to ensure women equality in the military, this informal change will not happen instantaneously. The masculine-oriented informal norms will likely continue to hold women back until the institution no longer denigrates the feminine, while privileging the masculine. This will likely be a longer process of change than it was to make the formal policies of the military not discriminate against women. A positive attitude toward femininity and intolerance for sexual assault and discrimination by unit commanders could help transmit more positive informal norms to young military members and eventually help to change the existing masculine-oriented informal norms. The Section 7.4 goes into greater detail as to what these findings of the case study of the U.S. military means for the study of new institutionalism theory.

(ii) Women in Society

Chapter One provided main feminist arguments for and against women's participation in the U.S. military.¹⁷¹ In Chapter Four, this thesis showed that in American society, the U.S. military and its members enjoy a privileged position. The military has been a path to full citizenship and greater civic participation. Due to this, it is important for women to participate in the military institution as it can provide a path of greater civic participation for women. The opening of combat jobs to female soldiers not only helps the status of those in the military, but can also help the status of women in American society to be seen as fully contributing members to the protection of the country and national security.

¹⁷⁰ Please refer to Chapter Six, page 198 for further information on Senator Kirsten Gillibrand's Bill.

¹⁷¹ Please refer to Chapter One, page 21 for full arguments.

Although this research showed that female soldiers tend to adapt to the masculine-centric culture of the U.S. Armed Forces instead of changing it, as was a fear of the ‘ethic of care’ feminists, this does not mean that women should not participate in the institution. Female soldiers’ participation has confused stereotypical gender roles of greater American society. As was shown in Chapters Three, Four and Five, female soldiers and those advocating for them consistently challenged traditional ideals of appropriate roles and jobs for women, and this is beneficial to the advancement of all American women. Although many women have conformed to the military masculine culture, many have also tried to change stereotypes by positive performance, while others have challenged policies through the judicial system and congress. As there is a link between the U.S. military and society, as discussed in Chapter Four, these advancements made by military women also positively change perceptions and stereotypes that affect women and their roles in greater society.

7.4 Broader Findings of the Thesis

This thesis focused on the gender regime of the U.S. Armed Forces and particularly women’s participation in the military. However, it also serves as a case study for new institutionalism theory, particularly feminist institutionalism and aspects of institutional change. The key point of this thesis was to explain how the interplay between the formal policies of an institution and its informal norms are essential in understanding institutional change and persistence. The gendered aspect of this research was necessary to determine the intricacies and effects on the gender institutional culture of an institution.

Mahoney and Thelen’s theory of gradual change, as well as past studies in historical institutionalism and sociological institutionalism, have explained the importance and value in considering both formal rules and informal norms in the study of institutions.¹⁷² As this thesis was concerned with institutional change, they were both necessary for a full understanding. This study found was that formal rules and policies, in a democratic

¹⁷² Please refer to Chapter Two, page 40 for full discussion.

society such as the U.S., are easier to change. Actors have a formal avenue to pursue change and even if they are stymied by a strict institutional structure or social code, they are still able to pursue their goals outside through other institutions. This is a significant point in the structure vs. agency debate because it shows that actors can break through the constraints of an institution and force change in formal policies from the outside. As was discussed in Chapter Two, in the agency vs. structure debate, actors are constrained by the institution in which they are members. However, the evidence here has demonstrated that the few who choose to move outside of the institution can bring about formal change more quickly than actors acting as ‘opportunists’ operating inside the institution.

The informal norms of an institution are more difficult for actors to change, particularly when the actors are taught to conform to the pre-existing norms. It is also particularly difficult for changes to culture to be made by actors working outside of the institution; rather, ‘opportunists’ working on the inside to slowly erode stereotypes may be more beneficial. However, from a gender perspective, the expectation that women’s presence will simply make the military, or any institution, less masculine and more feminine is false. Those that want to fit in to an institution will most likely follow the informal norms taught to them and try to conform in order to be accepted, as shown in the case of women in the military. However, this depends on the agency of the individual actors and the actions they decide to take. The informal norms are more important than I had originally anticipated, in both positive and negative ways.

From a negative perspective, positive formal policy changes for women are not enough to change how an institution treats female members. The culture will take longer to change than the formal policies. This means that when an institution is looking to make formal policy changes in favour of women, they must also address cultural concerns as well. One way to do this is by ensuring those in power who transmit and maintain the informal norms, teach the correct and anti-discriminatory norms. For example, the military is particularly impervious to informal change because of its hierarchical structure and the power of commanders. If the commanders in power are not promoting

the appropriate institutional norms, then the structure of the institution should be changed to lessen their hold over the informal norms. Another tactic that supports this idea is for those in power to effectively enforce the formal anti-discrimination policies that are in place. The case study of the U.S. military has shown that, in order to address informal norms, the structure of how the military handles sexual assault cases may have to be amended. Structural changes such as this would likely need to come from outside institutions if there are weak veto opportunities for those with less power in the institution (Mahoney & Thelen 2010, 19).

From a positive perspective, as was discussed earlier in this chapter, informal norms can update an institution's formal policies to better reflect reality. In the case of the U.S. military, women were participating in ground combat through their participation in the FETs, as well as through the loophole in the attachment policy for women to combat units. The informal norms that developed out of the reality on the ground were eventually able to update an old formal policy that banned women from ground combat roles. The formal policies of an institution may be antiquated and discriminate against women; however, if actors can find the 'soft spots' and gaps, such as in this case, between the formal policies and the norms followed in the institution, they can create opportunities for change internal to the institution through positive participation.

In considering institutional change from a gendered perspective, it is essential to consider both formal rules and informal norms to have a full understanding of the institution and the changes taking place. They are also both vital when analysing an institution's gender regime. An institution may appear gender-neutral or equal from its formal policies alone, but the inclusion of informal norms will provide a clear picture of the intricacies involved in the gender power structure of the institution.

Conclusion

This research showed that there have been progressive changes for women's acceptance in the U.S. military over the past 20 years. A substantial change, the lifting of the combat ban on women, took place in early 2013 and ended the formal policy limiting

women's participation in the U.S. Armed Forces, 65 years after women's official entrance into the U.S. military. Around 2005, informal norms developed in response to the reality on the ground in Iraq and Afghanistan that allowed women to participate in combat and showed they could be successful in career fields from which they were banned. This was another example of military necessity opening a critical juncture in which women had greater opportunities to participate in more career fields in the military. Female soldiers worked as 'opportunistic' actors and proved they could operate successfully in the combat environment. Their successful participation, combined with the reality on the ground in Iraq and Afghanistan, eventually changed the minds of policymakers and the formal policy was updated to match the reality on the ground.

Although there have been positive changes in formal policies in the military, the masculine-centric culture of the institution remains intact and women are not fully accepted members. Masculinity continues to be privileged in the military institution. The lack of informal change can be seen through the prevalence of sexual assault and harassment in the military. Formal policy states that women are to be treated equally in the military; however, the informal norms promote a culture of acceptance of sexual harassment and assault. By not combating the cultural norms that allow these problems to exist, women are placed at an unfair disadvantage in the institution. Many female soldiers also feel that they have to conform to the masculine culture in order to be accepted in the institution. Therefore, the masculine culture of the military has not evolved as quickly as the institution's formal policies. The masculine culture of the military is difficult and slow to change. There is a strong tradition of masculinity tied to the military and women's presence alone will not change this traditional tie. However, as masculinity is closely tied to jobs closest to combat, this could slowly evolve as all military members are moved further away from combat by technological advancements. It could also evolve as more women move into newly opened combat career fields by 2015.

By 2013 women have earned full rights to participation in the U.S. military. The lifting of the combat ban on female soldiers was an essential step to move the military towards

greater gender equality. There is more work that needs to be done on the existing masculine centric culture in order for female soldiers to be truly equal. The problems of sexual assault and harassment must be fully addressed through both formal policies and in the informal norms of the institution. Without addressing the cultural problems, masculinity will continue to hold greater power in the gender regime of the military and women will be less valued than their male counterparts.

In order to address the informal norms, the military must start making changes from the top of the hierarchy down to lower-ranking soldiers. Due to the hierarchical structure of the military, commanders set the tone for their personnel and pass down the informal norms of their unit to its members. Therefore, it is important that military commanders take reports of sexual assault and harassment seriously and, if Congress does not take away commanders' purview over cases of sexual assault, they must prosecute the perpetrator while not blaming the victim for reporting the case. This is more likely to happen than in the past because the problems of sexual assault and harassment in the military have been given greater attention than ever before. However, those in commander positions are already indoctrinated into the institutional norms of the military, so they must make a conscious effort to change their practices. One way to help make this happen is for the DoD to continue to place focus on the problem and not begin to overlook it again as other issues arise.

This thesis demonstrated that it is essential to consider both formal policies and informal norms when analysing institutional change. They both play important roles in the evolution of an institution and change cannot be fully explained by only analysing one aspect. It was also necessary to look at both formal policies and informal norms when considering the gender regime of an institution. By analysing both aspects this study was able to explore different areas and develop a clear picture of the extent to which the gender institutional culture of the U.S. military has changed. The interaction between the formal policies and informal norms can also explain areas of institutional change that would be difficult to analyse by only looking at policies or the culture. It was only by examining both formal policies and informal cultural norms, as well as the

interaction between them across different themes, that this research was able to analyse the changing patterns of the gender power structure in the U.S. military, and therefore draw conclusions regarding the gendered institutional culture and processes of change.

Annex A: Respondent Data

Figure A.1 Status of Total Respondents

Status	Government Official/Flag Officer	Military Officer	Military Enlisted Member	Total
Number of Interview Respondents	5	15	33	53
Number of Survey Respondents	0	7	9	16
Status of Respondents	Elite Status	Non-Elite Status	Non-Elite Status	

Figure A.2 Branch of Service of Respondents¹⁷³

Branch	Civilian	Army	Navy	Marine Corps.	Air Force	Total
Number of Interview Respondents	1	25	9	2	16	53
Number of Survey Respondents	0	9	2	1	4	16
TOTAL	1	34	11	3	20	69

Figure A.3 Years of Service of Respondents

Years of Service	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21+	Total
Number of Interview Respondents	18	16	8	2	9	53
Number of Survey Respondents	7	5	2	1	1	16
TOTAL	25	21	10	3	10	69

¹⁷³ The Elite respondents who have an affiliated military branch are categorized under their respective branch.

Figure A.4 Respondents' Deployment Status (Includes Military Only)

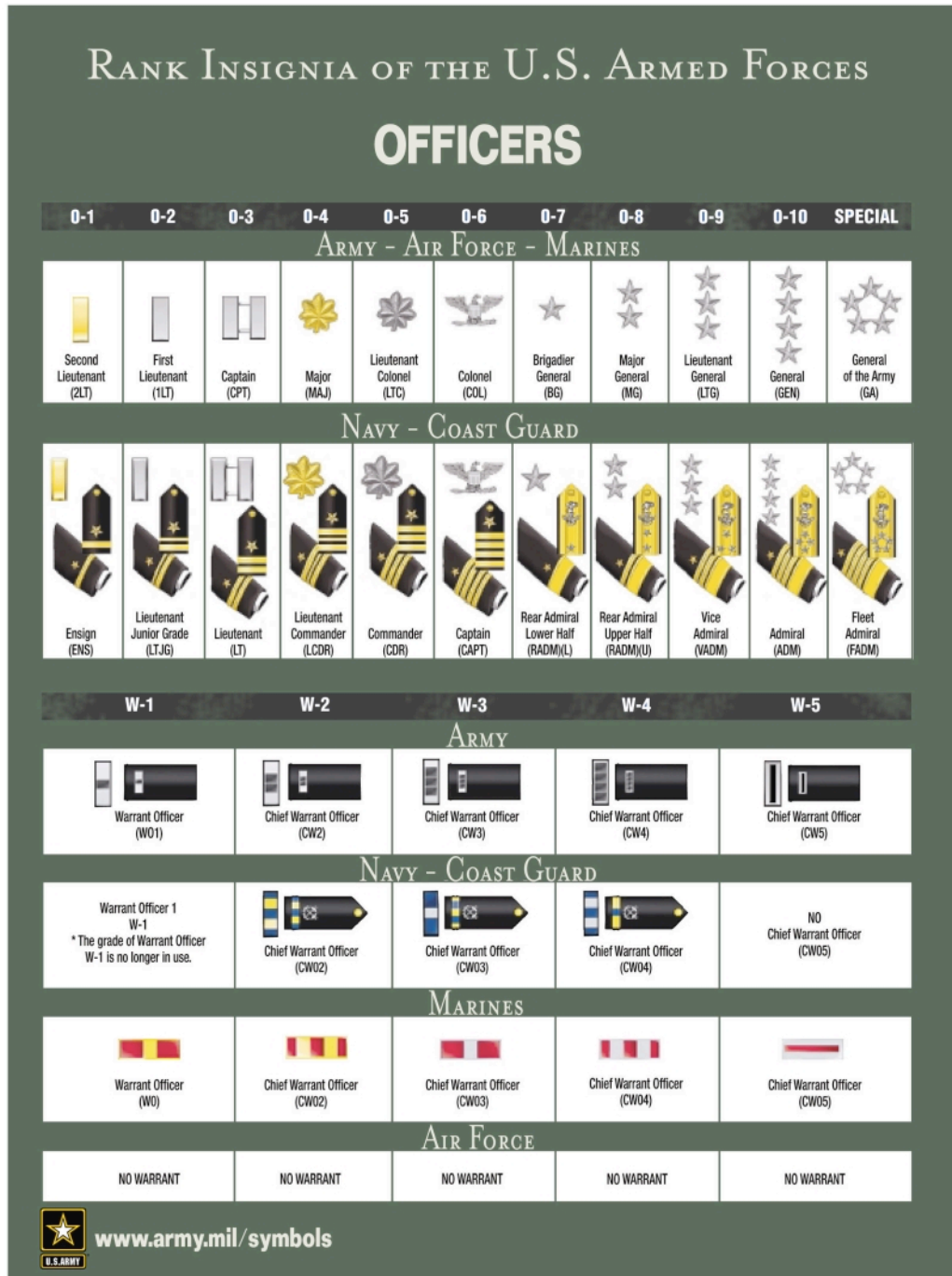
Deployment Status	Have Deployed	Never Deployed	Total
Number of Interview Respondents	32	16	48
Number of Survey Respondents	11	5	16
TOTAL	43	21	64

Annex B: Military Rank

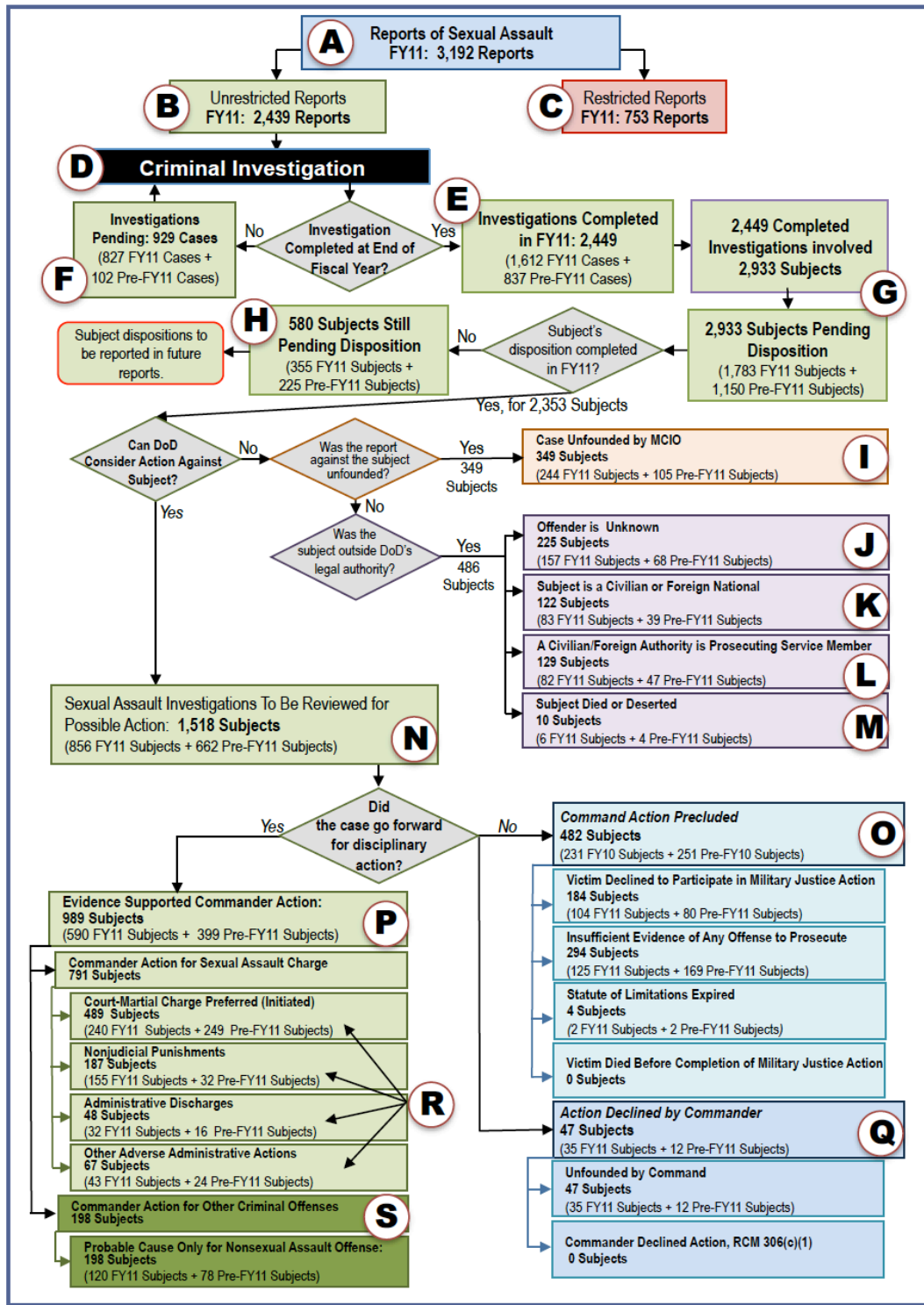
Figure B.1 Enlisted Personnel



Figure B.2 Military Officers



Annex C: Statistical Data on Sexual Assault Reporting



(DoD Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military 2012, 32)

Annex D: Information Sheet for Respondents

The Effects of Military Culture on Women's Position in the U.S. Armed Forces

Information Sheet For Interviewees

This leaflet is to inform you of the nature of the research project and to ask you if you would like to participate in the study.

The aim of the project:

This research considers the different, gendered, aspects of U.S. military culture and how the culture affects policies for military women. It will consider women's experiences in analyzing the informal and formal rules and norms of the military as an institution. Women's experiences inside the military are particularly important when considering the informal norms that construct the institutional culture. This research looks to provide data and a thorough analysis that could be used to shape Department of Defense gender policies to ensure the advancement of U.S. military women stationed in the continental United States and overseas. It could also help to provide insight into possible limiting cultural factors to consider as Congress moves towards reconsidering women's exclusion from combat roles in the U.S. Armed Forces.

This project has three main questions:

- < (1) How does the interplay of formal and informal norms, values and rules affect gender power relations in the U.S. military?
- < (2) Has the institutional culture evolved? If so, why and how has change occurred?

Who is doing the study?

The study is based at the Department of Politics at the University of York and is being conducted by Nicole Brunner.

What will I be asked to do?

I would like to interview you about your experiences working for the Department of Defence or in the Armed Forces. I would also like to discuss your experiences, views and opinions of current policies and legislation and how they have affected your service. I expect that the interview will take about one hour. I would like to tape record the interviews and I will ask you about this before we start. If you would prefer not to be tape recorded, I will only take notes.

Why should I take part in the project?

By participating in this project you will help to inform my analysis of your own experiences in the military. This information will help in analyzing both positive and negative aspects of U.S. military culture. It can help show what policies are working and which could benefit from change. By doing this, I hope that in the future, there will be a greater equality in women's participation in the U.S. Armed Forces.

Do I have to take part?

If you decide not to take part, that's OK. If you do decide to take part and later change your mind, you can withdraw at any time. You do not have to give a reason.

What will happen to the information?

All of the information you give me is confidential. I will not discuss what you have told me with anyone except for my supervisors and I will not disclose to anyone that you are taking part if you prefer to remain anonymous. Reports from the research will not identify anyone who has taken part unless you give your specific consent for your name or direct quotes to be used.

When I have completed the transcription of your interview, I will provide you with the ability to strike anything you wish from the record. You will not be provided with a final copy of my analysis unless you specifically request a copy. Then one can be provided to you after completion of my project.

What happens next?

If you choose to take part, I will provide you with a consent form to sign and date for my records. If you would like to get in touch with me at anytime, please feel free to contact Nicole Brunner (email: nmb508@york.ac.uk) or, tel.+44(0) 1423770987

Reference List

- 'Air Force Instructor Sentenced 20 Years in Sex Assault Case', (2012) *Fox News*, 21 July. [Online] Available at: <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2012/07/21/women-testify-at-air-force-instructor-sentencing-in-sexual-assault-case> [Accessed: 23 July 2012]
- Afshar, H. and Eade, D. eds (2004) *Development, Women and War*. Oxford University Press.
- Allen, W.B. (1988) *George Washington: A Collection*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- Alvarez, L. (2009) 'Breaking the Combat Barrier', *Sun Sentinel*, 16 August. [Online] Available at: http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/2009-08-16/news/0908150081_1_male-troops-combat-unit-military-women [Accessed: 2 January 2012]
- 'American presidency', (2012) *Smithsonian Museum of American History*. [Online] Available at: <http://americanhistory.si.edu/presidency/home.html> [Accessed: 6 July 2012]
- 'Army Desertion Rates Up 80 Percent Since War Began', (2007) *The Huffington Post*, 28 March. [Online] Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2007/11/16/army-desertion-rates-up-8_n_73054.html [Accessed: 10 January 2012]
- Bacevich, A. (2005) 'The Normalization of War', *Tom Dispatch*, 30 April. [Online] Available at: www.tomdispatch.com/post/2334/andrew_bacevich_on_the_new_American_militarism [Accessed: 5 March 2012]
- Bacevich, A. (2005) *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War*. Oxford University Press.
- Bacon, L. (2011) 'Rules Limiting Female GIs' Careers Could Change', *Army Times*, 17 April. [Online] Available at: <http://www.armytimes.com/article/20110417/NEWS/104170306/Rules-limiting-female-GIs-careers-could-change> [Accessed: 10 February 2012]
- Barker, K. (1973) 'Military Academies Shelled', *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, 15 Nov, p. A30.
- Benedict, H. (2009) *The Lonely Soldier: The Private War of Women Serving in Iraq*. Boston: Beacon Press Books.

- Bennett, J. (2011) 'Commission Urges Pentagon to Let Women Serve in Combat', *The Hill*, 7 March. [Online] Available at: <http://thehill.com/news-by-subject/defense-homeland-security/147889-pentagon-commission-allow-women-to-serve-in-combat> [Accessed: 5 May 2013]
- Berry, J. (2002) 'Validity and Reliability Issues in Elite Interviewing,' *Political Science and Politics*. 35.4.
- 'Better Evaluation' (2013) *Better Evaluation Organisation*. [Online] Available at: <http://betterevaluation.org/evaluation-options/interviews> [Accessed 5 July 2013]
- Binkin, M. and Shirley J. Bach (1977) *Women and the Military*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Biron, Carey L. (2013) 'Pentagon Estimates 26,000 Sexual Assaults in U.S. Military Last Year', *The Global Realm*. 8 May. [Online] Available at: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/05/pentagon-estimates-26000-sexual-assaults-in-u-s-military-last-year/> [Accessed: 3 June 2013]
- Biskupic, J. (1994) 'Barrier Falls at Citadel as Rehnquist Allows First Woman to Attend Classes', *The Washington Post*, 19 January, p. A1.
- Bousquet, A. (2008) 'Chaoplectic Warfare or the Future of Military Organization', *International Affairs*. 84.5, 915-929.
- Bosquet, A. (2009) 'Cyberneticizing the American War Machine', *Cold War History*, 1 February. [Online] Available at: http://www.academia.edu/390023/Cyberneticizing_the_American_War_Machine_Science_and_Computers_in_the_Cold_War [Accessed: 4 November 2012]
- Bowman, T. (1997) '5th Aberdeen Instructor Faces Court-martial Drill Sergeant Charged with Indecent Assault', *The Baltimore Sun*, 29 January. [Online] Available at: http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1997-01-29/news/1997029106_1_aberdeen-drill-sergeant-court-martial [Accessed: 3 May 2013].
- Broadbent, T. (2011) 'Statistics', *Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.rainn.org/statistics> [Accessed: 5 July 2012]
- Brook, T.V. and Michaels, J. (2013) 'Lift of Military Combat Ban Could Open 230,000 Jobs to Women', *USA Today*, 24 January. [Online] Available at: <http://www.firstcoastnews.com/story/local/2013/01/23/4570847/> [Accessed: 21 March 2013]

- Bruen, J. (1990) 'Women at War With Themselves', *Fidelity*, October. [Online] Available at: http://www.culturewars.com/CultureWars/Archives/Fidelity_archives/WomenWarriors.html [Accessed: 5 April 2013]
- Bumiller, E. and Shanker, T. (2013) 'Pentagon is Set to Lift Combat Ban for Women', *The New York Times*, 23 January. [Online] Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/24/us/pentagon-says-it-is-lifting-ban-on-women-in-combat.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 [Accessed: 5 May 2013]
- Burrelli, D. (1996). 'Women in the Armed Forces', *Congressional Research Service, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division*, 17 December. [Online] Available at: <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/92-008.htm> [Accessed: 8 March 2012]
- Burke, C. (1999) 'Military Folk Culture.' Fainsod Katzenstein, M. and Reppy, J. (ed.) *Beyond Zero Tolerance: Discrimination in Military Culture*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Brown, D. (1999) 'Edith Nourse Rogers: biographical sketch.' In: Garraty, A. and Carnes, M. (ed.) *American National Biography*. 18. [Online] Available at: <http://library.rice.edu/> [Accessed: 10 November 2012]
- Cappoccia, G. and Kelemen, R.D. (2007) 'The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism,' *World Politics*. 59.3, 341-369.
- 'Captain Asks Judge to Halt Her Ouster', (1970) *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, 16 December. p. A3.
- Carnes, M. (2007) Interview. All Things Considered. Natl. Public Radio, Michelle Norris. 2 Oct.
- Carlson, M. et al. (1999) 'Women and Leadership', *Paper within Leadership Course*. [Online] Available at: http://studweb.euv-frankfurt-o.de/-euv-5327/papers/lead_big.htm [Accessed: 28 December 2011]
- Carreiras, H. (2006). *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of the Western Democracies*. London: Rutledge Publishing Group.
- Cassata, D. and Lardner, R. (2013) 'Legislation prevents U.S. commanders from overturning rape convictions,' *CTV News*, 5 June. Available at: <http://www.ctvnews.ca/world/legislation-prevents-u-s-commanders-from-overturning-rape-convictions-1.1313240> [Accessed: 8 June 2013]

- Cebrowski, A. K., and Garstka, J. J. (1998) 'Network-centric warfare: Its origin and future,' *US Naval Institute Proceedings*. January. 124.1. [Online] Available at: <http://all.net/books/iw/iwarstuff/www.usni.org/Proceedings/Articles98/PROcebrowski.htm> [Accessed: 12 February 2013]
- Center for Military Readiness (2006) 'Women Still Violating Policy and Law On Women In Combat', *CMR Policy Analysis*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.cmrlink.org/content/women-in-combat/page-2> Accessed: 4 May 2012]
- Chappell, L. (2010) 'Comparative Gender and Institutions: Directions for Research,' *Comparative Gender and Institutions*. Perspectives on Politics. 8.1, 183-189.
- Christenson, S. (2013) 'Combat ban lifted, but trouble is ahead', *My San Antonio*, 25 January. [Online] Available at: <http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/military/article/Combat-ban-lifted-but-trouble-is-ahead-4222125.php> [Accessed: 7 February 2013]
- 'Civil Rights Act of 1964 Explained', (2013) *Laws.Com*. [Online] Available at: <http://civil.laws.com/civil-rights-act-of-1964> [Accessed: 3 November 2012]
- Claiborne, W. (1970) 'Officer Sues Air Force To Keep Her Son, Career', *The Washington Post, Times Herald*. 29 September. p. A30.
- Claiborne, W. (1970) 'Air Force Lets Officer Keep Her Son', *The Washington Post, Times Herald*. 30 September. p. A2.
- Clemetson, L. (2004) 'Report Calls for Accountability and Services to Deal with Sexual Assault in the Military', *The New York Times*, 14 May. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/14/us/report-calls-for-accountability-services-deal-with-sexual-assaults-military.html> [Accessed: 4 March 2013]
- Cloud, D. (2005) 'G.I.'s Role in Detainee Abuse Is Starkly Contrasted at Retrial', *The New York Times*, 22 September. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/09/22/national/22england.html> [Accessed: 12 December 2012]
- Cohn, Carol (2000) "How can she claim equal rights when she doesn't have to do as many push-ups as I do?" The framing of men's opposition to women's equality in the military' *Men and Masculinities*, 3: 131
- Collins, P. (1998) *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- ‘Complex Fight in Senate Over Curbing Military Sex Assaults’, (2013) *The New York Times*, 14 June. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/15/us/politics/in-senate-complex-fight-over-curbing-sexual-military-assaults.html?pagewanted=all> [Accessed: 17 June 2013]
- Connell, R.W. (1995) *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Cooke, M. (1996) ‘Subverting the Gender and Military Paradigms,’ Stiehm, JH. ed. (*It’s Our Military, Too: Women and the U.S. Military*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 235-269.
- Cooper, J. (1994) ‘Another View of the Revolution in Military Affairs’, *Strategic Studies Institute*, U.S. Army War College. [Online] Available at: www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB240.pdf [Accessed: 3 December 2012]
- Cottrell, A. (1943) ‘Slurs on Morality of WAACS Nazi-Inspired, Rep. Rogers Says’, *The Washington Post*, 4 Jan. p. A1.
- Cruise, R. and Hardzinski, B. (2013) ‘Women in War: Combat and Coverage When the Front Lines Blur’, *KGOU: NPR Source Oklahoma*, 24 April. [Online] <http://kgou.org/post/women-war-combat-and-coverage-when-front-lines-blur> [Accessed: 26 April 2013]
- D’Amico, F. and Weinstein LL. (1999) *Gender Camouflage: Women and the US Military*. New York: New York University Press.
- D’Amico, F. (2007) ‘The Women of Abu Ghraib,’ *One of the Guys*. California: Seal Press.
- Daniel, L. (2012) ‘Panetta, Dempsey Announce Initiatives to Stop Sexual Assault,’ U.S. Department of Defense. *Armed Forces Press Service*, 16 April. [Online] Available at: <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=67954> [Accessed: 4 May 2012]
- Davis, D. (2010) ‘Female Engagement Team Builds Bridges into Afghan Society’, *High Beam Research*, 23 October. [Online] Available at: <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-240404477.html> [Accessed: 7 June 2012]
- ‘Defense Secretary Panetta Announces Initiative’ (2012) *Women’s Health Policy Report*, 18 April. [Online] Available at: http://go.nationalpartnership.org/site/News2?abbr=daily2_&id=33119&security=1201 [Accessed: 10 May 2012]

- 'Department of Defense Sexual Assault in the Military', (2011) *SWAN Service Women's Action Network*, 18 March. [Online] Available at: <http://servicewomen.org/military-sexual-violence/> [Accessed: 3 April 2012]
- Delong, M. (2007) 'Politics During Wartime', *The New York Times*, 27 April. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/27/opinion/27delong.html> [Accessed: 12 May 2012]
- Dharmapuri, S. (2011) 'Just Add Women and Stir,' *Parameters*. 41.1, 56-70.
- 'Discrimination in the Air Force' (1970) *The Washington Post, Times Herald*. 1 October. p. A4.
- Dolan, E. (2013) 'Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand on Military Sexual Assault: The Victim's Voices Aren't Being Heard', *Raw Story*, 12 June. [Online] Available at: <http://www.rawstory.com/rs/2013/06/12/sen-kirsten-gillibrand-on-military-sexual-assault-the-victims-voices-arent-being-heard/> [Accessed: 14 June 2013]
- Domi, T. (2011) 'Pentagon Faces Class Action Suit Exposing Military Sexual Abuse Crisis', *The New Civil Rights Movement*, 15 Feb. [Online] Available at: <http://thenewcivilrightsmovement.com/pentagon-faces-class-action-suit-exposing-military-sexual-abuse-crisis/legal-issues/2011/02/15/17430> [Accessed: 5 February 2013]
- Donnelly, E. (2007) Interview. All Things Considered. Natl. Public Radio, Michelle Norris. 2 Oct.
- 'Double Standard in the Navy?' (1970) *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, 25 August. p. A2.
- Dougherty, K. (2011) 'Army Deserter Says He is Right to Oppose War', *Stars and Stripes*, 7 April. [Online] Available at: <http://www.stripes.com/news/europe/army-deserter-says-he-is-right-to-oppose-war-1.140352> [Accessed: 3 March 2012]
- Dowd, M. (2003) 'The Iceman Cometh,' *The New York Times*, 4 May. p. A5.
- Doyle, Michael (2011) 'Lawmaker wants military rape cases shifted to new office', *Miami Herald*, 11 November. [Online] Available at: <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2011/11/17/130634/lawmaker-wants-military-rape-cases.html> [Accessed: 3 March 2012]
- Dunivin, K. (1994) 'Military Culture: Change and Continuity,' *Armed Forces Society* 20.4, 531-547.

- Elliott, D. (2012) 'Sex Crimes Spike at Air Force Academy', *Standard Examiner*, 23 January. [Online] Available at: <http://www.standard.net/stories/2012/01/23/sex-crimes-spike-air-force-academy> [Accessed: 3 March 2013]
- Ellison, J. (2012) 'Leon Panetta Lays Out New Rules to Combat Sexual Assault in the U.S. Military', *The Daily Beast*, 18 April. [Online] Available at: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/04/18/leon-panetta-lays-out-new-rules-to-combat-sexual-assault-in-u-s-military.html> [Accessed: 5 March]
- Elshtain, J.B. (1987) *Women and War*. New York: Basic Books Publishers.
- Elshtain, J.B. and Tobias, S. (1990) *Women, Militarism and War*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- 'Engineers Develop Nanofoams for Better Body Armor', (2012) *Science Blog*. [Online] Available at: <http://scienceblog.com/61894/engineers-develop-nanofoams-for-better-body-armor/> [Accessed: 8 February 2012]
- Enloe, C. (1993) *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Enloe, C. (1994) 'The Politics of Constructing the American Woman Soldier,' *Women Soldiers Images and Realities*. ed. Elisabetta Addis, et al. London: St. Martin's Press.
- Enloe, C. (2000) *Maneuvers*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Enloe, C. (2007) *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*. New York. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Enloe, C. (2010) 'The Risks of Scholarly Militarization: A Feminist Analysis,' *Perspectives on Politics*. 8.4.
- 'Failure on Military Sexual Assaults,' (2013) *The New York Times*, 12 June. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/13/opinion/a-failure-on-military-sexual-assaults.html> [Accessed: 6 March 2013]
- Farran, D. (1990) *Seeking Susan, Producing statistical information on young peoples leisure*. ed. Liz Stanley. London: Routledge.
- 'Female Power,' (2009) *The Economist*, 30 December. [Online] Available at: <http://www.economist.com/node/15174418> [Accessed: 8 December 2011]
- 'Feminist Majority Foundation,' (2003) *Daily News Wire*. [Online] Available at: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2872/is_3_29/ai_107122010 (Accessed: 30 December 2011)

- Ferber, M. Testimony (1987) 'Combat Exclusion Laws for Women in the Military,' *Subcommittee on Military Compensation, House Armed Services Committee, United States House of Representatives*. 19 November.
- Fiore, F. and Kelly, D. (2003) 'Air Force Academy Women Say Cadets 'Just Don't Get It,'' *Post-Gazette Nation and World*, 16 March. [Online] Available at: <http://old.post-gazette.com/nation/20030316airforce0316p4.asp> [Accessed: 4 May 2012]
- Fox, Lauren. (2013) 'Military Sexual Assault Bills Get Their Day on Capitol Hill,' *U.S. News and World Report*, 6 June. [Online] Available at: <http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2013/06/06/military-sexual-assault-bills-get-their-day-on-capitol-hill> [Accessed: 5 July 2013]
- Franceschet, S. (2011) 'Gendered Institutions and Women's Substantive Representation: Female legislators in Argentina and Chile,' eds. Krook ML and Mackay F. *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Francke, L.B. (1997) *Ground Zero: The Gender Wars in the Military*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Freeman, M. (2002) 'Tillman's Bold Career Move,' *The New York Times*, 14 June. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/07/14/sports/football/14TILL.html> [Accessed: 7 January 2012]
- Gallup, G. (1945) 'Peacetime Military Training For Young Women Opposed,' *The Washington Post, Times Herald*. 28 Feb.
- Galofshani, N. (2003) 'Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research,' *The Qualitative Report*, 4 December. [Online] Available at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/142474575/Golafshani-Understanding-Reliability-and-Validity-in-Qualitative-Research> [Accessed: 7 September 2013]
- Gelsthorpe, L. (1990) 'Feminist Methodologies in Criminology: a New Approach or Old Wine in New Bottles?' ed. Lorraine Gelsthorpe & Alison Morris. *Feminist perspectives in criminology*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- 'General Says Women 'Silly' At West Point' (1976) *The Washington Post*. 30 May. p. A3.
- Gentile, G. (2009) 'A Strategy of Tactics: Population-centric COIN and the Army.' [Online] Available at: www.army.mil/articl/32362/a-strategy-of-tactics-population-centric-coin-and-the-army [Accessed 3 December 2012]

- Goldstein, J. (2001) *War and Gender*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gray, C. (1996) *Explorations in Strategy*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Greener, I. (2005) 'The Potential of Path Dependence in Political Science,' *Politics*. 25: 1. 3, 62-72.
- Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1982) 'Epistemological and Methodological Bases of Naturalistic Inquiry,' *ECTJ*. 30.4.
- Guenther-Schlesinger, S. (1999) 'Persistence of Sexual Harassment: The Impact of Military Culture on Policy Implementation,' *Beyond Zero Tolerance: Discrimination in Military Culture*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Gutierrez, T. (2005) 'Lynndie England Convicted in Abu Ghraib trial,' *USA Today*, 26 Sept. [Online] Available at: http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2005-09-26-england_x.htm [Accessed: 8 January 2012]
- Hakim, J. (1995) *War, Peace, and All That Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hanna, P. (1994) 'An Overview of Stressors in the Careers of U.S. Servicewomen,' *Women Soldiers Images and Realities*. ed. Elisabetta Addis, et al. London: St. Martin's Press.
- Hansen, C. (2007) Interview. *All Things Considered*. Natl. Public Radio, Michelle Norris. 4 Oct.
- Harman, J. (January 27, 2009) 'Harman-Turner Bill Against Military Rapes,' *Press Release, Office of Representative Jane Harman*. [Online] Available at: [House.gov.list/press](http://house.gov.list/press). [Accessed: 3 July 2013]
- Harrel, M.C. et al. (2007) *Assessing the Assignment Policy for Army Women*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Hawkesworth, M. (2003) 'Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions,' *American Political Science Review*. 97.4.
- Hawkins, L. (2007) Interview. *All Things Considered*. Natl. Public Radio, Michelle Norris. 2 October.
- Herb, J. (2013) 'Sexual Assaults, East Coast Missile Site Top Debate over Defense Bill,' *The Hill*, 19 May. [Online] Available at: <http://thehill.com/blogs/defcon-hill/policy-and-strategy/300565-sex-assault-east-coast-missile-site-top-debate-over-defense-bill> [Accessed: 5 July 2013]

- Herbert, M. (1998) *Camouflage isn't Only for Combat: Gender, Sexuality and Women in the Military*. New York: New York University Press.
- Higonnet, M. et al. (1987) *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hillard, G. (2007) Interview. *All Things Considered*. Natl. Public Radio, Michelle Norris. 2 Oct.
- Hillman, E. (1999) 'Dressed to Kill? The Paradox of Women in the Military,' Fainsod Katzenstein, M. and Reppy, J. (ed.) *Beyond Zero Tolerance: Discrimination in Military Culture*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Hinojosa, R. (2010) 'Doing Hegemony: Military, Men and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity,' *Journal of Men's Studies*. 18.2.
- Hlad, J. (2012) 'Panetta announces 'Special Victims Units' to deal with sexual assault,' *Stars and Stripes*, 17 April. [Online] Available at: <http://www.stripes.com/news/panetta-announces-special-victims-units-to-deal-with-sexual-assault-1.174704> [Accessed: 5 July 2013]
- Holiday, J. (2012) 'Female Engagement Teams: The Need to Standardize Training and Employment,' *Military Review*. March-April.
- Hooper, C. (2001) *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Huddleston, S. and Christenson, S. (2011) 'Friendly fire also can kill the truth,' *My San Antonio*, 3 November. [Online] Available at: http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local_news/article/Friendly-fire-also-can-kill-the-truth-2243382.php [Accessed: 8 January 2013]
- Hunt, A. (1986) 'Use of Quantitative Methods in Researching Issues Which Affect Women,' *Methodological Issues in Gender Research*. 10.1.
- Hunger, M. (2007) *Honor Betrayed: Sexual Abuse in America's Military*. New Jersey: Barricade Books.
- Hynes, P. (2012) 'Military sexual abuse: A greater menace than combat,' *Truthout*, 26 Jan. [Online] Available at: <http://truth-out.org/news/item/6299:military-sexual-abuse-a-greater-menace-than-combat> [Accessed: 5 July 2013]
- Ignatieff, M. (2000) *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*. New York: Picador USA.
- Ikenberry, G. J. (2002) 'America's imperial ambition,' *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct.

- Immergut, El. (1998) 'The Theoretical Core of New Institutionalism,' *Politics and Society*. 26.1. March.
- Ingraham, P. et al. (2008) 'Formal and Informal Institutions in Public Administration,' ed. Guy Peters and Donald Savoie. *Institutional Theory in Political Science*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- 'iRobot Corporation' (2012) [Online] Available at: www.irobot.com/us [Accessed: 3 July 2012]
- Jayarathne, T. (1983) 'The value of quantitative methodology for feminist research,' ed. Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli. *Theories of women's studies*. London: Routledge.
- 'Job Opportunities in the Armed Forces' (1995-2011) *Occupational Outlook Handbook*. U.S. Department of Labor Statistics. [Online] Available at: <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/Military/Military-Careers.htm> [Accessed: 3 September 2013]
- Johnson, C. (2003) *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*. New York: Metropolitan Press.
- Johnson, R.B. (2007) 'Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research,' *Journal of Mixed Methods*. Sage Publications. 1.2.
- Jones, J. (2004) 'Military Service in the United States,' *Gallup*, 2 March. [Online] Available at: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/10861/Military-Service-United-States.aspx> [Accessed: 3 September 2013]
- Jones, J. (2011) 'Americans Most Confident in Military, Least in Congress,' *Gallup*, 12 June. [Online] Available at: <http://www.gallup.com/video/163076/americans-confidence-military-least-congress.aspx> [Accessed: 3 September 2013]
- Kamel, L. (2009) 'Rational Choice and New Institutionalism, a Critical Analysis,' *Eurostadium*. [Online] Available at: http://web.unair.ac.id/admin/file/f_23123_Rational_Choice_and_New_Institutionalism_Critical_Analysis_Lorenzo_Kamel.pdf [Accessed: 4 March 2012]
- Kampfner, J. (2003) 'The truth about Jessica,' *The Guardian*, 15 May. [Online] Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/may/15/iraq.usa2> [Accessed: 8 January 2013]
- Katzenstein, P.J. (1996) *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Katzenstein Fainsod M. and Judith R. eds. (1999) *Beyond Zero Tolerance*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Katznelson, I. (2003) 'Periodization and Preferences: Reflections on Purposive Action in Comparative Historical Social Science,' *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kenney, S.J. (1996) 'New Research on Gendered Political Institutions,' *Political Research Quarterly*. 49.2.
- Kenny, M. (2011) 'Gender and Institutions of Political Recruitment: Candidate Selection in Post-devolution Scotland,' eds. Krook ML and Mackay F. *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kelly et al. (1994) *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective*. Taylor and Francis. London.
- Kier, E. (1996) 'Culture and French Military Doctrine Before World War II,' *The Culture of National Security*, ed. Peter Katzenstein. New York: Columbia University Press.
- King, K. (2012) 'AF Case Against Trainer 2012 is Expanded,' *My San Antonio News*, 17 Nov. [Online] Available at: <http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/military/article/AF-case-against-trainer-is-expanded-4044303.php> [Accessed: 3 March 2013]
- Kitzinger, J. (1994) 'The Methodology of Focus Groups: the Importance of Interaction Between Research Participants,' *Sociology of Health and Illness*. 16.1.
- Kovach, G. (2013) 'New Standard for Women in Combat?' *UT Sand Diego News*, 4 May. [Online] Available at: <http://www.utsandiego.com/news/2013/May/04/women-combat-standards/2/> [Accessed: 15 May 2013]
- Krauthammer, C. (2003) 'The Unipolar Moment Revisited,' *National Interest*. 5.20. [Online] Available at: <http://nationalinterest.org/article/the-unipolar-moment-revisited-391> [Accessed: 20 February 2013].
- Krauthammer, C. (2004) *Democratic realism: an American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World*. Washington DC: AEI Press.
- Krook, M. L., & Mackay, F. (2011) 'Introduction: Gender, Politics, and Institutions,' eds. Krook ML and Mackay F. *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Kvale, S. (1996) *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publishing.
- ‘Lackland Sex Scandal Gets House Hearing as Air Force Inquiry Continues’ (2013) *The Huffington Post*, 24 Jan. [Online] Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/01/23/lackland-scandal-military-sexual-assault_n_2535291.html [Accessed: 4 May 2013]
- Lancaster, J. (1993) ‘Nearly All Combat Jobs to be Open to Women; Front-line ground units would be excluded,’ *The Washington Post*, 29 Apr. [Online] Available at: <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-944122.html> [Accessed: 3 March 2013]
- Lancaster, J. (1994) ‘Aspin Eases Combat Policy; Goal is to Expand Opportunities for Women,’ *The Washington Post*, 13 Jan. [Online] Available at: <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-870688.html> [Accessed: 3 March 2013]
- Lasker, J. (2011) ‘Speaking Out: U.S. Military Sexual Violence and Trauma Against Women,’ *Toward Freedom*, 15 March. [Online] Available at: <http://www.towardfreedom.com/> [Accessed: 3 March 2013]
- LaVictoire, B. (2013) ‘Stacey Thompson, victim of military sexual assault, speaks out,’ *Lezgetreal.com*, 31 May. [Online] Available at: <http://lezgetreal.com/2013/05/stacey-thompson-victim-of-military-sexual-assault-speaks-out/> [Accessed: 5 July 2013]
- Lazare, L. (2013) ‘Women underpaid and under-represented in highest-paying jobs: Career Builder,’ *Chicago Business Journal*, 25 April. [Online] Available at: <http://www.bizjournals.com/chicago/news/2013/04/25/careerbuilder-weighs-in-on-women-and.html> [Accessed: 4 May 2013]
- Leary, W. (2004) ‘Combat death of N.F.L. star is laid to American troops,’ *The New York Times*, 30 May. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/30/world/combat-death-of-nfl-star-is-laid-to-american-troops.html> [Accessed: 8 January 2013]
- Lecours, A. (2005) *New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Legon, J. (2003) ‘Solider risks life to rescue civilian caught in the crossfire,’ *CNN Specials*. [Online] Available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2003/iraq/heroes/carter.html> [Accessed: 10 January 2013]
- Letherby, G. (2003) *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

- Levi, M. (1997) 'A Model, a Method, and a Map: Rational Choice in Comparative and Historical Analysis,' *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. eds. Mark Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman. Rhode Island: Brown University.
- Levy, N. (2005) 'Private England Pleads Guilty to Abuses,' *The New York Times*, 3 May. [Online] Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/03/national/03abuse.html?_r=0 [Accessed: 10 January 2013]
- Libicki, M. C. (1996) 'Information and Nuclear RMAs Compared,' *Strategic Forum* 82, Institute for National Strategic Studies.
- Libicki, M. C. (1996) 'Technology and Warfare,' *Power and Progress*. eds. Patrick M. Cronin. Washington, DC: Institute of National Strategic Studies.
- Lobe, J. (2004) 'Military more republican, conservative than public,' *Lew Rockwell*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.lewrockwell.com> [Accessed: 2 February 2013]
- Long, G.C. (2012) 'Effectiveness of U.S. Military Female Engagement Teams,' *Calhoun Institutional Archive of the Naval Postgraduate School*. September.
- Lovenduski, J. (2011) 'Foreword,' *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism*. eds. Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lowndes, V. (1996) 'Varieties of New Institutionalism,' *A Critical Appraisal in Public Administration*. 74.2.
- Luo, M. (2007) 'Panel Hears About Falsehoods in 2 Wartime Incidents,' *The New York Times*, 25 April. [Online] Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/25/washington/25army.html?_r=0 [Accessed: 8 January 2013]
- Luttwak, E. (1995) 'Toward Post-Heroic Warfare,' *Foreign Affairs*. May-June.
- Luttwak, E. (1996) 'A Post-Heroic Military Policy: The New Season of Bellicosity,' *Foreign Affairs*. July-August.
- MacKay, F. (2011) 'Toward a New Institutionalism?' *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. eds. Krook ML and Mackay F. *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- MacKay, F. et al. (2011) 'New Institutionalism Through a Gender Lens: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism,' *International Political Science Review*. 17 January 2011. 31.5.

- MacPherson, William (1999) 'The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry,' *Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Command of Her Majesty*. [Online] Available at: <http://lists.southwales.ac.uk/items/B26FBD92-26C0-1EA7-BE62-7435A7CEAF98.html> [Accessed: 7 May 2013]
- MacPherson Report, (2001) BBC News Online. [Online] Available at: news.bbc.co.uk/news/vote2011/hi/English/main_issues/sections/facts/newsid_119000/1190971.stm. [Accessed: 7 May 2013]
- Maddow, R. (2012). *Drift: The Unmooring of American Military Power*. New York: Crown Publishing.
- Mahabeer, P. (2011) 'Sexual harassment still pervasive in the workplace,' *AOL jobs*. [Online] Available at: <http://jobs.aol.com/articles/2011/01/28/sexual-harassment-in-the-workplace/> [Accessed: 27 June 2012]
- Mahoney and Thelen (2010) 'A Theory of Gradual Institutional Change.' *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mann, J. (1994) 'No Women Need Apply,' *The Washington Post*. 26 Jan. A.3.
- Manning, L. (2010) *Women in the Military, Where They Stand, Seventh Edition*. Washington D.C: Women's Research and Education Institute.
- Martin, D. (2006) 'Marine Boot Camp,' *CBS News*, 10 Nov. [Online] Available at: <http://www.cbsnews.com/videos/marine-boot-camp/> [Accessed: 10 January 2013]
- Maslin, J. (2009) 'From N.F.L. to Afghanistan, following the call to arms,' *The New York Times*, 23 September. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/24/books/24maslin.html> [Accessed: 10 January 2013]
- Maze, R. (2011) 'Soldiers sue DoD for retaliation against rape victims, Gates and Rumsfeld named,' *MS Sparky*, 15 February. [Online] Available at: <http://mssparky.com/2011/02/soldiers-sue-dod-for-retaliation-against-rape-victims-gates-and-rumsfeld-named> [Accessed: 3 March 2013]
- McBride, K. and Annick Wibben. (2012) 'The Gendering of Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan,' *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism and Development*. 3.2, 199-215.
- McFadden, J.M. (1970) 'WAF to Seek Benefits for Husband,' *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, 25 December. A.2.

- McKelvey, T. (2009) 'Lynndie England: A Soldier's Tale.' *Marie Claire World Reports*, 19 May. [Online] Available at: <http://www.marieclaire.com/world-reports/news/lyndie-england-1> Accessed: 10 January 2013.
- Meyer C. and Kaiser, S. (2008) 'Deserting the Iraq War: US Soldier Seeks Political Asylum in Germany,' *Spiegel Online International*, 3 December. [Online] Available at: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/deserting-the-iraq-war-us-soldier-seeks-political-asylum-in-germany-a-594250.html> [Accessed: 12 February 2013]
- Mies, M. (1991) 'Women's Research or Feminist Research? The Debate Surrounding Feminist Science and Methodology,' *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Experience*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- 'Military Leaders Lift Ban on Women in Combat Roles' (2013) *Fox News*, 24 January. [Online] <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2013/01/24/panetta-opens-combat-roles-to-women/> Accessed: 3 March 2013]
- Millen, D. 'Some Methodological and Epistemological Issues Raised by Doing Feminist Research on Non-Feminist Women,' *Sociological Research* [Online] Available at: www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/2/3/3.html [Accessed: 27 September 2011]
- Miller, K. and Rosenthal, L. (2012) 'Let Our Women Fight in Combat,' *WND Opinion, Center for American Progress*, 21 December. [Online] Available at: <http://www.wnd.com/2012/12/let-our-women-fight-in-combat/> [Accessed: 3 March 2013]
- Miller, L. (1998) 'Feminism and the Exclusion of Army Women from Combat' *Gender Issues*. 16.3, 33-64.
- Mills, C.W. (1959) *The Sociological Imagination*. London: Penguin Press.
- Montgomery, N. (2013) 'Case Dismissed Against Aviano IG convicted of sexual assault,' *Stars and Stripes*. 27 February. [Online] Available at: <http://www.stripes.com/news/air-force/case-dismissed-against-aviano-ig-convicted-of-sexual-assault-1.209797> [Accessed: 8 June 2013]
- Moore, B. (2007) Interview. *All Things Considered*. Natl. Public Radio, Michelle Norris. 1 October.
- Moody, C. (2012) 'Draft McDonnell? This Could be First Election in 80 Years with no Military Service on Either Ticket,' *ABC News*, 6 July. [Online] Available at: <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/OTUS/draft-mcdonnell-election-80-years-military-service-ticket/story?id=16724206> [Accessed: 7 December 2012]

- Morden, B. (2000) 'The Women's Army Corps,' *Center of Military History, United States Army*. Washington: GPO.
- Morford, M. (2003) 'The Big Lie of Jessica Lynch,' *Common Dreams*, 5 September. [Online] Available at: <http://www.commondreams.org/views03/0905-09.htm> [Accessed: 10 January 2013]
- 'Moving Military Women Ahead' (1993) *The Washington Post*. 8 April. A.3.
- Mulrine, A. (2009) "UAV Pilots," *Air Force Magazine*. January. 92.1. [Online] Available at: <http://www.airforcemag.com/MagazineArchive/Pages/2009/January%202009/0109UAV.aspx> [Accessed: 7 March 2013]
- Mulrine, A. (2012) 'Pentagon Report: Sexual Assault in the Military up Dramatically,' *The Christian Science Monitor*, 19 January. [Online] Available at: <http://www.minnpost.com/christian-science-monitor/2013/05/sexual-assault-military-pentagon-report-scandal-deal-double-blow> [Accessed: 15 February 2013]
- Murnane, L. (2007) 'Legal Impediments to Service: Women in the Military and the Rule of Law,' *Duke Journal of Gender Policy and Law*. June. 1060-1096.
- Nagl, J. (2007) 'The Evolution and Importance of Army/Marine Corps Field Manual 3-24, Counterinsurgency,' *Small Wars Journal*, 27 June. [Online] Available at: <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/the-evolution-and-importance-of-armymarine-corps-field-manual-3-24-counterinsurgency> [Accessed: 25 June 2012]
- Nagl, J. (2012) 'Does Military Service Still Matter for the Presidency?' *The Washington Post*, 25 May. [Online] Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/does-military-service-still-matter-for-the-presidency/2012/05/25/gJQAAAMupU_story.html [Accessed: 10 January 2013]
- Nee, V. and Ingram, P. (1998) 'Embedddness and beyond: Institutions, Exchange, and Social Structure.' In: Brinton, MC. (ed.) *The New Institutionalism in Sociology*. New York: Russell Sage Found.
- Noy, C. (2008) 'Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research,' *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. 11 September. 11.4.
- Oakley, A. (1981) *Subject Women*. Oxford: Martin Robertson Press, 1981.

- Olsen, O. (2010) '1/3 of Women in U.S. Military Raped,' *News Junkie*. [Online] Available at: <http://newsjunkiepost.com/2010/01/26/13rd-of-women-in-us-military-raped/> [Accessed: 27 June 2012]
- O'Toole, M. (2013) 'James Wilkerson, Air Force Pilot Convicted of Sexual Assault, Reassigned,' *The Huffington Post*, 8 April. [Online] Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/02/james-wilkerson-air-force-sexual-assault_n_2994998.html [Accessed: 18 May 2013]
- O'Toole, M. (2013) 'Leon Panetta Lifts Ban on Women in Combat,' *The Huffington Post*, 23 January. [Online] http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/01/23/leon-panetta-women-in-combat_n_2537575.html [Accessed: 5 May 2013]
- 'Oyez Project at IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law' (2011) *Schlesinger v. Ballard*. [Online] Available at: http://www.oyez.org/cases/1970-1979/1974/1974_73_776 [Accessed: 11 Dec 2011]
- Packard, K. (2013) 'How the All-Volunteer Force undermined accountability in the modern U.S. military,' *Foreign Policy*. 17 Jan. [Online] Available at: http://ricks.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/01/17/how_the_all_volunteer_force_undermined_accountability_in_the_modern_us_military. Accessed on: 4 Oct 2012.
- 'Panetta: Could be 19,000 Military Sexual Assaults Each Year' (2012) *NBC News*. January. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nbcnews.com/video/nightly-news/49203683#49203683> [Accessed: 7 May 2013]
- Parrish, K. (2012) 'Panetta announces initiatives targeting sexual assault,' *Army News. Armed Forces Press Service*. 20 Jan. A10.
- Peach, L.J. (1996) 'Gender Ideology and the Ethics of Women in Combat.' In: Stiehm, JH. (ed.) *It's Our Military, Too: Women and the U.S. Military*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 156-194.
- Penaloza, M. and Lawrence, Q. (2013) 'Female Soldiers Face Tough Switch From Front Lines to Homefront,' *National Public Radio*. 14 March.
- Pennington, B. (2004) 'Pro Football; Ex-N.F.L. Player Is Killed In Combat,' *The New York Times*, 24 April. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/24/sports/pro-football-ex-nfl-player-is-killed-in-combat.html> [Accessed: 10 January 2013]
- 'Persian Gulf War' (1992) *History and Connections*. [Online] Available at: <http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/rr/s01/cw/students/leeann/historyandcollections/collections/photopages/phepersgulf.html> [Accessed: 21 November 2011]

- Peters, G. (2005) *Institutional Theory in Political Science: The 'New Institutionalism*. London: Ashford Colour Press Ltd.
- Peterson, S.V. (2010) 'Gendered Identities, Ideologies, and Practices in the Context of War and Militarism,' *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*. eds. Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Pfaff, W. (2010) 'Manufacturing Insecurity,' *Foreign Affairs*. November-December.
- Pisachubbe, J. (2011) 'Female Engagement Team Bring Aid to School, Orphanage,' *Army Military Times*, 14 February 2011. [Online] Available at: <http://www.army.mil/article/51804/female-engagement-team-brings-aid-to-school-orphanage/> [Accessed: 20 February 2013]
- Pottinger et al. (2010) 'Half-Hearted: Trying to Win Afghanistan without Afghan Women,' *Small Worlds Journal*. [Online] Available at: <http://smallwars.org/jrnl/art/trying-to-winafghanistan-without-afghan-women> [Accessed: 20 Nov 2012]
- Powell, W. (2007) 'The New Institutionalism,' *The International Encyclopedia of Organization Studies*. Sage Publishers.
- Priest, D. (1997) 'A Trench Between Women, Jobs; Opening of Combat-Related Fields Brings Few Gains for Female Soldiers Series: The Slow March: Women in the Army,' *The Washington Post*, 28 December. A1.
- Quester, G. (1982) 'The Problem.' In: Loring Goldman, N. (ed.) *Female Soldiers—Combatants or Noncombatants?* London: Greenwood Press.
- Rajiva, L. (2007) *The Language of Empire: Abu Ghraib and the American Media*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- 'Rape by Rank' (2008) *Current News*. [Online] Available at: http://current.com/news-and-politics/88804538_rape-by-rank-is-too-real.htm. [Accessed on 3 Jan 2013]
- 'Rasmussen Reports: Women in Combat Poll' (2012) *Rasmussen Reports*, 16-17 February. [Online] Available at: http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/general_politics/february_2012/54_favor_full_combat_role_for_women_in_military [Accessed: 5 May 2013]
- Rassbach, E. (2009) 'Soldier Seeking Asylum: I want to be Able to Atone,' *Common Dreams*, 26 May. [Online] Available at: <http://www.commondreams.org/headline/2009/05/28-4> [Accessed: 17 March 2013]

Reinharz, S. (1992) *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

‘Representative Speier Demands Protection for the Military’s Most Vulnerable,’ U.S. House of Representatives. [Online] Available at: http://speier.house.gov/index.php?option=com_content&id=892:rep-speier-demands-protection-for-militarys-most-vulnerable-introduces-legislation-to-shield-trainees-from-sexual-assault-by-instructors-&catid=1:press-releases&Itemid=14 [Accessed: 3 March]

‘Restrictions on Assignments of Military Women: A Brief History,’ (2012) *National Women’s Law Center: Expanding Possibilities*. [Online] Available at: http://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/Women_in_Military_Assignments_A_Brief_History_Revised_09_April_2012.pdf [Accessed: 30 October 2012]

Rich, F. (1994) ‘Journal; The Girl Next Door,’ *The New York Times*, 20 February. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/02/20/opinion/journal-the-girl-next-door.html> [Accessed: 12 January 2013]

Rich, F. (2004) ‘Saving Private England,’ *The New York Times*, 16 May. [Online] <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/16/arts/saving-private-england.html> [Accessed: 12 January 2013]

Rich, M. (2011) ‘The Education Bonus and the Gender Gap,’ *The New York Times*, 8 September. [Online] Available at: http://economix.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/09/08/the-education-bonus-and-the-gender-gap/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0 [Accessed: 12 January 2013]

Rich, M. (2011) ‘Gender Gap on Wages Is Slow to Close,’ *The New York Times*, 3 November. [Online] <http://economix.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/11/03/gender-gap-on-wages-is-slow-to-close/> [Accessed: 12 November 2012]

Richards, D. (1996) ‘Elite Interviewing: Approaches and Pitfalls,’ *Politics*. 16.3, 199-204.

Ring, W. (1990) ‘Woman Led U.S. Troops Into Battle,’ *The Washington Post*, 3 January, A4.

Ritchie, N. and Rogers, P. (2007) *The Political Road to War with Iraq: Bush, 9/11 and the Drive to Overthrow Saddam*. New York: Taylor and Francis.

Rokke, D. (2002) ‘Gulf War Casualties,’ *Traprock Peace Center*, 30 September. [Online] Available at: <http://rense.com/general29/gulf.htm> [Accessed: 23 February 2013]

- Roland, Al. (1997) 'Technology and War,' *American Diplomacy Foreign Service Dispatches and Periodic Reports on U.S. Foreign Policy*, April. [Online] Available at: http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/AD_Issues/amdipl_4/roland.html [Accessed: 15 January 2013]
- Rozen, L. (2012) 'Abu Ghraib guard Lynndie England says of Iraqi prisoners she was convicted of abusing: They got the better end of the deal,' *Yahoo News*, 20 March. [Online] Available at: http://news.yahoo.com/blogs/envoy/abu-ghraib-guard-lynnie-england-says-iraqi-prisoners-214645632.html;_ylt=A0LEV1cWXw5TgHQAAcBXNy0A;_ylu=X3oDMTEzcWgxM3BnBHNIYwNzcgRwb3MDMQRjb2xvA2JmMQR2dGlkA1ZJUDM3NF8x [Accessed: 12 January 2013]
- Rue, J. (2013) 'Women in the Warzone: Combating the Military's Epidemic of Sexual Violence,' *The Guardian*, 24 January. [Online] Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/24/women-war-zone-combat-military-sexual-violence> [Accessed: 7 May 2013]
- Ruffin, I. (2009) 'Women, Warrior: The Story of Linda Bray and an Analysis of Female War Veterans in the American Media,' Diss. University of North Carolina.
- Sadler, C. (1942) 'House Votes Women's Corps of 150,000,' *The Washington Post*. 18 May. A3.
- Sadler, C. (1942) 'WAAC Bill Is Passed By Senate,' *The Washington Post*. 13 May. A5.
- Sagalyn, D. (2010) 'Report: U.S. Military Leadership Lacks Diversity at Top,' *PBS Newshour*. 11 March.
- Shachtman, N. (2012) 'Military Stats Reveal Epicenter of U.S. Drone War,' *Wired*, 9 November. [Online] Available at: <http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2012/11/drones-afghan-air-war/> [Accessed: 3 March 2013]
- Schmidt, S. and Loeb, V. (2003) 'She was Fighting to the Death; Details Emerging of W. Va. Soldier's Capture and Rescue,' *The Washington Post*, 3 April. [Online] Available at: <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-254710.html> [Accessed: 15 January 2013]
- 'Scope of U.S. Air Force Sexual Assault Case 'Stunning'—General,' *First Post World*. 24 Jan. [Online] Available at: <http://www.firstpost.com/world/scope-of-u-s-air-force-sexual-assault-case-stunning-general-600064.html> [Accessed: 25 January]

- Scott, J. (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Scott, W. (2004) 'Institutional theory.' In: Ritzer, G. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing.
- Seifert, R. (2003) 'Gender and the Military: An Outline of Theoretical Debates.' *Armed Forces and International Security: Global Trends and Issues*, eds. Jean Callaghan and Franz Kernic. Munster: Lit Verlag Munster. 209-216.
- Shane, L. (2011) 'Commission to Recommend Allowing Women in Combat Units,' *Stars and Stripes*. 13 January. B3.
- Sheehan, M. (2008) 'The Changing Character of War,' *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shepherd, L. (2010) *Gender Matters in Global Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Segal, M. (1993) 'Women in the Armed Forces.' In: Howes, R. and Stevenson, M. (ed.) *Women and the Use of Military Force*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- 'Sexual Violence and the Military' (2012) *The New York Times*. 8 March, A30.
- Siegel, R. (2010) 'Struck By Stereotype: Ruth Bader Ginsburg on Pregnancy Discrimination as Sex Discrimination,' *Yale Law School Legal Scholarship Repository*. January.
- Singer, P.W. (2009) *Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century*. London: Penguin Books.
- Sjoberg, L. (2010) 'Gendering the Empire's Soldiers: Gender Ideologies, the U.S. Military, and the 'War on Terror.'" In: Sjoberg, L. and Via, S. (ed.) *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Snyder, R. C. (2003) 'The Citizen-soldier Tradition and Gender Integration of the US Military,' *Armed Forces and Society* 29.2, 185–204.
- Speier, J. (2011) "Congresswoman Jackie Speier Introduces Legislation and Campaign," *Press Conference*. Washington D.C. [Online] Available at: www.speier.house.gov. [Accessed: 20 November 2012]
- Speier, J. (2011) House of Representatives Bill 3435. [Online] Available at: <http://speier.house.gov/> [Accessed: 7 April 2012]

- Speier, J. (2012) House of Representatives Bill 430. [Online] Available at: <http://speier.house.gov/> [Accessed: 7 April 2012]
- Spinner, J. (1997) 'In Wake of Sex Scandal, Caution Is the Rule at Aberdeen,' *The Washington Post*. 7 November. B01.
- Stanley, L. (1995) 'My mother's voice? On becoming a 'native' in academia,' *Feminist Academics: Creative Agents for Change*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Stavraka, C. (2000) 'Women in the Workforce: Is Equality in the Executive Offices Achievable,' [Online] Available at: <http://diversity.com/feature/equality.cfm> [Accessed: 28 December 2011]
- Steinhauer, J. (2013) 'A Sexual-Assault Measure to Be Cut From Military Bill,' *The New York Times*, 11 June. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/12/us/politics/proposed-measure-to-curb-sexual-assault-in-military-to-be-cut-from-bill.html?gwh=FC076EF613363642434BCC4A47E7027A&gwt=pay>[Accessed: 15 Jun 2013]
- Stiehm, JH. ed. (1996) *It's Our Military, Too: Women and the U.S. Military*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- 'Stimson Urges Army Auxiliary Women's Corps' (1941) *The Washington Post*. 30 December. A5.
- 'Text of Bush Speech' (2009) *CBS News*. 22 Feb. [Online] Available at: http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-500257_162-551946.html. [Accessed: 3 November 2012]
- Thelen, K. (1999) 'Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics,' *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2.1, 369-404.
- Tickner, A.J. (2001) *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Treadwell, M.E. (1991) *United States Army in World War II Special Studies, The Women's Army Corps*. Washington: Center of Military History United States Army.
- Trouve et al. (2010) 'The Path Dependency Theory: Analytical Framework to Study Institutional Integration: The Case of France,' *International Journal of Integrated Care*. June 2010. [Online] Available at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2916113/> [Accessed: 7 June 2013]

- Tucker, E. (2012) 'Eight Women File Lawsuit, Accuse Military of Having 'High Tolerance For Sexual Predators In Their Ranks,' *The Huffington Post*, 6 March. [Online] Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/03/06/military-rape-lawsuit_n_1324899.html [Accessed: 7 May 2013]
- Tucker, S. and Kathy Hill (2002) *Academy of Entrepreneurship Journal*. [Online] Available at: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb6005/is_2_8/ai_n28975605 [Accessed: 30 December 2011]
- Tuten, Jeff M. (1982) 'The Argument Against Female Combatants.' In: Loring Goldman, N. (ed.) *Female Soldiers—Combatants or Noncombatants?* London: Greenwood Press.
- United States of America. (2013) Department of the Air Force. *Air command and staff college handbook*. Alabama: 21st Education and Training Squadron.
- United States of America. (1994) Department of Defense. Memo: *Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule*. Washington: GPO
- United States of America. (2009) Department of Defense. *Sexual Harassment Policy*. Washington: GPO.
- United States of America. (2005) Department of Defense. *Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Program*. Washington: GPO.
- United States of America. (2010) Department of Defense. *Workplace and Gender Relations Survey of Active Duty Members*. Washington: GPO.
- United States of America. (2011) Department of Defense. *Army Report on Sexual Crime*. Washington: GPO.
- United States of America. (2012) Department of Defense. *Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military*. Washington: GPO.
- United States of America. (2013) Department of Defense. *Funding Memo, Fiscal Year 2013*. Washington: GPO.
- United States of America. (1993) United States Congress. 'Public Law 103-160' [*Don't Ask, Don't Tell*]. Washington: GPO.
- United States of America. 'United States Code' (1993) *Title Ten: United States Armed Forces*. Washington: GPO.

- ‘University of Kentucky Center For Research and Violence Against Women’ *University of Kentucky*. [Online] Available at:
[athttp://www.uky.edu/CRVAW/files/TopTen/07_Rape_Prosecution.pdf](http://www.uky.edu/CRVAW/files/TopTen/07_Rape_Prosecution.pdf).
 [Accessed on: 7 March 2013]
- Van Riper, P. (2004) ‘The Immutable Nature of War,’ *Nova*, 4 May. [Online] Available at: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/transcripts/3110_wartech.html [Accessed: 17 November 2012]
- Vobejda, B. (1993) ‘Combat Role for Women Seen Likely to Have Wider Social Impact; Finally! Female Flight Officer Declares,’ *The Washington Post*. 29 April. A3.
- Vogel, B. (2010) ‘Contemporary Conceptualizations of Women in Conflict,’ *E-international relations*. 1 May. [Online] Available at: www.e-ir.info/2010/05/01/contemporary-conceptualization-of-women-in-conflict.com [Accessed: 3 November 2012]
- ‘WAAC Morals Commended’ (1943) *The Washington Post*. 5 July. A1.
- Weinstein, L. and White, C. (1997) *Wives and Warriors: Women and the Military in the United States and Canada*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Westmorland, N. (2001) ‘The Quantitative/Qualitative Debate and Feminist Research: A Subjective View of Objectivity,’ *Forum: Qualitative Social Research Sozialforschung*. [Online] Available at:
<http://forum.atlasti.com/archive/index.php/t-1098.html> [Accessed: 8 October 2012]
- ‘What Really Happened to Pat Tillman?’ (2009) *CBS News*. 11 February.
- Whitlock, C. (2013) ‘General’s promotion blocked over her dismissal of sex-assault verdict,’ *The Washington Post*, 6 May. [Online] Available at:
http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/generals-promotion-blocked-over-her-dismissal-of-sex-assault-verdict/2013/05/06/ef853f8c-b64c-11e2-bd07-b6e0e6152528_story.html [Accessed: 15 May 2013]
- Whitlock, C. (2013) ‘Obama delivers blunt message on sexual assaults in the military,’ *The New York Times*, 7 May. [Online] Available at:
http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/possible-military-sexual-assaults-up-by-33-percent-in-last-2-years/2013/05/07_story.html
 [Accessed: 15 May 2013]
- ‘Who Spread False Tales of Heroism?’ (2008) *The New York Times*, 16 July.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/16/opinion/16wed2.html?gwh=6D5D8EDDEBC34A0C06AE3469602FB16F&gwt=pay> [Accessed: 10 January 2013]

- Williams, P. M. (1980) 'Interviewing Politicians: The Life of Hugh Gaitskell,' *Political Quarterly*. 51.3, 303-316.
- Wilson, S. Bowman, T. (1997) 'Solider cuts deal in APG scandal for a 5-year term, sergeant implicates officers, other NCOs,' *The Baltimore Sun*, 21 May. [Online] Available at: http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1997-05-21/news/1997141134_1_aberdeen-soldier-fort-leavenworth [Accessed: 7 January 2013]
- 'Women at West Point' (1976) *The Washington Post*. 8 July, B2.
- 'Women's History in America' (2011) *Women's International Center*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.wic.org/misc/history.htm> [Accessed: 16 Dec 2011]
- 'Women in the Army' (1943) *The Washington Post*. 1 Aug. A1.
- 'Women in the Canadian Military' (2006) *CBC News*. [Online] Available at: www.cbc.ca/news/background/cdnmilitary/women-cdnmilitary.html. [Accessed: 28 September 2011]
- 'Women Pilots of World War II' (2012) *Army.mil*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.army.mil/women/pilots.html> [Accessed: 25 March 2012.
- 'Women Should be Allowed in Combat Units, Report Says.' (2011) *Fox News*, 14 January. <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2011/01/14/women-allowed-combat-unis-report-says/> [Accessed: 27 November 2012]
- Wood, D. (2011) 'Women in Combat: Study Recommends Ending Military's Last Male Bastion,' *Afghanistan Journal, Politics Daily*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.politicsdaily.com/2011/01/18/women-in-combat-the-debate-begins-anew/> [Accessed: 17 October 2012]
- Zernike, K. (2005) 'Behind Failed Abu Ghraib Plea, a Tangle of Bonds and Betrayals,' *The New York Times*, 10 May. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/10/national/10graner.html?gwh=187BE79A0F88588CE9DEF68221B3A348&gwt=pay> [Accessed: 12 January 2013]
- Zucker, L. G. (1977) 'The Role of Institutionalization in Cultural Persistence,' *American Sociological Review*. 42 726-743.
- Zurko, R. (2010) 'Don't Ask Don't Tell Overturned Despite Harsh Words From Military Leader,' *Examiner*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.examiner.com/article/don-t-ask-don-t-tell-overturned-despite-harsh-words-from-military-leader> [Accessed: 28 June 2012]