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UTILIZATION OF ENLISTED WOMEN IN THE MILITARY.(U)
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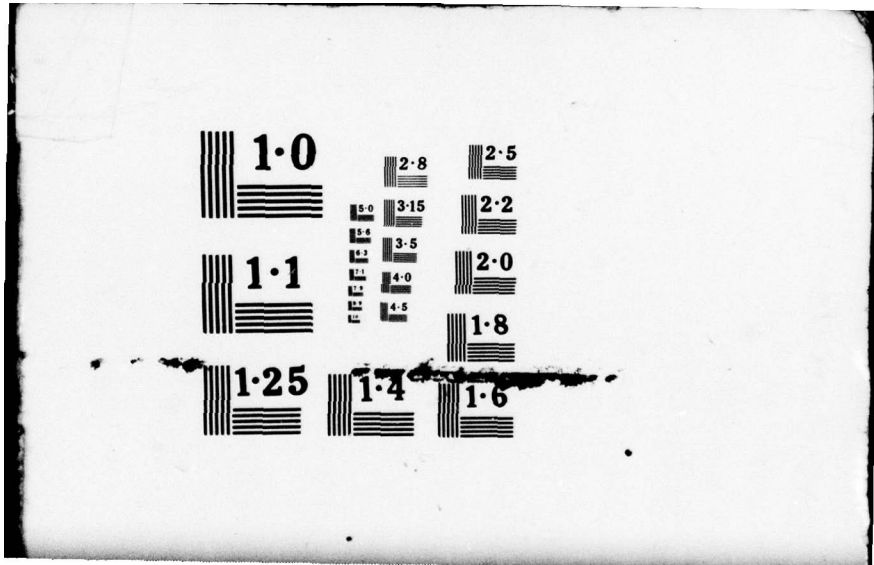
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FOREWORD

This paper was prepared for presentation at the RAND Conference on Defense Manpower of February 4-6, 1976. The Navy research discussed in the text is being conducted in support of Exploratory Development Task Area ZF55.521.021 (Personnel Assimilation and Supervision) under the sponsorship of the Chief of Naval Personnel.

This paper could not have been written without the cooperation and contributions of civilian researchers and active duty personnel in the Army, Air Force, Coast Guard, and Navy who provided information on the policies of their various services and generously shared data. Gratitude is also expressed to those who reviewed the paper and provided helpful criticism.

J. J. CLARKIN
Commanding Officer

SUMMARY

Problem

In a society in which the role of women rapidly is being redefined, the military services continue to function under laws and regulations that circumscribe the duties of its female members.

↓
The → Objective of this paper is →

To review the status of American military women from a historical perspective and determine what effect recent changes in policy have had on their utilisation.

Approach

The history of American women in uniform was discussed along with their status today. Comparisons were made with the role of women in the Israeli Defense Force.

The attitudes of military men concerning women's place in society, job-relevant stereotypes, and women in combat were described. Data reporting the occupational goals of women enlisting in the Navy and the apparent disillusionment of female petty officers were presented. Case histories of the integration of Navy women into formerly all-male work groups were discussed.

Conclusions

It was concluded that, until the laws and regulations preventing full utilization of female personnel are repealed or reinterpreted, military women will experience a dissonance between their expectations and experiences.

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INTRODUCTION

Problem

Being male historically has been a prerequisite for certain occupations in our culture. In big business, politics, religion, higher education, law, medicine, and the military, men work together and make critical decisions in a virtually female-free environment. While a few women have gotten "in on the action" in board rooms, the halls of government, and the Pentagon, only recently have changes in social attitudes and civil rights legislation forced a reexamination of the barriers that have kept most of them out. The military services, however, have regulations and the sanction of federal law to maintain restrictions which prevent the assignment of women to some job specialties and greatly limit their numbers and duties in others. The Army ruling excludes women from billets that are combat-oriented or considered physically too arduous or too dangerous. Sections 6015 and 8549 of Title 10 of the United States Code, which apply to the Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force, prohibit the assignment of women to aircraft having a combat mission and to duty on Navy vessels other than hospital ships or transports. These rulings have been interpreted in such a way as to prevent the assignment of women to billets that might be involved in deployment in a military emergency. In the Navy, for example, this means that a woman may not be assigned for duty to a naval vessel for even a 24-hour period and may not participate in certain ship's operations. Thus, although women are probably physically and intellectually capable of performing the majority of jobs in the military, they are prevented by law or regulation from doing so because many of these jobs are performed aboard ships, in combat aircraft, or with combat units. The only exception to this regulation applies to members of the Nurse Corps.

The policies of the American military services are not very different from those of other nations. Virtually every country currently excludes women from combat-related billets, although some provide them with combat training. These policies have evolved despite demonstrations of courage and effectiveness on the part of military women during periods of national crisis or insurgent movements when they fought side by side with men. There appears to be a historical protection of women that permeates diverse cultures and has obvious survival value.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this paper is to review the history of American women in uniform from a utilization perspective; that is, in terms of representation in the force strength, job assignments, and restrictions affecting full utilization. The status of women in the Israeli Defense Force, the only extant example of universal conscription, also will be discussed in this context.

A secondary purpose is to present some very recent research on military women conducted by the Army and Navy. Because much of this research is not yet published, the paper will serve as a vehicle to bring relevant findings to the attention of those responsible for policies affecting women.

MILITARY POLICIES AND THEIR EFFECTS

Women in the Israeli Defense Force

Modern Israel has some unique policies concerning military women that have promoted an image of equal treatment of the sexes. This is a misconception. Although Israel practices universal conscription of 18-year-olds, men and women have very different experiences after completing their basic military training.

Women in the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) belong to a separate corps called the CHEN, an acronym which in translation means charm. Young women are drafted for only 20 months, versus 3 years for men, and remain in the reserve until their mid-40's. Their military experience is looked upon as a phase of young adulthood and is not incompatible with traditional femininity. This philosophy leads to the following practices that are very different from those of the American military (Dickerson, 1974).

1. Women are overtly treated differently from men and no effort is made to make them fit a masculine mold. For example, CHEN women may go home to their families every night rather than live in military quarters, if they wish to do so.

2. Women rarely receive advanced training in a military speciality. Because the period of conscription for women is only 20 months, it is felt that funds for extensive training are better spent on men. This lack of technical training affects the types of jobs to which women are assigned.

3. Women are not encouraged to remain in the IDF because there is a constant supply of new conscripts. Thus, the military is not looked upon as a career field for women and little attention is given to their opportunities for advancement.

4. Women serve solely to release men for combat and, to date, there has been no movement within CHEN to achieve equality of opportunity with men in the IDF.

However, Israeli women can be assigned to any ground unit as noncombatants and, unlike American military women, follow their units into combat, often coming under gunfire. They also may fulfill their military duty in teaching units or in the Nahal, the fighting pioneer youth who establish border settlements in hostile territory.

Status of American Military Women

The history of American women in military uniforms begins in 1901 when the Army Nurse Corps was formed to care for the wounded of the Spanish-American War. The Navy Nurse Corps was established in 1907 but

it was much later that nurses were given military rank and benefits. Prior to World War II, the only use of women in nonnursing roles occurred briefly in 1918-1919 when the Yeoman (F) rating was created to free more men for sea duty (Butler, 1967). These women, referred to as "Yeomanettes" or "Marinettes," depending upon whether they served with the Navy or Marine Corps, reached a strength of almost 13,000. They worked as clerks, stenographers, typists, and telephone operators and represented the first time in our history that women were admitted to full military status. During an era when women weren't permitted to vote, this was quite an accomplishment, and its occurrence required liberal interpretation of existing rulings. For example, all Yeomen had to be assigned to a ship and women were prevented from serving on ships by an 1881 regulation. The Navy solved this problem by assigning them to a tug firmly buried in the mud of the Potomac. The Army wanted to recruit women too, but were prevented from doing so by a law which required the enlistment of "male persons" into the Army whereas Navy regulations referred to the enlistment of "citizens" (Arbogast, 1973).

The women's services of today first came into being in May 1942 when the WAAC (Women Army Auxiliary Corps) was formed (Corson, 1972). Congresswoman Edith Rogers, who sponsored the bill creating the WAAC, attempted to gain full military status for Army women but was forced to compromise on an auxiliary corps. Two months later, however, the WAVES (Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service) was created. This time, by law, women were designated as serving in rather than with the Navy. This was an important distinction in status and probably came about because of the mobilization pressures caused by Japanese successes during the early years of World War II. In the spring of 1943, that extra "A" was dropped from the title of the WAC and Army women achieved military status separate from, but not equal to, that of men. This move was motivated by the findings of a study that a million and a half women could be effectively used in the Army but probably could not be recruited under auxiliary status. Two other wartime women's services, the Marine Corps Women's Reserve and the SPAR¹ (from Semper Paratus, Always Ready) of the Coast Guard, also were formed in the early years of World War II. An interesting footnote to history is that SPAR officers were trained at the Coast Guard Academy in New London, Connecticut. This represents the first and, to date, the only time women have attended an American military academy (U. S. Coast Guard, 1946).

Military women, like their civilian sisters, were used in a wide variety of jobs during World War II. Almost half of the enlisted WAC were assigned to administrative and office work but others worked in such specialities as bombsight maintenance specialists and Link trainer instructors. They were deployed overseas and were found in every major Army command. WAVES did not receive authorization to serve outside of the continental United States until September 1944. During the war years, over 55 percent of the uniformed Navy in Washington, D. C. was female (Corson, 1972). In addition, WAVES worked in all of the nonflying ratings of naval aviation. Table 1 shows the populations of the four women

¹Pub. L. No. 773 of Nov 23, 1942.

Table 1
Number of Military Women During Peak Mobilization in 1945

Service	Officers	Enlisted	Total
WAC	5,746	93,542	99,288
WAVES	7,055	78,945	86,000
Woman Marines	831	17,578	18,409
SPAR	918	8,912	9,830
Total	14,550	198,977	213,527

Note.--These figures exclude women officers in the healing arts.

services at the peak of mobilization in 1945. Creation of these groups was a wartime measure and intended to be shortlived. However, in 1948 President Truman signed the Women's Armed Services Integration Act (Public Law 625) authorizing women in the Regular Army, Navy, Air Force² and Marine Corps. Public Law 625 gave legal sanction to inequities between the sexes, including the following:

1. "No person shall be enlisted who has not attained the age of 18 years; and provided further, that no person under the age of 21 years shall be enlisted in such corps without the written consent of her parents or guardians."

2. The number of enlisted women shall not exceed 2% of enlisted strength and women officers shall not exceed 10% of enlisted female strength.

3. Women officers may not have a permanent commissioned grade above Commander (Navy) or Lieutenant Colonel (Army, Air Force, or Marine Corps).

4. Children of military women shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or their mother is their chief support.

Despite the demonstrated usefulness of military women, their representation in the services has remained low. In 1945, at the height of wartime mobilization, females in uniform represented only 2.18 percent of the armed forces. Five years later in the 1950s, the percentage of women was down to 1.5 percent (Corson, 1972). It wasn't

²The WAF was formed in 1947 when the Air Force was created as a separate service.

until 1967 (Pub. L. No. 90-130), during the Vietnam War buildup, that Congress removed the 2 percent limit on military women that had been set in 1948. Now the secretary of each service determines the maximum number of women in their force. Women in the Marine Corps, for example, were limited to 1 percent of the enlisted force until 1973, when this quota was lifted. Today there are about 3,100 women in the corps, representing 1.6 percent of MC personnel. The Navy has established a ceiling of 20,000 women, excluding officers. This goal, representing 4 percent of the enlisted strength, will be reached in the summer of 1976. The Air Force has 32,000 enlisted women. Their quota is 15 percent of their forces, rather than an absolute ceiling. General Jeanne Holm, former Director of the WAF, stated in 1972 that women, under present law, could make up 70 percent of the enlisted strength of the Air Force (Corson, 1972). The Army now has 45,000 women, representing 6 percent of their total forces. Thus, while the absolute number of women in uniform is about half that of 1945, the proportion has doubled. In spite of this, they still make up a much smaller minority group than blacks. To longtime military men, both officer and enlisted, women are far more of an enigma than are ethnic or racial minorities. To some they are an anathema. General Hershey, formerly the head of the Selective Service, expressed this attitude succinctly when he said, "There is no question but that women could do a lot of the things in the military services. So could men in wheelchairs. But you couldn't expect the services to want a whole company of people in wheelchairs."

Since 1970 the status of women in the military has greatly changed. For the most part, this change has been brought about by social and political forces impacting upon the services. The progress of women has had its ups and downs, however, due to the inertia of the system and the reluctance of many of its members to relinquish control of what is often looked upon as the last bastion of male supremacy. Some changes have been painfully slow, eventually coming to pass only after court rulings upon discrimination suits brought by military women, as with the abolishment of pregnancy as grounds for mandatory discharge. Occasionally, by fiat, sweeping changes have occurred as in August of 1972 when ADM Elmo Zumwalt promulgated Z-Gram 116 which:

1. Authorized limited entry of women into all Navy enlisted ratings.
2. Established a pilot program aboard USS SANCTUARY (AH-17) for evaluating utilization of women at sea and immediately assigned a limited number of female officers and enlisted personnel to the crew.
3. Suspended restrictions on women succeeding to command ashore.
4. Opened the Chaplain and Civil Engineer Corps to women officers.
5. Opened college NROTC programs to women and expanded the opportunities of women line officers.

6. Permitted women to achieve flag rank within the managerial and technical spectrum.

The actual changes in the status of Navy women that have occurred in the 3-1/2 years since Z-Gram 116 was promulgated highlight the disappointing disparity sometimes found between policy and practice.

1. SANCTUARY received its first complement of women in November 1972 and was decommissioned in March 1975. Although this pilot program was deemed successful (Commanding Officer, USS SANCTUARY, Note 1) in that women generally performed at a high level and committed fewer disciplinary offenses than their male cohorts, the women-at-sea program ended at this time and there are no plans to reinstate it.

2. A total of nine women have succeeded to command ashore, and five are currently serving as COs.

3. There are now six female chaplains and four female civil engineer officers.

4. About 65 women are now attending college under the Navy ROTC scholarship program. Secretary of the Navy recently approved a goal of 55 scholarships reserved for women each year.

5. There are no women flag officers except in the Nurse Corps, as before Z-Gram 116. However, two women are currently being considered by the Admiral Selection Board. (Note: One was selected as this paper went to press.)

6. Enlisted women never gained access to certain ratings, even to a limited degree. Currently, all enlisted ratings are classified into three categories, representing open, controlled, and closed jobs for women. Table 2 shows that the 15 ratings closed to women, the majority of which are performed only aboard ships, represent only 6 percent of all Navy rated billets. This last category, the open ratings, is somewhat misnamed since quotas are applied here, too. For example, in FY 1975, there were only two openings for women into the Gunner's Mate rating. The table also points out the maldistribution of women, in that almost 80 percent are confined to jobs that represent 56 percent of the rated billets.

As the opportunities for women opened, new patterns of utilization began to emerge in the services. Table 3 shows the shift observed in the WAC between December 1973 and December 1974 (Savell, Woelfel & Collins, 1975). A traditional Army Military Occupational Specialty (MOS) was defined in the analysis as a job to which at least 3 percent of the WAC not in basic training were assigned. These data show that the proportion of women in traditional MOSs dropped 9 percentage points in one year. The majority (3.7 percent) of women have gone into law enforcement. Of the Army's 451 MOSs, 415 are now open to enlisted women. Army

Table 2
Rating Control of Navy Women

	<u>N</u>	Percentage of Rated Billets	Percentage of Rated Women
Closed	15	6.0	0.0
Controlled	44	38.3	20.8
Open	43	55.7	79.2
Total	102	100.0	100.0

Note.--Based on 1975 requirements for 294,715 rated personnel.

Table 3
Percentage of Army Enlisted Women
in Traditional Career Fields

Career Field	1973 (<u>N</u> =11,173)	1974 (<u>N</u> =17,085)
Medical	31%	25%
Administration	35%	33%
Communication	11%	9%
Supply	5%	6%
Data Processing	3%	3%
Total	85%	76%

Note.--From Savell, Woefel, and Collins (1975).

personnel have expressed disappointment, however, in what is seen as women's lack of interest in pursuing some of these opportunities. Military women respond that many of these newly integrated jobs are unappealing and are generally filled by male enlistees who fail to qualify for technical training.

The Navy, which has determined that no more than 20,000 women can be utilized without disturbing sea/shore rotations for men, presents a different picture. Table 4 presents data that parallel the Army data except that they are based on the fiscal year. The 1973 data reflect the status of women prior to the impact of Z-Gram 116, promulgated in August 1972, which opened so many opportunities for women. By June 1974, only 9 months later, there appears to be a shift of almost 6 percentage points away from the traditional ratings. However, by March of 1975, a reversal has occurred. This finding probably is due to the 35 percent increase in rated women and the limited number of permanent shore-based nontraditional billets. If this hypothesis is valid, the traditional fields of medical, administration, communications, and supply may be expected to become more feminized until the law prohibiting women on ships is repealed or reinterpreted.

Table 4
Percentage of Navy Enlisted Women
In Traditional Career Fields

Career Field	1973 (N=4835)	1974 (N=7332)	1975 (N=9597)
Medical	38%	32%	32%
Administration	29%	26%	27%
Communication	9%	13%	16%
Supply	9%	8%	9%
Data Processing	4%	4%	3%
Total	89%	83%	87%

Note.--From Navy Military Personnel Statistics: Quarterly Reports for 31 March 1975, 30 June 1974, and 30 June 1973.

Attitudes of Military Men Toward Women

The reaction of male personnel to the shifting pattern of utilization of women has been of concern to the services because of the obvious

implications for personnel effectiveness. It has been hypothesized that men seek all-male groups, like the military, and form bonds that are resistant to female intrusion.

The Army conducted a survey of 721 soldiers, both male and female, in 1974 to determine their sex-role attitudes (Savell & Collins, 1975). Part of the study involved categorizing the respondents into contemporary versus traditional on the basis of whether they agreed more with one of the following statements:

1. Under ordinary circumstances, women belong in the home, caring for children and carrying out domestic duties; whereas men should be responsible for financial support of the family.
2. Relationships between men and women are ideally equal and husbands and wives should share domestic, child rearing, and financial responsibilities.

The subjects were also asked to indicate how they thought specified individuals and groups (i.e., the majority of men in the Army, the majority of women in the Army, their best friend of the opposite sex, and their best friend of the same sex) would respond. Table 5, which presents the results of this survey, indicates that respondents felt that women in the Army hold the most contemporary view (as indeed they do) and men in the Army, the most traditional view (far more traditional than these men actually see themselves). This difference is striking, leading to the suspicion that the men privately held traditional views and willingly attributed these views to the majority of men in the Army. However, because they presumed their peers held a contemporary view, they were unwilling to describe themselves in unpopular terms. Both men and women considered themselves to be more contemporary in their attitudes toward female roles than their best friend of the same sex. Army researchers interpret this last finding to indicate that social value is placed on holding contemporary views of women's roles and that attitudes may be expected to become more consistent with this value with time.

Along with questioning attitudes towards woman's place in society, the strength of job-relevant stereotypes of women held by Navy men was investigated by researchers at the Navy Personnel Research and Development Center (NAVPERSRANDCEN). The concern is that such stereotypes are expressed as behaviors that affect the job satisfaction and retention of Navy women. Table 6 presents an analysis of the responses of 890 male recruits questioned in 1975. The five-point scale used in the questionnaire has been collapsed for simplicity of presentation and the undecided response category is not included on the table. The chi square was computed for five response categories (4 df) and all of the distributions of responses are significantly different at the .01 level. The considerable number of young men (mean age = 19.6) who subscribe to these beliefs about women was unexpected. Such preconceptions, such as that women are more emotional than men and have less leadership ability, could affect their future relationships with female supervisors and the

Table 5

Percentage Attributing Contemporary
(Rather than Traditional)
Sex-role Attitude to Specified Individuals and Groups

Referent	Overall (N=721)	Men (N=540)	Women (N=181)
Women in the Army	85%	83%	84%
Self	73%	66%	92%
Opposite sex friend	70%	71%	63%
Same sex friend	63%	56%	83%
Men in the Army	29%	37%	22%

Note.--From Savell and Collins (1975).

Table 6

Attributes of Women as Seen by Navy Recruits

Attribute	Agree	Disagree
Women more sickly	15%	37%
Women more emotional	66%	13%
Women less logical	14%	46%
Women less decisive	21%	44%
Women less stable	36%	33%
Women less leadership ability	37%	31%
Women more easily influenced	30%	31%
Women less coordinated	8%	68%

Note.--All X^2 are significant at the .01 level with 4 df.

types of duties and amount of responsibility given any women they might supervise unless these attitudes change. Yet, when this same group of recruits was asked three questions about equality of treatment in the areas of acquisition, training, and promotion, less than 10 percent stated men and women should be treated differently. Perhaps inequality in these areas is so blatantly biased that it is difficult to openly admit one endorses it.

An additional concern of the military is the reaction of men to the possible utilization of women in combat. Table 7 paraphrases the questions asked the groups but permits comparisons across several samples. As shown, the group most resistant to placing women in a combat situation is the civilian sector. Army personnel are almost evenly split on the question (Segal, Kinzer & Woelfel, Note 2). Navy personnel exhibit two viewpoints, depending upon the identity of the sample. The recruits are indistinguishable from the 1973 civilian sample despite their youth and the recency of the questionnaire. Fleet personnel, however, hold a more positive opinion of women's ability to perform in combat.

Table 7
Acceptance of Women in Combat

		Agree	Disagree
1973 Civilian ^a (N=560)	Only men should bear arms	74%	26%
1974 Army ^a (N=724)	Women would be good Combat Soldiers	48%	50%
1973 Navy-fleet (N=860)	I would want to be with a woman in combat	62%	35%
1975 Navy-recruits (N=888)	I would want to be with a woman in combat	24%	75%

^aTaken from Segal, Kinzer, and Woelfel, Note 2.

Research Findings for Navy Enlisted Women

The Navy currently is investigating the characteristics of females who enlist and their experiences in the male-oriented environment they encounter. Demographic data for 1,000 newly enlisted women were recently gathered, as part of a longitudinal study (Thomas, Note 3).

A profile of the composite female seaman recruit of 1975 shows that she is about 20 years old, comes from a city of less than 20,000 population, belongs to a family with four or more children, and rates her home as "happy most of the time." The typical female recruit lived at home until enlisting and feels that her parents' discipline and demands upon her were fair. Her decision to join the Navy was entirely her own and was firmly supported by her father, mother and siblings, while her peers were evenly divided on whether she should join or not.

The three most important factors in her decision to enlist were: (1) to make something out of her life, (2) to learn a new skill, and (3) to travel and meet people. The two least important factors were to help her family financially and to get away from home. She has no female friends in any of the services and admits to knowing very little about the military, but firmly subscribes to the statement, "In the Navy it is important to conform to the group wishes for the good of all."

Contrasts between the occupational goals of the sexes in the civilian literature indicate that, in the world of work, males tend to be more interested in challenge and getting ahead, whereas females value friendly co-workers and pleasant surroundings. This sample of 1,000 Navy women was asked to indicate, from a list of 39 job factors, those which were most important to them in making an occupational choice. Since these women had already chosen the Navy, this information reveals much about their job expectations.

Table 8 shows what factors the composite female considers essential or very important to her. The work values of a sample of 1,000 male recruits, also surveyed in 1975, are included for comparison purposes (Thomas, Note 3).

The first item shows that, like her civilian counterpart, the female Navy recruit highly values a cheerful, clean work environment. While it may be consistent with her image of the Navy's utilization of women, this value will cause her to experience dissonance if she is assigned to a nontraditional job. The second item shows that she values self-actualization, even to a greater extent than her male peers. Both sexes feel that learning a new skill and having a supervisor who cares about their problems are of considerable importance to them. The fifth item reinforces the picture of a young woman with traditional female values. These findings may explain some of the reluctance often noted on the part of military women to go into newly opened nontraditional job specialties. The profile of female recruits described above does not paint a picture of contemporary young women who are eager to enter new fields and compete with men. If such young women are indeed wanted, the Navy will have to make a conscious effort to recruit them.

The work values held by the 1975 male recruit seem to indicate that he is looking for basic security, which is probably a reflection of the high unemployment rate of his civilian contemporaries. However, he

Table 8

Work Values of Female and Male Recruits

	Women	Men
Provides a cheerful, clean work environment.	67%	Teaches a new skill or further develops one I already have. 60%
Gives me a feeling of really doing something important.	63%	Gives me a feeling of really doing something important. 58%
Teaches a new skill or further develops one I already have.	62%	Guarantees periodic raises, paid vacations and sick leave. 57%
Includes a supervisor who cares about the workers problems.	59%	Provides the opportunity to advance to a supervisory position. 55%
Helps others or in some way makes the world a little better place.	57%	Includes a supervisor who cares about the worker's problems. 54%

considers a supervisor who cares as important as guaranteed benefits, a finding which has important implications for military leadership.

As the experiences of Navy women accumulate, changes occur in their perceptions of the organization they have joined and are not free to leave until the end of their enlistment contract. The data about to be discussed originated with the Human Resource Management (HRM) Program which involves all Navy ships and installations. An HRM cycle consists of the administration of an organizational survey to personnel, feedback of results, participation in intervention workshops, and the development of a command action plan. A data bank of responses to the HRM Survey has been established, making possible comparisons between the way men and women perceive certain dimensions of organizational functioning within the Navy.

In general, women react more positively than men to Navy management practices (Durning & Mumford, 1976). However, with increasing exposure and work experience, women become disproportionately disillusioned on certain dimensions in the survey. This is particularly true in the peer area, where a consistently positive trend is exhibited by men as they increase in pay grade. Figure 1 illustrates the pattern for Peer Work Facilitation one of the four indices within the peer leadership dimension on the survey. This index is composed of items such as, "To what extent do members in your work group help you find ways to improve your performance?" As shown, nonrated women are more positive than nonrated men on these items. However, they drop off slightly at the E-4 level, while there is no change in the attitudes of their male counterparts. Between E-4 and E-5, when the decision to reenlist usually occurs, the men who choose to stay, predictably, have more positive attitudes whereas attitudes of women have leveled off. By E-6, women's perceptions of the organization have dropped well below those of men, who are showing a steady upswing. The data seem to indicate that women at the E-6 level feel more isolated from the work group than those at lower pay grades, while men have an increased sense of team solidarity. This figure is representative of all four of the indices in the peer leadership dimension. In every case, the line for men originates below that of women, crosses over and climbs steeply. The analyses were based on 1,900 enlisted women and 22,000 men from all shore installations having women in the data bank.

As noted earlier, the absolute number of women in nontraditional military jobs has increased. Common sense would lead us to suspect that a certain amount of organizational and individual growing pains has accompanied this change. Accordingly, the Navy is investigating the problems that arise when women are assigned to formerly all-male work groups. On-site visits are being made by chief petty officers to selected commands to conduct interviews, to observe working and living conditions, and to determine what problems already have been resolved. To date, case histories have been developed for two air squadrons, an amphibious battalion, a harbor craft unit, and a submarine support

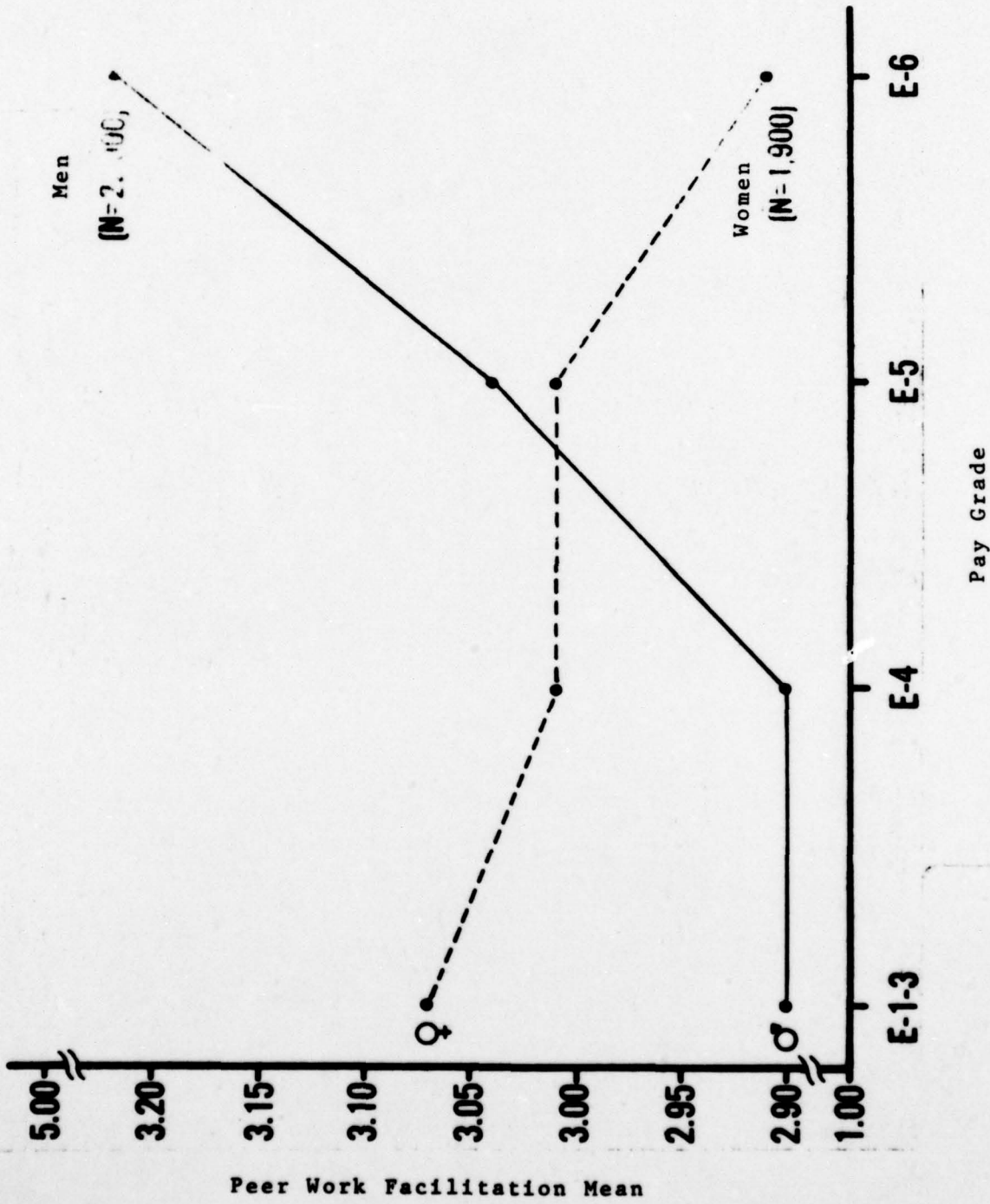


Fig. 1. Sex by pay grade interaction, Peer Work Facilitation Index.

facility. While this project has not been completed, certain patterns are emerging.

When a command receives its first nondesignated women to replace nonrated men being rotated out, the initial reaction is to assign as many women as possible to traditional jobs; i.e., to the administration office or to the galley. When these options are exhausted, women have to be integrated into male work groups performing tasks that contribute to the primary mission of the command.

The men in these work groups typically respond in two ways. First, they engage in behavior designed to attract the attention of the opposite sex; i.e., they whistle, stare, and make sexist comments. Second, they assume that the women are incompetent. One woman reported being handed a paint brush and bucket with explicit instructions as to which end you grasp and which end you dip. Once women make it clear that they do not intend to be viewed solely as sex objects and have as much familiarity with the task as a new nonrated male, the interaction within the work group typically changes to one of competition.

Competition between men and women can be very productive if it leads to cooperation. At the command in which the paint brush incident occurred, which was primarily involved with physical labor out of doors, the women picked up the gauntlet. They became determined to demonstrate their capability and were fortunate enough to be supported by supervisory personnel all the way up the chain of command. If something was too heavy for one of them to lift, two of them did it. They learned new tasks quickly and well, displaying such a high level of conscientiousness and competence that the commanding officer awarded one woman a straight 4.0 performance evaluation, stating it was the first time in his naval career he had had a 4.0 sailor working for him. The methods developed by the women to compensate for their limited physical strength were adopted by the men, and the morale and productivity of the command increased.

Unfortunately, this scenario is not typical of the five case histories so far developed. At another command the research team visited, the rising competition between men and women was thwarted by unequal job assignments. Part of the unequal treatment was a result of the environment in which the command was located. That is, because berthing space for women was not available, it was exceedingly inconvenient for them to stand after-hours watches and such watches were considered dangerous due to the large number of transients on the base. This kind of inequity could have been dealt with, however, if those in charge had exhibited a positive attitude towards utilizing women in these duties. This probably was the crux of the problem that developed. The officer in charge was convinced that such assignments were inappropriate for women and that they could not perform at a satisfactory level. His chiefs were told to assign women to jobs they could handle and to make sure none of them damaged or were injured by Navy equipment.

The women became dissatisfied with the restrictions and their male peers started grumbling about the extra work and watch load. Fortunately, another officer, with the attitude that women can and shall be utilized to the full extent of their abilities, has stepped into the picture and changes are occurring.

The behavior and attitudes of enlisted supervisory personnel who have never before had women working for them also is of interest. Several patterns are emerging. First, there are those chiefs who develop a paternalistic attitude, giving women any job they want to do and seeing they are out of harm's way whenever a potentially dangerous activity is undertaken. Next, there is the supervisor who is dedicated to the concept that men and women are equal. He asks women to move 80-pound chains and marks their performance down if they are unable to do so. This kind of supervisor also frowns on women undertaking heavy jobs in pairs since that takes one of them away from her assigned duties. The third type of supervisor seems to think that females in male jobs are a temporary phenomenon that he need not be concerned with. He doesn't know what the uniform of the day is for females, can't answer questions about sick call hours or pregnancy policies, and is at a loss when a personnel inspection comes up. The good supervisor realizes that fairness is more important than equality when dealing with a wide range of human abilities. He uses the chain of command and resists the convenience of utilizing a senior woman as an informal ombudsman. Most importantly, he recognizes that good leadership and management practices apply to women as well as to men.

The officers in the units in which these women were placed have had to make some difficult decisions. Women as a minority are distinct from racial or ethnic minorities because of real physiological differences and legal restrictions on their utilization. Moreover, the environment in which they have been thrust is totally androcentric, or male-oriented. Thus, a policy of sex-blind equality is generally acknowledged to be illadvised and unrealistic. This raises the question of what types of sexual inequality should be considered fair. Further, to what degree should the inequality sanctioned by legislation and military regulations be considered unfair and open to arbitration? For example, all of the commands visited so far have had to resolve the problem of uniforms for women, particularly pregnant women. Generally speaking, and this was also true for the women on SANCTUARY, Navy women prefer the male dungaree uniform when working on docks, on ships, in hangers, etc., because of its greater durability and its styling. This seems like a minor problem with an obvious solution-- just let everyone wear the male work uniform. Although one command tried the unisex approach, the policy was shortlived. When warm weather came, the men removed their outer chambray shirts and worked in their undershirts. The women did likewise. However, the sight of these braless young ladies in T-shirts proved too distracting and an admittedly sexist command ruling was established. Females must wear two Navy garments on the upper half of their bodies!

Another problem involves after-hour duty watches. Some watches require a berthing area for those on duty, but frequently there is none for women. Other watches require that areas in which personnel are sleeping be checked, which is against regulations for members of the opposite sex. While most commands excuse women from the late hour watches, one unit handled the problem by using the separate but equal philosophy. That is, women could stand work area watches that secured by 2000. Late night and early morning watches were performed at a nearby women's barracks.

A third problem which seems to be giving all the commands difficulty is discipline. Military women are rarely involved in the more serious violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, but some habitually report in late to work. Supervisors admit to being more lenient with women who are charged with unauthorized absence than they are with men. Frequently the leading petty officer informally excuses the woman. However, if he should threaten to file a report chit, female wives often succeed in dissuading him. Commanding officers also admit to sexual bias in the area of discipline. They are familiar with and can counter the games men play at Captain's Mast, but women play by different rules.

The successful integration of women into nontraditional military billets is not simply a function of the attitudes of those involved. All of the services, but most particularly the Navy, are restricted from using women in the same manner as men. For the most part, newly desegregated jobs are related to combat activities, which was the rationale for segregating them originally. This often means that women may never fully participate with their unit, even in peacetime. These prohibitions against full utilization of women impact on the dynamics within the work group and place a burden of understaffing on the command. For instance, women are assigned to an amphibious battalion in the Navy whose primary mission is assembling portable causeways and cranes to offload equipment from ships when a beach is being taken. Periodically, these units participate in naval operations, usually with the Marine Corps, to provide personnel, ships, and equipment with the full-scale practice needed for a quick response capability. Since, by definition, beach landings occur from a ship, women may not participate in these operations. This situation leaves their work group shorthanded, sometimes to the extent that six men must perform the work of ten under simulated battle conditions. All concerned are dissatisfied. The women are frustrated because their training is for naught. They cannot perform the primary mission of the command nor advance in their rating without the relevant shipboard experience. The men in the crew are overworked and may lack key members of the work group. The command has its performance during the fleet exercise to worry about and is fully aware of the understaffing problem. Thus, even commands that are quick to praise the women assigned to them do not want any more females while current restrictions are in effect.

CONCLUSIONS

What, then, does the future hold for military women? The Army is within 15 percent of its 1980 goal of 50,000 WAC. The Navy has almost reached its goal of the 20,000 women that its planners consider the maximum tolerable under current restrictions on female utilization. Therefore, only minor changes are anticipated until the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) passes or the United States Code and relevant regulations are amended. Some grumbling already is being heard from male personnel that women are taking up the stateside billets and extending the foreign or sea duty for men. While the presence of women probably has not affected normal rotation as much as civilianization of military jobs, it is true that, if there were not as many women, men would be spending more time in the United States.

Three changes in the status of military women are imminent. First, the military academies will have women in the Class of 1980. Second, the Air Force is following the Navy's lead and making preparations for the acceptance of women into noncombat flying jobs in Military Airlift Command (MAC). By September the first group of active duty female Air Force officers will be assigned to flight training, using the physical and mental standards applied in the selection of males. Third, the Army will disestablish the WAC as a separate corps within the next 2 years. Also, female recruits will soon be receiving 50 to 70 hours of combat weapons training, in addition to the 20 hours of defensive weapons training currently required.

How will the passage of the ERA benefit military women? The services already have an exemplary record of job security and equal pay for all occupying the same rung on a career ladder, factors which are seen as very attractive to women in low paying civilian jobs. Moreover, there are regulations designed to protect women from duties considered too dangerous, too arduous, or unacceptable by contemporary standards that will obviously be voided, as will other rulings that favor women. The possible loss of these protective rulings is spurring resistance to the equal rights movement, both in and out of the military.

The major inequities between the sexes that exist in the military and that are the target of social activists are in access to jobs and advancement to real leadership or decision-making positions. Because women cannot serve on ships, fly in most aircraft, or be assigned to combat units, their utilization is confined primarily to support billets. Passage of the ERA would remove all the restrictions, lift all the quotas, and void all the regulations applying only to one sex unless physical characteristics unique to one sex are relevant (The Equal Rights Amendment, 1973).

The changes will be far more involved than simply neutering the language in regulations. Equality may be achieved by applying the standards for one sex across the board or developing new nonsexist standards. Whichever means is chosen, there may be far reaching

implications. For example, the military will have to decide whether to lower aptitude and educational standards for women or raise those of men, among other options. If supply and demand permit, raising the requirements for men would improve the quality of input to the military. However, how will the civilian economy employ the thousands of underage, lower aptitude youth whom the services will be turning away?

Neutered job qualifications will have to be developed. It is anticipated that minimum anthropometric standards will be established for many military specialities. Any standard which prevents the access of numerous members of one sex to the job will be open to legal challenge. Additionally, sexual bias in testing will become a far bigger equal opportunity issue than has racial bias. In January of this year, the various services placed into operational use a common set of recruit classification tests called the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB). Familiarity with male-oriented subjects is needed to pass at least one-third of the subtests in the battery, such as the Electronics Information Test, the Shop Information Test, and the Automotive Information Test.

From the human resource management perspective, the resistance to these changes is difficult to understand. Women are acknowledged to be our greatest untapped and underutilized talent pool. Yet, to many in the military, they are an anathema--a threat to the cult of masculinity deemed necessary to forge a fighting force. So, the laws and regulations will be adhered to, even though in time of war, when the need is great, ways are found to circumvent them. Until these laws and regulations are repealed, the dissonance experienced by military women will continue. A dissonance caused by being trained in skills she is prevented from using. A dissonance engendered by always being compared to the male norm and having to prove herself by being better than a man. A dissonance caused by having to be school eligible in order to enlist but not being able to get into a school because the female quota is filled. Most of all, a dissonance resulting from conflicting policies that profess a military service based on equal opportunity for all, but that discriminate against women in selection, classification, assignment, and advancement.

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