

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

**TOKEN OR FULL MEMBER OF THE TEAM?: AN  
EXAMINATION OF THE UTILIZATION AND STATUS OF  
WOMEN IN COMBAT ARMS POSITIONS IN THE ARMED  
FORCES OF CANADA, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

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by

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Summary of Thesis submitted for PhD Degree

by **Christine Lisa Cnossen**

on

**Token or Full Member of the Team? An Examination of the Utilization and Status of Women in Combat Arms Positions in the Armed Forces of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of America**

It is argued in this thesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of America are or will be tokens. In order to investigate and support the hypothesis several areas of literature had to be examined and interviews undertaken with military policy-makers/advisers, recruiters and retired female brigadier generals.

Chapter One examines the broad body of literature in the field of military sociology. This chapter details the history of the evolution of the military from a mercenary force to mass armies sustained by conscription through to all-volunteer forces. It also examines the effect of technology on the military, the changing role of the military in society, and theories of occupationalization versus the institutionalization/professionalization of the armed forces.

Chapter Two examines and critiques the notions of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression expounded within some of the feminist literature. By detailing a cross-cultural history of women warriors and female combatants the aforementioned notions are dismissed as untenable. Chapter Three continues with a presentation of the history of the utilization of women in the armed forces of the three countries from their first unofficial presence as "camp-followers" to the present day expanded roles in combat positions.

In Chapter Four the theories of tokenism utilized in this thesis are detailed. This chapter presents and assesses the definitions of "token" and "tokenism". A review of the literature of women in male-dominated occupations and women in the military as "tokens" is also undertaken.

The fifth chapter details the methodology utilized in this thesis. The fieldwork and questionnaire developmental processes, the interview questionnaires, details of the respondents and the locations of the interviews, and problems encountered in the research are presented.

Chapter Six involves a presentation of the results of the interviews with military policy-makers/advisers, recruiters and retired female general officers. The results are presented on a person-by-person basis followed by overall generalizations and generalizations based on country and occupational category all of which provide the impetus for the supporting of the hypothesis.

It is in the eighth chapter that theory is applied to practice in that the theories and definitions of tokens and tokenism are applied to the results of the interviews and supplemented by defence document studies to support the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of America are or will be tokens.



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## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAB	Anti-Aircraft Battery
ATA	Air Transport Auxiliary, United Kingdom (1939)
ATS	Auxiliary Territorial Service, United Kingdom (1938)
AVF	All-Volunteer Force
BANS	British Army Nursing Service (1881-1902)
CAF	Canadian Armed Forces
CF	Canadian Forces
CHRC	Canadian Human Rights Commission
CREW	Combat-Related Employment for Women, Canada
CS	Combat Support
CSS	Combat Service Support
CWAAF	Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force (1941-1942)
CWAC	Canadian Women's Army Corps (1941-1942)
DCPC	Direct Combat Probability Code, United States Army
DND	Department of National Defence, Canada
DOD	Department of Defense, United States of America
FANY	First Aid Nursing Yeomanry, United Kingdom (1907)
LFC	Land Forces Command, Canada (Formerly Mobile Command)
LORAN	Long-Range Aid to Navigation Stations
MABWCF	Minister's Advisory Board on Women in the Canadian Forces
MARS	Maritime and Sub-Surface, Canada
MOC	Military Occupational Category, Canada
MOD	Ministry of Defence, United Kingdom
MOS	Military Occupational Specialty, United States of America
MP	Military Police
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDHQ	National Defence Headquarters, Canada
POW	Prisoner of War
QAIMNS	Queen Alexandra's Imperial Nursing Service, United Kingdom, formerly BANS (1902)
QMAAC	Queen Mary's Auxiliary Army Corps, United Kingdom, formerly WAAC (1918)
RAF	Royal Air Force, United Kingdom
RAFNS	Royal Air Force Nursing Service, United Kingdom
"SPAR"	"Semper Paratus - Always Ready", United States, Coast Guard Women's Reserve (1942)
SOE	Special Operation Executive, United Kingdom
SWINTER	Service Women in Non-traditional Environments and Roles, Canada
TFNS	Territorial Forces Nursing Service, United Kingdom (1906)
UDR	Ulster Defence Regiment, United Kingdom
USA	United States Army

USAF	United States Air Force
USMC	United States Marine Corps
USN	United States Navy
VAD	Voluntary Aid Despatchment, United Kingdom (1909)
WAAC	Women's Auxiliary Army Corps, United Kingdom (1917-1918)
WAAC	Women's Auxiliary Army Corps, United States of America (1942-1943)
WAAF	Women's Auxiliary Air Force, United Kingdom (1938-1949)
WAC	Women's Army Corps, United States of America, formerly WAAC (1943-1978)
WAF	Women's Air Force, United States of America (1948-1976)
WASP	Women's Airforce Service Pilots, United States of America (1941-1944)
WAVES	Women Accepted for Volunteer Enlisted Service, United States of America (1942-1973)
WD	Royal Canadian Air Force Women's Division, formerly CWAAF (1942-1946)
WLMTS (1916)	Women's Legion Motor Transport Service, United Kingdom
WRAC	Women's Royal Army Corps, United Kingdom (1949-1992)
WRAF	Women's Royal Air Force, United Kingdom (1918-1938) and (1949-1994)
WRCNS	Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (1942-1946)
WRNS	Women's Royal Naval Service, (Wrens), United Kingdom (1917- 1993)
WSTC	Women's Signallers Territorial Corps

## **INTRODUCTION**

What goes largely unexamined often unacknowledged (yet is institutionalized nonetheless) in our social order, is the birthright priority whereby males rule females Through this system a most ingenious form of "interior colonization" has been achieved It is one which tends moreover to be sturdier than any form of segregation, and more rigorous than class stratification, more uniform, certainly more enduring However muted its present appearance may be, sexual dominion obtains nevertheless as perhaps the most pervasive ideology of our culture and provides its most fundamental concept of power

This is because our society, like all other historical civilizations, is a patriarchy The fact is evident at once if one recalls that the **military**, industry, technology, universities, science, political office, and finance - in short, every avenue of power within the society, including the coercive powers of the police, **is entirely in male hands** As the essence of politics is power, such realization cannot fail to carry impact What lingers of supernatural authority, the Deity, "His" ministry, together with the ethics and values, the philosophy and art of our culture - its very civilization - as T S Eliot once observed, is of male manufacture

While patriarchy as an institution is a social constant so deeply entrenched as to run through all other political, social, or economic forms, whether caste or class, feudality or bureaucracy, just as it pervades all major religions, it also exhibits great variety in history and scale In democracies, for example, females often held no office or do so (as now) in such minuscule numbers as to be below even token representation <sup>1</sup> (Emphasis added)

Kate Millett's definition of patriarchy is as relevant today as it was when it first appeared almost twenty-five years ago Her analysis that the major venues

of power, including the military, are run by men for the benefit of men is important for the description and investigation of the status, role, and utilization of women in the combat arms positions of the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America that is to follow in this thesis. By including the military in her definition of patriarchy in modern, Western, democratic societies, Millett makes reference to a traditionally male-dominated den of power which has long been the focus of various forms of feminist theories' debate and censure.

The four major strands of feminist theory (conservative, liberal, socialist, and radical) all have their positions as to the presence of women within the armed forces, whether in traditional areas of employment for women (nursing, clerical, and administration) or in the less traditional combat occupations including fighter pilot, warship personnel, combat engineer, artillery, heavy armour, and infantry.

Conservative "feminists" or biological determinists utilize arguments of 'biology is destiny' and women's 'otherness' to argue against the inclusion of women in the less traditional areas of the military. Phyllis Schlafly launched a scathing attack against the proposed American Equal Rights Amendment during the 1970s arguing that it would force women to be drafted and to enter combat positions in the military for which they are not suited on the sole basis of their sex.<sup>2</sup> Schlafly argues

In business, professional, intellectual, and academic pursuits, women can compete equally with men because they are just as smart. In jobs that require physical labor, women cannot compete equally with men because their physical

strength is not equal For the same reasons that it is unfair to women, to men, and to the community to assign women equally with men to tasks in the **military** and in police work and fire fighting, it is unfair to treat women the same as men in the millions of manual-labor jobs that keep our industrial economy functioning<sup>3</sup> (Emphasis added)

Not only does Schlafly, founder of the Eagle Forum, a neo-conservative lobby group and staunch supporter of right Republicans like former Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush, believe that women and men should be treated differently, i.e. unequally, in civilian work, she also feels that because of women's lesser physical strength compared to men, they should not be treated equally in the military and assigned to traditional male areas such as combat

Biological or conservative "feminists" like Schlafly are not alone in their view that women do not belong in the military or certain occupations in the armed forces Radical feminists are also against the utilization of women in combat, but for different reasons

In short, radical feminists have no interest in being equal to men, if being equal means becoming like or the same as male oppressors Thus, for example, they criticize the liberal feminist strategy of supporting the entry of women into state militaries They argue instead that neither women nor men should enter the military, which, in their view, is a patriarchal institution designed to exaggerate masculinity, oppress women, and destroy human and planetary life<sup>4</sup>

Radical feminists are often also pacifist or anti-militarist, arguing that either women should not stoop to the levels of men and join the military or that neither women nor men should enter such a destructive institution But as the above

quote illustrates, contemporary radical feminists agree with Millett that the military is a patriarchal institution

Zillah Eisenstein, in her analysis of capitalist patriarchy offers the following definitions of patriarchy itself, allowing insight into how radical feminists and socialist feminists differ in their theories of women's oppression

For radical feminists patriarchy is defined as a sexual system of power in which the male possesses superior power and economic privilege **Patriarchy is the male hierarchical ordering of society.** Although the legal-institutional base of patriarchy was more explicit in the past, the basic relations of power remain intact today The patriarchal system is preserved, via marriage and the family, through the sexual division of labor and society Patriarchy is rooted in biology rather than economics or history Manifested through male force and control, the roots of patriarchy are located in women's reproductive selves Women's position in this power hierarchy is defined not in terms of the economic class structure but in terms of the patriarchal organization of society

Through this analysis, radical feminists can bridge the dichotomy between the personal and the public Sex as the personal becomes political as well, and women share their position of oppression because of the very sexual politics of the society The structuring of society through the sexual division limits the activities, work, desires, and aspiration of women

For socialist feminists, oppression and exploitation are not equivalent concepts, for women or for members of minority races, as they were for Marx and Engels Exploitation speaks to the economic reality of capitalist class relations for men and women, whereas oppression refers to women and minorities defined within patriarchal, racist, and capitalist relations Exploitation is what happens to men and women workers in the



labor force, women's oppression occurs from her exploitation as a wage-laborer but also occurs from the relations that define her existence in the patriarchal sexual hierarchy - as mother, domestic laborer, and consumer. Racial oppression locates her within the racist division of society alongside her exploitation but reflects a more complex reality. Power - or the converse, oppression - derives from sex, race, and class, and this is manifested through both the material and ideological dimensions of patriarchy, racism, and capitalism. Oppression reflects the hierarchical relations of the sexual and racial division of labor and society.

This historical development of capitalist patriarchy can be dated from the mid-eighteenth century in England and the mid-nineteenth century in America. Both of these periods reflect the developing relationship between patriarchy and the new industrial capitalism. Capitalist patriarchy, by definition, breaks through the dichotomies of class and sex, private and public spheres, domestic and wage labor, family and economy, personal and political, and ideological and material conditions<sup>5</sup> (Emphasis added)

Thus both radical and socialist feminism have at the heart of their theories the concept of patriarchy, while socialist feminism adds elements of race and class in its definition. However, like radical feminists, socialist feminists also critique the armed forces but they also " tend to emphasize that the military industrial complex impoverishes women by extracting resources from state and global economies that should go to basic needs. Women entering the military in greater numbers will not change this imbalance of resources between the military and the civilian economy "<sup>6</sup>

Biological, radical, and socialist feminists all argue against the inclusion of women in the military for varying reasons, with only one form of feminist theory

advocating the increased use and the expansion in roles for women in the armed forces, liberal feminism Liberal feminists draw much of their theory from the writings of the classical liberal thinkers Harriet Taylor Mill and John Stuart Mill Taylor Mill espoused full equality between the sexes in her essay "Enfranchisement of Women " "The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and the highest which they are able to attain to What this is, cannot be ascertained, without complete liberty of choice "<sup>7</sup> Thus Taylor Mill believed that people should have full choice in their life and should be limited only by their abilities, not by extraneous factors like sex

Stuart Mill also felt that there should be complete equality between the sexes and he took his example to include female heads of state and warriors He argued that English men did not think it unusual to have a Queen (while it was unusual in other countries), but English men

do feel it unnatural that women be soldiers or members of parliament In the feudal ages, on the contrary, war and politics were not thought unnatural to women, because not unusual, it seemed natural that women of the privileged classes should be of manly character, inferior in nothing but bodily strength to their husbands and fathers The independence of women seemed rather less unnatural to the Greeks than to other ancients, on account of the fabulous Amazons (who they believed to be historical), and the partial example afforded by the Spartan women, who, though no less subordinate by law than in other Greek states, were more free in fact, and being trained to bodily exercises in the same manner with men, gave ample proof that they were not naturally disqualified for them There can be little doubt that Spartan experience suggested to Plato, among many other of his

doctrines, that of the social and political equality  
of the two sexes<sup>8</sup>

Stuart Mill argued that contemporary men should not balk at sexual equality or the presence of female soldiers or parliamentarians as they had existed historically and the Victorian era should be no different than the feudal era. Both Mills urged the full inclusion of women in all spheres of activity to be limited only by their abilities

Modern day liberal feminists utilize the same arguments as those put forth by the Mills and take full equality to mean equality of opportunity in all vocations and areas including the military Betty Friedan questioned whether the women's movement was about " advancing women to death-dealing power in the military industrial complex "<sup>9</sup> She then argued

[t]here was a time when such an idea would have made me cringe [mastering male skills and playing male games] But there is a truth here Not a new feminist mystique Not shying away from the full implications of equality A sense, from this extreme situation of women at West Point, the citadel of machismo, that it is necessary now for *society's* survival, as well as for women's own survival, that they take an equal place in these activities which were once men's domain<sup>10</sup>

Gloria Steinem also supports the full utilization of women in the armed forces, including combat

From a media and long-term feminist point of view, our ground should have been - and should be in the future - freedom of choice The idea is not to dictate what a choice shall be, but to give each person the power to make it That means our most effective argument is the right of women to *volunteer* for the military, including combat positions, on the same basis as men

On the other hand, to support women's right to volunteer on the same basis as men, without quota or combat restriction, remains true to the principle of freedom of choice, for women and for men. It also supports the equal promotional opportunities being sought by women already in the military, and confronts the male dominant argument that women shouldn't learn to fight back.<sup>11</sup>

Steinem and Friedan support the full utilization of women in the armed forces and use liberal arguments of equality or 'freedom of choice' to support their position. In this, liberal feminists differ from all other forms of feminism for while all feminists recognize the military as male-dominated, patriarchal or androcentric, only liberal feminists argue for women's inclusion. Biological, radical, and socialist feminists believe for varying reasons that women should not be part of the armed forces. Millett states that the military is in male hands. Schlafly argues that the military is a male arena and should remain so. Radical feminists and socialist feminists also agree that the military is a patriarchal institution as demonstrated in various definitions. Even liberal feminists like Steinem and Friedan recognize the military as male-dominated.

It can be asserted, based on the writings and observations of feminist theorists that the military is male-dominated, androcentric, and patriarchal. The following quote summarizes the male-dominated or patriarchal nature of the military and the integration of women into this 'bastion of manhood'

The army resembles a mainly male-oriented society. This expresses itself, for example, in requirements for job performances, communications structures and in a general cultural environment. Women are expected to

adapt and to adjust to this *status quo* It was never intended to change the traditional organization in this respect On the contrary, the integration of women must not be on the cost of the operational readiness and war-fighting capability of the armed forces, it is 'only' a personnel problem But even from the point of view of efficiency and management, we see that few attempts are made to optimize the new situation The best reason we can think of for this is the fact that the integration was introduced mainly for political motives and was more or less forced on the military <sup>12</sup>

Not only is the military male-dominated, but it strongly resists the integration of women beyond the "traditional" female fields of nursing, clerical, and administration, and in particular, combat, with these changes generally "forced" on the armed forces

Given that the armed forces have been labelled as patriarchal and male-dominated by all forms of feminist theorists and writers and resist the inclusion of women into parts of the military like combat, combat support, and combat service support certain questions come to mind What happens to the few women who do break into the male bastion of the military, and its *raison d'être*, combat? Are they accepted as part of the combat unit and a full-fledged member of the team, or are they peripheralized, marginalized, even ostracized, or in Millett's terms, in such minuscule numbers as to be below 'token' representation?

This thesis examines what the utilization, status, and role of women in combat arms positions is in the armed forces of the three English speaking countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States using the theory of tokenism

Using the liberal feminist standpoint that women should have equal access to all positions in the armed forces including direct combat, combined with the overall feminist assertion that the military is a male-dominated, patriarchal, or androcentric institution, the aim of this thesis is to examine whether women in ground combat arms positions are or will be tokens (once the positions are opened to them) However, for the purposes of this research, the term "androcentric" will be used to describe the military institution or the armed forces Though most of the feminist theorists refer to the military as a male-dominated or patriarchal institution, androcentric has been chosen because of the confusion that is sometimes caused by the literal translation of "patriarchy" and "patriarchal" to mean "rule by the father" Though feminists use patriarchy to refer to society and its institutions, (of which the military is a major institution) to mean male-dominated, and in fact label the military as a patriarchal institution, for reasons of simplicity the term 'androcentric', meaning "male centred" will be utilized in this thesis instead

Having presented the feminist literature on definitions of patriarchy, the military as an androcentric institution, and the utilization of women in this male-dominated and centred institution it can be argued that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America are or will be tokens The term "are or will be" is used because women are only in the ground combat positions in the Canadian Forces (with all combat positions open to Canadian women), the United Kingdom allows women to

serve aboard warships and as combat pilots, while the United States only allows women to fly combat aircraft (when this thesis was written in April 1994) However, it will be argued in this thesis that even when the United Kingdom and the United States eventually open the ground combat positions of infantry, artillery, heavy armour, and combat engineer to women, they too will be tokens like their Canadian counterparts

Beyond adopting a liberal feminist standpoint (which is the only mainstream feminist theory to advocate women in combat positions), I personally support the full utilization of women into all aspects of the military, including all forms of combat (air, naval, and ground) Thus, besides supporting the liberal feminist viewpoint, personal advocacy of women in combat positions is also reflected in both the choice of the thesis topic and in the following examination, analysis and presentation of the thesis

In order to investigate the aforementioned hypothesis, various theories of tokenism, military sociology, and the history of women and war must be examined, followed by a presentation and analysis of the interviewees and the results of the interviews used in this research To examine the hypothesis being investigated in this thesis interviews were undertaken with military policy advisers and recruiters in all three countries, including those at military headquarters level Seventeen in-depth formal, structured interviews were conducted in accordance to pre-set questionnaires and five informal interviews were conducted as well Several informal discussions with relatively high-ranking military personnel also took place at a conference in Falls Church,

Virginia. Thus the investigation of the hypothesis was facilitated through the application of the two theories of tokenism utilized in this thesis to the results of the interviews conducted with military personnel responsible for advising on policies towards the utilization of women in the military, and those who recruit potential soldiers

After this introduction, Chapter One entails an examination of the writings of military sociologists regarding the history and evolution of the military in modern, Western societies, and how the military reacts to technological and social changes in the broader society, including the transition from a conscription-sustained mass army to the presence of an all-volunteer force (AVF) This chapter also examines the conflicting models of the military as established by military sociologists such as the institutional/occupational hypothesis by Charles Moskos This is followed by an examination of the problems faced by modern militaries such as personnel shortfalls experienced by countries with all-volunteer forces The chapter concludes with a critique of the literature for its omission of gender issues and the potential utilization of women to remedy personnel shortfalls in combat units in all-volunteer forces

Chapter Two focuses on the notions of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression and their relation to the issue of women in the military and in combat units Past and contemporary feminists and anti-feminists alike have utilized the argument of the moral righteousness of women for enfranchisement, the inclusion and exclusion from the public sphere, and the restriction (either voluntary or involuntary) of women from the military or from expanded roles,



including combat. They also focus on the aggressive, warlike traits of men, arguing that women differ from men in that they are pacific and peaceful. This chapter critically assesses the arguments of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression as they relate to the (increased) utilization of women in the armed forces. This is achieved through a presentation of the literature containing these arguments and their validity in light of the history of women warriors. Thus the second section of the chapter entails a detailed, cross-cultural, historical examination of women warriors and female combatants from the Amazons and Boadicea to revolutionaries in Nicaragua.

Chapter Three continues the historical theme with an examination of women in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This includes a presentation of the first unofficial utilization of women as nurses to the deployment of women to the Persian Gulf in 1991 and recent developments in the expansion of roles to include the recent disbanding of the Women's Services in the United Kingdom and the opening of air combat positions to women in the United States. Following the presentation of the history of women in the military is a critical analysis of the employment of women, in that women participate only in the capacity established by the men at the top of the military command, which sets the stage for the investigation of the hypothesis of the tokenization of women in combat arms positions.

Chapter Four departs from theories of military sociology and military history and focuses on the main theory of this thesis, tokenism. The definitions and explanations of tokenism as devised by Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Judith Long

Laws are detailed as are critiques of these theories. This is followed by a review of the literature of women in non-traditional or male-dominated occupations and fields of employment as tokens. The final section of the chapter entails an examination of the literature concerning women in the military using the theory of tokenism. As very few studies have been undertaken regarding women in the military as tokens, this section will also detail phenomena and experiences of servicewomen that allude to tokenism using concepts described by Laws and Kanter. This section also demonstrates the lack of scholarly literature on women in non-traditional military occupations as tokens, illustrating the need for research on the issue of women in combat arms positions as tokens as defined in the first section of the chapter.

Chapter Five details the methods and methodology utilized in gathering research to explore the hypothesis. This entails an explanation of how and why tokenism was chosen as the theory being examined in this thesis. This is followed by a presentation of the fieldwork and questionnaire development process, including problems experienced and the evolution of the questionnaire. The third section is an analysis of the final interview questionnaires and their relation to the theory of tokenism. The chapter ends with a detailing of the interviewees, dates and locations of the interviews, the need for confidentiality, and problems experienced in the interview process.

The sixth chapter details the results of the interviews and the responses to the questionnaires as they relate to the investigation of the hypothesis of the tokenization of women in ground combat arms positions. This chapter provides

the details of the responses on a case study or person-by-person basis. Following the presentation of individual interview results are overall generalizations and generalizations of the specifics of the countries and occupational categories. This entails a breakdown of the responses by country and by employment category, e.g. policy adviser/headquarters personnel, recruiters, and retired female brigadier generals, providing the impetus for the examination of the hypothesis that ensues in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven is divided into five sections with the first section providing a further discussion of the androcentric nature of the military indicated earlier in this introduction. This section examines and rejects arguments and rationales for excluding women from combat arms positions which result in the reinforcement of the institution's androcentricity. The second section examines the general organization of the armed forces according to the definitions of tokenism provided in Chapter Four. The third section details the presence of the tenets of tokenism (or phenomena) also described in the fourth chapter as determined by the results of the interviews and written defence document studies.

The fourth section of Chapter Seven departs slightly from the established theories of tokenism to examine some of the other findings of the research as they relate to the tokenization of women in combat arms positions. The final section of the chapter details the supporting of the hypothesis for it is in this section that the definitions and tenets of tokenism are analyzed according to the results of the research in order to illustrate their existence.

In the conclusion (Chapter Eight), the final results of the research are presented. Also included in this chapter are personal observations, recommendations for the armed forces, and recommendations for future research on the issue of the tokenization of women in combat arms positions. Once the theory has been applied to the practice as undertaken in Chapter Seven (as described during the interviews and in written defence documents), it will be argued that the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America are or will be tokens has been supported by this study.

Now that I have given a preliminary indication that the armed forces should be seen as an androcentric institution, the hypothesis clearly presented, and the outline of the format and substance of this thesis has been given in its chapter by chapter form, the process of examining the hypothesis can be undertaken beginning with an analysis of the literature on theories of military sociology.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Kate Millett, Sexual Politics (New York Avon Books, 1970), pp 25-26
- 2 Phyllis Schlafly, The Power of the Positive Woman (New York Arlington House Publishers, 1977), pp 96-97
- 3 Ibid , p 112
- 4 V Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, Global Gender Issues (Oxford Westview Press, 1993), p 118
- 5 Zillah Eisenstein, "Developing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism," in Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism, edited by Zillah Eisenstein (New York Monthly Review Press, 1979), pp 17-18 and 22-23
- 6 Peterson and Runyan, Global Gender Issues, p 120
- 7 Harriet Taylor Mill, "Enfranchisement of Women," in Essays on Sexual Equality by John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, edited by Alice S Rossi (Chicago The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p 100
- 8 John Stuart Mill, "The Subjection of Women" in Essays on Sexual Equality by John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, edited by Alice S Rossi (Chicago The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p 139
- 9 Betty Friedan, The Second Stage (New York Summit Books, 1986), p 164
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- 11 Gloria Steinem, Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions (London Flamingo, 1983), pp 334-335
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## **CHAPTER ONE**

# **AN EXAMINATION OF MILITARY HISTORY AND THEORIES OF MILITARY SOCIOLOGY FROM A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE**

Now that the outline of this thesis has been detailed and the hypothesis presented, a thorough examination of the literature pertaining to the military as an institution within society will be undertaken. In the field of military sociology there are conflicting theories regarding the military and its status within the larger society. There are some military sociologists who adhere to the institutional/professional model, in that the military is a professionalized institution different from other professions and a distinct group within society, with its own rules and norms, and people enlist to fulfil a "calling". There are others who ascribe to the occupational model, the military is like any other profession or job, people are motivated by economic incentives to enlist and there is strong convergence with civilian society while still others believe that there are aspects of both institutionalization and occupationalization in the military.

The debate between the institutionalization/ occupationalization of the armed forces emerged during the movement away from mass armies maintained by conscription to military establishments based on the concept of an all-volunteer force and has continued to evolve. Related to the debate of the institutionalization and/or occupationalization of the military is the history of the military, i.e., the evolution of the military from its feudal past, to the concept of the *levée en masse* originating with the French Revolution, to the emergence of a professional corps of officers, through to the relatively recent development of all-volunteer forces in the United Kingdom and the United States.

There is a plethora of writings by military sociologists regarding the history and evolution of the military, how the military reacts to technological and social changes in the broader society, conflicting models of the military (i.e., institutional or professional versus occupational), and problems faced by contemporary militaries, especially with respect to the shortfalls of personnel experienced by countries with all-volunteer forces. However, despite the relative wealth of information in the area of military sociology, there is a glaring gap in the field. Although there is a growing body of literature concerning women in the military (with some even advocating women in the armed forces), the mainstream military sociology literature still tends to ignore or at the very best, gloss over the issue of women (with the writings of Mady Weschler Segal being the main exception to this generalization). In an era of all-volunteer forces in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom, the issue of women in the military must be examined within the broader context of military sociology. This is needed in order to assess the validity of the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in ground combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens.

However, before the hypothesis can be explored, several aspects of military sociology and military history must first be discussed. This chapter is divided into four broad sections, each examining an aspect of military sociology or history. The first section is an examination of the historical evolution of the



military in modern Western industrialized countries. This entails a description of the movement from feudal armies to professional forces. Included in this section is an examination of the evolution of the professional officer corps, the era of mass armies maintained by conscription, the decline of mass armies and the movement to all-volunteer forces.

The second section is an expansion of the first, in that it deals with how the military reacts to changes in society. This includes an examination of how the military adapts to technological changes and social changes, with the latter part including a discussion of the broadening base of recruitment, the movement to all-volunteer forces, the utilization of people in all-volunteer forces, and the problems faced by the military with the advent of all-volunteer forces.

Once the history of the evolution of the military has been discussed, attention is focused on various theories within the field of military sociology. Specifically, the third section examines conflicting models of the military and military organization. The debate between the professionalization or institutionalization and the occupationalization of the military will be examined in detail. Following the explanation of the competing theories, there will be an analysis as to which model exists, that is, do the militaries of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom resemble more the professional/institutional model, more the occupational model, or are they a combination of the two, possessing traits of both models.

The fourth section consists of a critique of the literature for not fully recognizing or encompassing gender and the potential utilization of women as a remedy for problems raised by the movement to all-volunteer forces. This section also assesses the literature and the military with respect to the hypothesis of the tokenization of women in combat arms positions.

## HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE MILITARY

The first section of this chapter deals with the historical evolution of the military, specifically militaries in modern Western industrialized countries. This history includes an examination of the evolution from feudal armies to professional militaries, the rise and decline of mass armies, and the emergence of all-volunteer forces in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The feudal era is taken as the starting point for analysis as it was during this period that militaries began to become centralized and bureaucratized, and with these came the general phasing out of female volunteers. As will be shown in the next chapter, women have enjoyed a varied and lengthy history as warriors and combatants. As armed forces became less mercenary and more *ad hoc* and fell under centralized control, fewer women were able to openly join their country's armed forces with those who wished to enlist often having to disguise their sex and enlist as men.

Though the authors may disagree about what form the modern military takes, there is general consensus regarding the origins of modern armed forces. All of the sources consulted point to the centralization of state authority and the industrial revolution as having led to "[t]he emergence of an organized corps of officers constantly preoccupied with the preparation of war (rather than doing "emergency" duty in times of war, or having officership as a hobby) "1

Prior to a professional officer corps, being of noble birth was the only requirement to be an officer in most European nations until the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> In the United Kingdom commissions to be an officer could be purchased until 1871, when the practice of paying for a commission was abolished.<sup>3</sup> In the United States, though a traditional European aristocracy did not exist, most of the pre-professional military officers were drawn from the southern United States, where "plantocracy" was the equivalent to "aristocracy", and the large plantation owners, were the American equivalent to the European aristocracy.<sup>4</sup>

The recruitment and organization of the fighting troops was carried out by civilian contractors.<sup>5</sup> Prior to the late eighteenth century the pay-lord or principal (usually a feudal lord) gave a person of "good character" a commission to command a number of troops on his behalf. The required number of troops and payment arrangements were stipulated in a contract. The commander, in turn, appointed other officers (usually holding the rank of captain) who formed companies and went to population centres to recruit the necessary number of

troops, by a certain date, to form the regiment<sup>6</sup> This system was eventually abandoned because the entire system of subcontractors lead to incidents of sabotage and disciplinary problems<sup>7</sup>

As stated previously, the growth of centralized states led to the emergence of a professional military corps The emergence of centralized states, that is states that are secularized and bureaucratized, occurred before the French Revolution and the reforms that emerged out of the revolution, the notion of secularized states originated in 1640 with Frederick William in Brandenburg<sup>8</sup> As populations increased and urbanization evolved and improved infrastructures became necessary, centralized states took over many responsibilities from local and regional authorities, including responsibility for the military<sup>9</sup> Christopher Dandeker furthers the notion of the bureaucratization of the armed forces and argues that the military also became bureaucratized during the eighteenth century

This process involved a transformation of the relationships connecting the central authorities, the emergent military profession and the other ranks Personal and patronage forms of administration were replaced by bureaucratic systems of surveillance The monopolization of force was achieved through bureaucratization<sup>10</sup>

However, it took more than the emergence of centralized states to transform a feudal-type military system composed of part-time amateur officers and mercenaries into an armed force with, at the very least, a professional officer corps loyal to a central authority

Morris Janowitz asserts

[t]he professional, as a result of prolonged training, acquires a skill which enables him to render specialized service. In this sense, the emergence of a professional army - specifically, a professional officer corps - has been a slow and gradual process with many interruptions and reversals. Mercenary officers existed in the sixteenth century and the outline forms of professionalism were clearly discernible by the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, one cannot speak of an integrated military profession until after 1800<sup>11</sup>

The main reason why a professional military did not evolve until the early nineteenth century is because there was no need for "experts in warfare" (as Janowitz defines military professionals)<sup>12</sup> until the invention of advanced weaponry, such as rifles which replaced muskets

Up until the end of the eighteenth century, there was no mass production of weapons. Weapons development, which included lighter and more effective and precise arms, grew out of the industrial breakthrough and revolution of the early nineteenth century<sup>13</sup>. Bengt Abrahamsson asserts that the military profession could not predate the industrial revolution, as the military sector (as well as the civilian sector) did not require large numbers of technical experts before then<sup>14</sup>. Noble birth could not ensure the technical expertise that was required for an increasingly technologically advanced military, specialists were recruited from outside the aristocracy (though the upper class maintained their stronghold on the officer cadre for some time) and selected from the growing bourgeois or

middle-class There began a movement away from ascribed status towards ascriptive status within the military at the time of the industrial revolution <sup>15</sup>

However, a "professional" military did not emerge until the mid-nineteenth century when the officer corps first exhibited professional characteristics Huntington argues that the evolution of professional methods of entry to the military establishment went through three phases (a) the elimination of the aristocratic prerequisite for entry, (b) a basic level of professional training and competence, (c) a minimum general education, undertaken at a nonmilitary institution <sup>16</sup> These phases did not fully evolve until the mid-1800s

It was during the early to mid-nineteenth century that military schools and academies for officers were established Many of the European and American military academies were founded between 1790 and 1810, and, at first, offered training for the technical branches only, i e, artillery and engineering <sup>17</sup> The officer cadre during the early to mid-1800s was still mainly comprised of members of the aristocracy, but changes were slowly made as to who could enter the officer corps For example, the end of the French Revolution also saw the end of the class requirement for entry to the officer corps in France In Prussia, class restrictions were abolished in 1808, thereby allowing members of the middle class to enter the officer corps

The entry of middle class members to military service academies, and subsequently to the officer corps, and the abolition of class requirements for entry to the officer corps is the first phase of Huntington's history of the



professionalization of the officer corps The establishment of service academies and schools in the early nineteenth century to provide a basic level of training and competence for officers marks the second phase of the evolution of the officer corps from a feudal, amateur hobby for aristocrats to a profession The third phase, according to Samuel Huntington, occurred when a basic level of education was needed to enter the military academies and the officer corps, and/or a college degree was required to become an officer These phases all occurred during the nineteenth century, culminating in the establishment of a professionalised officer corps in most Western industrialized nations by the beginning of the twentieth century

The movement from a feudal-based officer cadre to a professionalised officer corps took several centuries to complete Abrahamsson asserts

[n]oble birth as a recruitment criterion slowly became obsolete as logistical development, mass-produced new weapons, and the rapid growth of the armies forced new requirements on formal military education and organizational training Toward mid-1700, the hegemony of the gentry and nobility in the military establishments of Europe was meeting an increasing challenge through sons of bourgeois families, entering the artillery and engineering branches The nobles were reluctantly forced to accept military education, and join the military academies <sup>18</sup>

Thus, despite what Janowitz calls "a slow and gradual process with many interruptions and reversals," Abrahamsson states

, the military profession has emerged in its most pure form, a group of technically and organizationally trained experts in the

management of violence, held together by the bonds of common education, corporate practice, and professional ethics

It is recruited on the basis of education and skill rather than the basis of social origins. Its corporateness stems from the common educational and intra-professional experiences, and not from similarity of social class. Military men work on a full-time basis, instead of regarding military service as a part-time vocation or hobby, as did their eighteenth century colleagues.

Modern armies permit mobility between ranks, and occasionally, even enlisted men may advance to high military posts (usually after having received additional education), in eighteenth century continental armies, even wealthy bourgeois officers - whenever they managed to make their way into the military - would frequently find their careers blocked because of the caste prerogative of the nobility. Today, captains and colonels reach their ranks on professional merits, without paying for them,  
<sup>19</sup>

It can be asserted that because of the need for technical experts, the abolition of class requirements for entry to the officer corps, the establishment of military academies, and minimum intellectual requirements for admission to the officer cadre, the military had a professional officer corps by the end of the nineteenth century.

But military history does not entail simply the movement away from a feudal system to a professional officer corps, for officers are only a small part of the entire military establishment. Officers, whether feudal or professional, require



troops to lead into battle, thus the movement away from mercenary soldiers, to the rise and decline of mass militaries, and the eventual establishment of all-volunteer forces must be examined

Janowitz asserts in a number of articles published in 1972 that the mass army based on and maintained by conscription, with a large number of reserves acting as back-up to the regular force, was being phased-out in Western industrialized nations<sup>20</sup> Janowitz was writing in reaction to the decision by the American Congress to terminate Selective Service (conscription) on July 1, 1973, with "zero-level" draft calls commencing January 1, 1973 The United States was the last of the three nations being studied in this thesis to end peacetime conscription Canada has never had peacetime conscription, only during wartime has Canada instituted draft legislation The United Kingdom ended peacetime conscription in 1963 and went to an all-volunteer force a decade earlier than did the United States However, the trend towards all-volunteer forces has not been universal During the Cold War period it has been restricted to countries 'offshore' from the European continent the United States and the United Kingdom are two out of four North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member countries to end peacetime conscription, while only a handful of Western industrial countries have done the same, e.g. Japan, Australia, New Zealand<sup>21</sup> In continental Europe, it has only been seriously questioned since the end of the Cold War in 1994, Belgium and the Netherlands have decided to abolish conscription

The decline of the mass army does not necessarily connote the end of conscription of all young men and the subsequent establishment of all-volunteer forces, it also means that countries which rely on conscription can either decrease the number of conscripts they require each year, decrease the length of time required to serve, or even offer civil service alternatives for conscientious objectors. This is a trend in many countries that still rely on conscription, like France and Germany<sup>22</sup>

However, before the decline of the mass army and the decision to establish all-volunteer forces in the United Kingdom and the United States can be discussed, the rise of mass militaries, and large standing armies must be examined first. The term "mass army" first emerged in the nineteenth century and referred to the large-scale military organizations that were in operation. Jacques van Doorn asserts that the word "mass" in the term "mass army" has at least three possible meanings: size, meaning large numbers of personnel, homogeneity, meaning a highly homogeneous composition, (e.g., Roman legions, Prussian battalions), and social mobilization, connoting mobilization of members of society for large-scale collective efforts<sup>23</sup>

Prior to the mass armies of the nineteenth century were the smaller units under the supervision of feudal lords and their duly selected officers, as described previously in this chapter. Major battles and large-scale forces were generally avoided by most military commanders prior to Napoleon. Small skirmishes were preferable to large-scale confrontations, mainly because of the high costs (both

human and monetary) involved with large battles<sup>24</sup> Napoleon changed the "small skirmish" principle of warfare by mobilizing and equipping mass armies, utilizing the notion of *levée en masse*, or conscription. However, because of the increased size of armies, strategies and tactics also had to change as a single person could not command the entire army<sup>25</sup>

The division principle, as developed by Moritz of Saxony, was successfully utilized by Napoleon and later by almost all of Europe. An Army division consisted of one to four infantry brigades, one or two cavalry brigades, and artillery, engineering, and support units. Each division could operate independently because each was self-supporting and had sufficient autonomous firepower. Divisions could also march independently and then meet up at a certain location<sup>26</sup>. The development and utilization of the division principle is indicative of the rising use of mass armies.

However, mass armies did not rise in a vacuum. Janowitz asserts "[the] mass army was rooted in an organizational system created by increased firepower of the infantry and artillery plus improved means of transportation of personnel and supplies"<sup>27</sup>. Though how technology affects the military will be discussed in greater detail in the next section, the development of light-weight and more efficient and precise weapons contributed, in part, to the rise of the mass army.

Political changes combined with technological innovations to facilitate the evolution of the mass army. Dandeker argues

Political factors enabled the state to establish its infrastructure of taxation in parallel with the military arm. The emergence of modern nationalism and the citizenship state of the nineteenth century involved a decline of legal privileges of the landed classes in respect of tax liability. The duty to provide military service as well as to pay taxes emerged as the universal obligation of citizens in the modern nation-state

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The state's ability to gain tax revenue ensured that mass armies could be sustained financially while compulsory military service for young adult males provided the necessary troops.

The advent of mass armies sustained by conscription also served to heighten gender boundaries in the armed forces, and further diminished and ultimately excluded women from the military (a process which began with the centralization and bureaucratization of the military). As the state took over control of the armed forces from the mercenary warlords and instituted mass armies sustained by conscription the need for volunteers diminished. With state control over enlistment and conscription checks could be and were made on the physical condition of troops which meant that the sex of the military personnel was identified. This eliminated any women who wished to disguise themselves as men in order to enlist. Conscription of all young adult males further ensured the marginalization and eventual elimination of women from the military. This served to further establish modern militaries as male-dominated institutions.

In Europe, after the French Revolution (when conscription was first introduced), mass armed forces consisted of a "professional" officer cadre supplemented by "a conscript and mobilization system", while in the United States, professional cadres were much smaller than their European counterparts and the notion of a "mass army" did not emerge until the end of the nineteenth century<sup>29</sup> The United States, from the American Revolution until the beginning of the twentieth century relied on the militia system, conscription was not introduced until the First World War However, the large armed forces of the First World War were disbanded in 1919, and until 1940, the United States had a policy of a relatively small all-volunteer force, supplemented by the National Guard

The draft was reinstated in 1940 as the United States began mobilizing for war but conscription was allowed to lapse between April 1947 and June 1948 In June 1948, the Selective Service Act was passed, introducing for the first time in the United States, peacetime conscription This ended the long-standing American military policy of large-scale mobilization for war and massive demobilization after wars, instituting a "mass army" which took the form of a large, standing armed force that was maintained by conscription<sup>30</sup>

Thus, in post-French Revolution Europe, reliance was on large standing armies, with professional officer corps and trained reserves, while the United States relied on a small standing army and did not turn to a "mass army" maintained by conscription until well into the twentieth century The United

Kingdom is another country that did not rely on large standing armed forces based on peacetime conscription until after the Second World War. Prior to the institution of national service in the United Kingdom in 1947, conscription was only used during wartime, during peacetime, an all-volunteer force was the norm. However, peacetime conscription in the United Kingdom lasted less than two decades, in 1957 it was announced by the government that National Service would end in 1963 and the requirements of a standing military force would be met through the utilization of an all-volunteer principle<sup>31</sup>. Thus a mass armed force, maintained by peacetime conscription, was a relatively short-lived phenomenon in the United Kingdom.

Canada has a relatively short military history compared to the United States and the United Kingdom. Canada was a British colony until 1867 and thus had a relatively small force of its own. Canada has never had peacetime conscription, the only time conscription was legislated was when Canada participated in the First and Second World Wars. During peacetime, Canada has a relatively small standing armed force, with troops recruited on an all-volunteer principle. Thus, Canada differs from the other two countries in this thesis as it has never utilized the notion of a mass standing armed force supported by peacetime conscription. And the United States and the United Kingdom are different from other Western industrialized nations in that they historically relied on all-volunteer forces until the middle of the twentieth century, using conscription only when mobilizing for war. Thus when discussing mass armed forces with respect to this particular

research, one must bear in mind that mass armed forces supported by conscription are a twentieth century phenomenon for the United States and the United Kingdom, and are a wartime aberration for Canada.

Despite its short-lived history in the United States and the United Kingdom, the notion of a "mass" armed force did exist, but declined and the establishment of an all-volunteer force again gained prominence. Thus the decline of the mass armed force and the movement to all-volunteer forces in the United Kingdom and the United States must be discussed<sup>32</sup>

As stated previously, Janowitz argued that the mass army based on conscription is being phased out in Western industrial countries. Nations were either adopting all-volunteer forces, considering moving to all-volunteer forces or were limiting and reducing the number of conscripts and/or shortening the necessary length of service, or allowing civil service alternatives.

The decline of the mass army goes beyond the reduction of personnel, the basis of the mass army, conscription, is being increasingly subjected to pressure for change and plans for all-volunteer forces have been undertaken and were/are under consideration<sup>33</sup>. Van Doorn offers the following explanation as to why mass armed forces are declining:

The mass army came into being with the rise of nationalism, when the right to bear arms was regarded as one of the principal acquisitions of the new national citizenry. General conscription was a means of ensuring the continued existence of the mass army.

This period of history is now coming to an end "The nation in arms" is an obsolete conception The armed forces have steadily evolved into a instrument of deterrence with a high degree of technical specialization which holds little attraction for the young people of today Nuclear weapons and international blocs have replaced the nation in arms The former expansionism of the Western states has disappeared, at least in its military form

We could go on still further and conclude with Teitler that the historical alternation of absolute and instrumental armed conflict has now taken a turn in the direction of the latter This implies the limiting or, if possible, the avoidance of conflict, it is in any case institutionalization The armed forces are consequently inclined to monopolize and professionalize the use of force, which they are also capable of doing This turn gives rise to a preference for volunteer forces and for a general reduction in the armed forces<sup>34</sup>

However, van Doorn cautions that the decline of the mass army does not necessarily mean the end of conscription, large, standing peacetime armies require conscription in order to maintain the required quality and quantity of military personnel<sup>35</sup>

Janowitz argues that the military establishment is both a reflection of the larger society and is an institution in its own right with its own separate environment and ethos Thus the end of conscription is a dramatic transformation of the armed forces and constitutes another step in the decline of mass armies<sup>36</sup> Although the general reasons for the decline of mass armed forces have been already put forth by van Doorn, the particular reasons for the movement to all-



volunteer armed forces in the United Kingdom and the United States must be examined

Cost was one of the main reasons why the United Kingdom moved away from conscription to an all-volunteer force, according to Keith Hartley

The increasing costs, complexity and skilled labour requirements of modern weapons partly contributed to the end of conscription in the UK. It was proving a relatively costly method of training manpower. The more efficient solution required highly skilled, experienced and hence long-service regulars, able to use effectively and to maintain modern weapons, so providing the service was a worthwhile return on their substantial and rising training investments. In other words, technical progress in weapons required greater training inputs, so raising the quality of human capital in the forces. Training outlays are almost 10 per cent of the defence budget and such expenditures mean that the forces cannot ignore the relative efficiency of different employment contracts (length of service) as a means of obtaining a return on their human investments. It might be added that the abolition of conscription was a potential vote-winner for a vote-maximizing political party, so that the major UK parties had an inducement to adopt similar policies favouring an AVF.<sup>37</sup>

Thus economic and political reasons are given for the abolition of National Service in 1963

The Defence Review of 1957 mandated the end of conscription and that a smaller, all-volunteer force of 375,000 personnel was to be achieved by the end of 1962. The Review cited major changes in technology and strategy, i.e., the substitution of nuclear weapons and missiles for large-scale conventional

forces<sup>38</sup> By 1963, therefore, the United Kingdom had re-established a smaller all-volunteer force as the basis for its military strength

The movement from a mass armed force based on conscription to an all-volunteer force, took place a decade later in the United States Alan Sabrosky asserts that the reason for ending conscription in the United States was clearcut, when Richard Nixon took over the Presidential Office in 1969, the American role in Vietnam and the role of the military was negatively perceived by the public, and ending the draft was a good way for Nixon to gain room for additional political manoeuvring<sup>39</sup> However, by the 1960s (before the American involvement in Vietnam), ninety percent of military personnel were volunteers, not draftees (though many were draft induced volunteers)<sup>40</sup> This was another reason why conscription was abolished in 1973, a large, standing army could be maintained through volunteers, thus ending the necessity for conscription

The Gates Commission was established by Nixon to study the feasibility of an all-volunteer force in the post-Vietnam era In 1970, an all-volunteer force was recommended by the Commission, the United States could be combat ready and effective without having to rely on conscription for troops Thus, on January 1, 1973 there began a "zero-draft call", and the Selective Service Act of 1948 was allowed to lapse on July 1, 1973 This ended the era of a mass armed force based on conscription in the United States

Though many of the writings that emerged during the movement away from mass armed forces based on conscription, to all-volunteer forces put forth the

hypothesis that other Western industrialized nations could or would follow the lead of the United Kingdom and the United States, the only other western industrialized nations (besides Japan, Australia and New Zealand) or NATO members to end mandatory military service for young men have been Belgium and the Netherlands in 1994

Some countries have reduced the number of conscripts required and/or the length of service, but only two relatively minor ones have gone so far as to abolish conscription. Though as the East/West security anxieties diminish due to the end of the Cold War, this trend to end conscription started by the 'Low Countries' could continue throughout NATO and the Western industrialized world. It can also be asserted that the era of mass armies based on conscription is over in the United States and the United Kingdom, and that the advent of all-volunteer forces signifies the demise of mass armed forces in those two countries.

### **HOW THE MILITARY REACTS TO CHANGES IN SOCIETY**

Now that the evolution of the military from a feudal amateur base to a professionalised officer corps has been traced, and the history of the rise and decline of mass armed forces and the (re)establishment of all-volunteer forces has been presented, the way in which the military reacts to technological and social changes can be presented. Also included in this section is an examination

of the problems faced by the militaries of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom with respect to all-volunteer forces

The main way in which the military has reacted to technological changes throughout history has been to transform strategy and personnel requirements. Janowitz asserts that the prevalence of technology has become so important for the military that an organizational revolution occurred in the military.<sup>41</sup> The entire system of personnel requirements had to change because of the adoption and utilization of technologically advanced weapons, for " , advanced technology weapons required a specifically trained and highly skilled labour force "<sup>42</sup> This meant that the feudal part-time amateur composition of the officer cadre would have to change, noble birth did not guarantee the minimum intellectual level required to manage armed forces personnel who would be utilizing technologically advanced weapons

The branches of artillery and engineering expanded with the introduction of technology to the military. As stated previously, these were the areas that the middle class entered because the aristocracy still had a stronghold on the cavalry and the infantry (which formed the bulk of the military) well into the nineteenth century.<sup>43</sup> But as the technical aspects of the military (artillery, engineering, and later logistics) began to expand and grow in importance, the prevalence of the "amateur gentleman" officer began to dissipate as full-time professional officers who were skilled in the art of war-making took over control of the officer corps. Kurt Lang asserts "[t]he need in the military establishment for unskilled

manpower has declined rapidly and the demand for technically competent manpower has increased correspondingly "<sup>44</sup>

The need for technically competent military personnel rose dramatically in the post Second World War era, which was also the time of the rise of mass armed forces in the United Kingdom and the United States. The skill levels and the kinds of skills required by the military changed personnel policies, mostly in response to changing technology. Sophisticated air power, an emphasis on electronics and computers, and the advent of nuclear weapons meant that the military establishments of Western industrialized nations required personnel with higher (i.e., higher than pre-Second World War) aptitudes who would receive lengthy and costly training and thus must be retained for a longer period of time in order for the military to receive a return on its investment <sup>45</sup> In the post-Second World War period, there was a trend to increase the allocation of personnel to perform technical functions. The electronics, technical, and repair fields of the military constituted thirty-four percent of all military occupations at the end of 1945, but increased to forty-seven percent by 1958 <sup>46</sup> The gains in the aforementioned areas came at the expense of ground combat assignments which were thirty-six percent of US Army jobs during the Second World War, but declined to thirty-three percent during the Korean War, and decreased to twenty-two percent by 1973. By the mid-1970s, a mere sixteen percent of American military personnel were in direct combat positions <sup>47</sup> The adoption of advanced

weapons technology by the military drastically changed the entire composition and organization of the armed forces

It must also be mentioned that advanced weapons technology has not nor does not affect only the organizational composition of the military, it also affects military strategy and planning. The tactics of war in the early eighteenth century and prior were related to the use of muskets, soldiers were lined up shoulder-to-shoulder, fired in volleys, and used bayonets. Soldiers were not allowed to disperse or take cover while in battle. The nineteenth century development of lighter and more effective weapons like the rifle, the breech-load rifle, and later, automatic weapons also changed military tactics<sup>48</sup>. The twentieth century, however, has seen the most contributions to military technology and the most changes to personnel organization and strategic planning. The concept of "total war" is a twentieth century one. This means that civilians are also directly affected by wars, either through conventional or nuclear bombings. The development of airplanes and nuclear weapons has changed strategy completely because wars no longer involve solely military personnel, but the entire population is "at war" and under the threat of attack, both in peace and war time. Thus there has been a shift in military strategy from a state of war readiness to a position of war deterrence, because an all-out general war is no longer inevitable or desirable due to weapons of mass destruction<sup>49</sup>.

The emergence of new, more efficient weaponry was not the only technological innovation to radically alter the organization and strategy of the

military, railways and the electric telegraph transformed both transport and communications networks. The advent of the railway allowed for the faster and more efficient transport of troops and supplies. The use of railways also ensured that more troops could be mobilized and transported in a shorter period of time. The electric telegraph was also an important invention as it allowed for speedy communications between the front and headquarters which, like in the Crimean War, could be hundreds (or thousands) of kilometres apart. Both of these innovations proved to be of substantial importance to the military both strategically (to move troops and communicate orders) and organizationally (by ensuring that mass armies could be transported efficiently and strengthening the chain of command when headquarters and field commanders were distanced).<sup>50</sup>

The rise of technology in the military has led some analysts to assert "[t]he complexity of military technology has forced the United States [and other countries] to move from a principle of 'equipping the "man" to a principle of "manning" the equipment', and such a change of emphasis is consequential for the kinds of people who are headed for the armed forces."<sup>51</sup> The introduction and adoption of technology to the military has had profound effects on the personnel policy and on strategic planning. Technologically advanced weapons require skilled personnel with more than a basic minimum level of intelligence because of the technical complexity of modern weaponry, hence it was with the introduction of technology to the military that the bases of the officer cadre moved from a feudal amateur base to a corps of professionals drawn from

outside the aristocracy and the American equivalent. Technology also changed military strategy from one of war readiness because of the inevitability of war, to one of deterrence because of the concept of "total war" and the invention of weapons of mass destruction. But these changes did not occur immediately, due to the "conservative" nature of the military, technological innovation was slow to be implemented.<sup>52</sup>

Both Huntington and Janowitz comment at length on the conservative nature of the military and military professionals and their general aversion to change, whether it is technological or social. Janowitz asserts that the professional soldier is conservative in outlook as traditional attitudes are institutionalized because of military organization and planning.<sup>53</sup> Huntington argues that military conservatism is rooted in the military ethic and is "pessimistic, collectivist, historically inclined, power-oriented, nationalistic, and instrumentalist in its view of the military profession. It is, in brief, realistic and conservative."<sup>54</sup> Thus any technological changes, especially those which could result in organizational changes, were regarded with suspicion and were slow to be adopted. The same assertion can be put forth with regards to how the military reacts to social change. The slow evolution to a broadening base of recruitment (i.e., the decline of the aristocratic requirement for entry to the officer cadre) and the slow adoption of the all-volunteer force are manifestations of the conservative nature of the military which must be examined.



Abrahamsson made the following observation regarding the social changes undertaken by the military

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a considerable broadening of the social recruitment to the military profession has taken place. There are three major causes of this development: first, the decline of the nobility and the rise of the middle classes as the most important recruitment base; second, the vast enlargements of the armed forces of most countries, making any single stratum less likely to suffice as the sole provider of officers; and third, the new opportunities for education and social mobility offered by military educational institutions, attracting recruits from previously unprivileged strata.

The trend towards increased social representativeness reflects important transformations as well as changes in the public image of the professional soldier. The managerial revolution has brought a gradual shift of the officer role from the "heroic commander" to the technical and administrative expert. The latter role, requiring a number of skills transferable from the civilian sphere, presumably has been instrumental in toning down the traditional hesitation of the middle classes toward the military.<sup>55</sup>

As stated previously, the increased importance and utilization of technologically advanced weapons slowly and gradually lead to the decline of the nobility as the base of the officer corps. The decline of the aristocratic base gave rise to a more middle class base of the officer cadre. The increased number of officers whose origins were/are in the middle class or the working class means that the officer cadre is slightly more representative of the general

population. However, though the evidence does show that there is a trend towards broader social representation in the officer corps, a large portion of new officers still comes from the lower upper class or the upper middle class<sup>56</sup>. In Britain, this elitism is found particularly in the elite regiments of the British Army such as the Household Cavalry, the Foot Guards, and the Royal Green Jackets, with more than 49% of Sandhurst cadets still coming from public school backgrounds<sup>57</sup>. This could be due to the requirement of a college or a university degree or an academy education as a prerequisite for entry to the officer corps, with few members of the working class in Western industrialized countries aspiring to obtain degrees solely to gain entry to the officer corps.

However, despite the broadening social base of recruitment, the military has retained its conservative, traditional outlook. Both Janowitz and Abrahamsson comment that the military retains its orientation in spite of a broadened base of recruitment<sup>58</sup>. The persistence of the conservative nature of the military makes the military and its personnel hesitant regarding change or innovation, specifically change that affects social organization. The reluctance with which blacks were accepted into the American military after segregation was ended in the military in the 1950s illustrates the conservative tendencies of the military<sup>59</sup>. The refusal of many armed forces to recruit openly homosexual men or to provide family support networks for service personnel are other examples of the military's conservative nature. The extreme hesitancy on the part of most nations' armed forces to fully utilize women is another example of the traditional

conservative orientation of the military which will be discussed in further detail in the last section of the chapter

However, despite the reluctance to adopt changes, the military eventually has adapted to technological innovation and social change by utilizing technologically advanced weapons and by ending the aristocratic monopoly on the officer corps. The broadening social base of recruitment illustrates that the military adapts to fulfil its personnel requirements, and arguably because of public pressures to adapt to social change. The movement away from mass armies maintained by conscription, to all-volunteer forces in the United Kingdom and the United States also indicates a willingness to adapt to changes in society, or because of public pressure, as was discussed previously in the chapter. However, the movement to all-volunteer forces by the United States and the United Kingdom was not (and is not) without problems. The problems faced by countries with all-volunteer forces illustrates how the military reacts and copes with personnel policy changes.

There are two main considerations in a movement to an all-volunteer force, economic questions and personnel recruitment. All-volunteer forces are expensive to maintain because economic incentives are used to realize personnel requirements and to encourage enlistment.<sup>60</sup> With conscription, all young men have to serve for a specified period of time (with exemptions granted for moral or medical reasons) and do not receive considerable monetary compensation. The other problem with an all-volunteer force is recruiting and retaining the

required quality and quantity of personnel required to maintain a credible armed force<sup>61</sup> With conscription there is always a large pool of resources to draw upon, and theoretically, highly skilled men are required to serve as well as the relatively unskilled segment of the male population Thus, the military can maintain its large standing armed force without compromising quality However, with the end of conscription comes the end of the large pool of resources from which technically qualified personnel are drawn The adoption of an AVF means that the military has to compete with the civilian labour market for personnel, especially technically qualified people like medical staff, engineers, electronics and computer specialists

Another problem with an AVF is that the military loses its relative social representativeness, as conscription ensures a cross-section of (male) society Socially disadvantaged groups may become over-represented in the military, especially in the enlisted ranks, because of the economic incentives and advantages of joining the armed forces<sup>62</sup> However, as most writers point to the problem of adequately maintaining a credible armed force under an all-volunteer force principle, this will be the problem that receives the most attention

Many of the writers discussing potential and/or real problems of all-volunteer forces focus on the probability of personnel shortfalls "The available data show that all-volunteer forces experience considerable difficulty in recruiting the best possible men in sufficient numbers On the whole, it is difficult to find qualified personnel for professional military activities in the developed countries"<sup>63</sup>

Janowitz questions whether all-volunteer forces could produce the necessary quality and quantity of personnel required for an effective military policy of deterrence,<sup>64</sup> or if shortfalls would occur as they did in the British case<sup>65</sup> The authors (and the military) assert that conscription provides the military with the required quality and quantity of troops at a relatively low cost, moving to an all-volunteer force would jeopardize quality and quantity personnel needs of the military and dramatically increase costs

Gwyn Harries-Jenkins assessed the dilemma faced by the military at the beginning of the 1980s

[S]ince military equipment will be increasingly highly sophisticated and complex, armed forces must recruit skilled specialists in competition with other employers. If the military salary is seen to be less than that available in comparable civilian employment, armed forces will also face the problem of retaining these skilled specialists<sup>66</sup>

There is also the threat of a trade-off between quality and quantity in order to maintain all-volunteer forces

[A]ll things being equal, a tight manpower market mean either the acceptance of recruiting shortfalls in order to maintain existing standards, or the reduction in enlistment standards in order to avoid incurring recruiting shortfalls in an already understrength active component<sup>67</sup>

Thus, there exists the potential for personnel problems and high economic costs to recruit and retain all-volunteer forces, problems which do exist in the all-volunteer forces in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom

Another problem, though not as prevalent as personnel or economic considerations, is that the alienation of the military from the rest of society can occur under an all-volunteer force. There were (and are) fears that an all-volunteer force will lead to a separate military ethos, that there will be an increasing divergence of views regarding the role and purpose of the military between the military and the larger society,<sup>68</sup> and that an all-volunteer force can lead to "a state within a state", capable of political intervention.<sup>69</sup> These fears are grounded in the fact that a military maintained by an all-volunteer force is separate from the rest of society as conscription at least ensured citizen-soldiers. All young men had to perform military service under the draft, while an all-volunteer force is somehow separate from the rest of society. One of main concerns of the alienation of the military concerns the possibility of military intervention in society because of an all-volunteer force.<sup>70</sup> However, this has yet to happen in Canada, the United States, or the United Kingdom, the military is separate from the rest of society because of recruitment being voluntary, but the armed forces have not directly intervened in the political activities of these three countries. Hence, fears about the possible consequences of the alienation of the military are unfounded.

The movement from a mass armed force maintained by conscription to a smaller all-volunteer force was not without problems. All-volunteer forces are expensive to maintain and there are problems recruiting and retaining the quantity and quality of personnel necessary to maintain a credible military.

strategy of deterrence. The problems faced by countries with all-volunteer forces will be re-examined in the final section of the chapter, with respect to the utilization of women.

### **INSTITUTIONAL/PROFESSIONAL OR OCCUPATIONAL?**

Now that the overall history of the evolution of the military from its feudal amateur officer base to the rise of a professional officer corps has been discussed, and the rise and decline of armed forces sustained by conscription and the subsequent implementation of all-volunteer forces have been examined, attention can be focused on the issue of whether the militaries of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom are either institutional/professional organizations or are occupational organizations, or fall along the spectrum of Moskos's institutional/occupational hypothesis. The analysis of the organization of the militaries will begin with an examination and definition of what constitutes a profession.

Though the officer corps was established as a profession by the beginning of the twentieth century, the main writings of a "military profession" did not emerge until the 1950s. Each analyst of the military organization has a different definition of what the characteristics of a profession are. Huntington asserts "[t]he distinguishing characteristics of a profession as a special type of vocation are its expertise, responsibility, and corporateness."<sup>71</sup> Janowitz asserts

[t]he essential elements of a professional group are (a) a system of training, (b) a body of expert knowledge and skills practices, (c) group cohesion and solidarity, (d) a body of ethics and a sense of responsibility, and (e) mechanisms of self-regulation <sup>72</sup>

Abrahamsson combines the characteristics of both Janowitz's and Huntington's definitions to formulate his conception of what constitutes a profession

, [T]he present work means by profession an occupation whose members (a) possess a high degree of *specialized, theoretical knowledge*, plus certain methods and devices for the application of this knowledge in their daily practice, (b) are expected to carry out their tasks with due attention to certain *ethical rules* and, (c) are held together by a high degree of *corporateness* stemming from common training and collective attachment to certain doctrines and methods <sup>73</sup>

If we utilize the criteria or characteristics of a profession as defined by Janowitz, Huntington and Abrahamsson, it becomes apparent that the officer corps can be considered a profession, distinct from other vocations

The military officer has a specific skill that she/he is specialized in beyond a particular trade like engineering, medical corps, or artillery, the military officer is a specialist or an expert in "the management of violence" <sup>74</sup> This expertise in the management of violence, is one of the characteristics of a profession as defined in the literature. The military officer must possess this skill (which is specific to the military) in order to become a member of the profession

A second characteristic of a profession, as put forth by Janowitz and Huntington, is social responsibility. Military officers are responsible for the



military security of their "client", society<sup>75</sup> A third characteristic of a profession is corporateness. This means that members of a profession share a sense of unity, cohesion, and consciousness that separates them from non-professionals. Military officers share a sense of corporateness or group cohesion which manifests itself in the form of the official organization of the armed forces, military schools and academies, trade journals, and military customs, traditions, and ceremonies<sup>76</sup>. All of the aforementioned elements help shape the group cohesion and corporate nature of the military that not only sets them apart from the rest of society, but establishes the officer corps as a distinct profession within the military.

A fourth characteristic of a profession is a set of ethical rules which regulates behaviour in the profession. The behaviour of the military officer (and enlisted personnel) is strictly regulated by an elaborate set of rules, regulations, traditions, and customs, which is also self-regulated and administered. The entire military justice system, which often takes the form of a court-martial, illustrates the self-regulatory aspect of the military. Thus, the military, because of its elaborate rule system which deems what is "acceptable" behaviour, and its self-regulatory mechanism, possesses the fourth characteristic of a profession.

The fifth and final characteristic of a profession is the provision or the possession of a system of training. The establishment of military schools and academies is one way a system of training for a profession can be realized. However, the entire exercise of basic training illustrates the professional nature

of the military establishment. It is during basic training (something all recruits must go through) that the skills necessary to become a member of a profession are acquired. Because the military provides a system of training for its members and potential members, it possesses the fifth characteristic of a profession.

Given that the military possesses the characteristics of a profession, it can be concluded that military officership is a profession. Janowitz, Huntington, and Abrahamsson (as well as others) all conclude that military officership is a profession, but assert that enlisted personnel are not professionals as defined by the aforementioned characteristics. Huntington argues that enlisted personnel are specialists in the application of violence, not the management of violence, and are thus not eligible to be members of the military "profession."<sup>77</sup> Abrahamsson believes that the officer corps is the most professionalised group within the military establishment as it possesses the characteristics of a profession, more so than non-commissioned officers and enlisted personnel.<sup>78</sup>

As much of the writing about the military as a profession emerged in the era of mass armies maintained by universal male conscription, it is only natural that the authors conclude that only the officer cadre is professional, given that most of the enlisted positions were filled by conscripts and one-term draft-motivated volunteers. However, even contemporary writers in the all-volunteer era still refer to the officer corps as the only "profession" in the military.

Giuseppe Caforio defines a profession as

a lifetime work activity that is essential (or at least useful) to the community and that is

sufficiently demanding to require a certain intellectual ability and the acquisition of considerable theoretical knowledge, specific to the particular profession. This knowledge is acquired through educational institutions at the university level that are dedicated to that specific profession.<sup>79</sup>

This contemporary definition of a profession incorporates many of the characteristics of a profession. Thus, the military has not lost its professional status in the transition to an all-volunteer force, but officers are still the only group within the military to be classified as professionals.

Unfortunately, there is very little literature regarding enlisted personnel in the military,<sup>80</sup> and most writers dismiss the enlisted ranks as non-professional and concentrate on the officers corps as the basis for defining the military as a profession. It is not within the scope of this thesis to enter into the debate of whether or not the enlisted personnel of all-volunteer forces should be classified as professionals, it is important, however, to clarify that when the authors refer to "the military profession," they are referring to the officer corps only.

Now that it has been established that the military, or at least the officer corps, is a profession because it possesses the basic characteristics of a profession, the notion of the military as an institution can be briefly discussed in order to set the parameters for the discussion of the competing models of the institutionalization/occupationalization of the military.

Charles C. Moskos discusses an institution in the following way:

An *institution* is legitimated in terms of values and norms, i.e. a purpose transcending individual

self-interest in favor of a presumed higher good. Members of an institution are often viewed as following a calling, they generally regard themselves as being different or apart from the broader society and are so regarded by others. To the degree one's institutional membership is congruent with notions of self-sacrifice and dedication, it will usually enjoy esteem from the larger community. Although the remuneration may not be comparable to what one might expect in the economy of the marketplace, this is often compensated for by an array of social benefits associated with an institutional format as well as psychic income. When grievances are felt, members of an institution do not organize themselves into interest groups. Rather, if redress is sought it takes the form of "one-on-one" recourse to superiors, with its implications of trust in the paternalism of the institution to take care of its own.<sup>81</sup>

The military possesses many of the institutional features described by Moskos above. As a profession, the military is distinct from the rest of society, especially under the principle of the all-volunteer force, members are there because they made a conscious decision to join the military. Military personnel are on call twenty-four hours a day, all year round. Though military pay has traditionally been lower than civilian remuneration for a comparable job, non-cash benefits (clothing, housing, and meals) compensate for the pay difference.<sup>82</sup> In recent years, in order to compete with civilian employers military pay (excluding noncash benefits) has come on par with civilian pay.<sup>83</sup> Because the military is a self-regulating profession, grievances and problems are dealt with internally and not taken (usually) to outside arenas. It can be argued that the military is an

institution based on the possession of features which identify it and define it as such

Thus, based on the possession of characteristics and particular features, the military can be described and defined as both a profession and an institution. In fact, it was, and arguably is, assumed without question that the military is a profession<sup>84</sup> and an institution<sup>85</sup>. However, it has been argued, particularly by Moskos, that the military is moving away from its institutional/professional orientation toward more of an occupational model of organization. The movement to an all-volunteer force and other trends within the military lead Moskos to caution about the increasing occupationalization of the military. In order to assess the validity of the assertion, occupationalism must be defined and examined.

Moskos makes the following observation about occupationalism:

An *occupation* is legitimated in terms of the marketplace, i.e., prevailing monetary rewards for equivalent competencies. In a modern industrial society employees usually enjoy some voice in the determination of appropriate salary and work conditions. Such rights are counterbalanced by responsibilities to meet contractual obligations. The occupational model implies priority of self-interest rather than that of the employing organization. A common form of interest articulation in industrial - and increasingly governmental - occupations is the trade union.<sup>86</sup>

Thus, instead of being motivated by a "calling" or fulfilling a sense of mission as in the institutional model, a person is motivated by economic incentives to join the military, according to the occupational model

Moskos based his assertion of the movement from an institutional military to an occupational model on the movement away from armed forces based on conscription, to an all-volunteer force in the United States Moskos argues

[a]lthough antecedents predated the appearance of the all-volunteer force in early 1973, the end of the draft served as the major thrust to move the military toward the occupational model In contrast to the all-volunteer force, the selective service system was premised on the notion of the citizen's obligation - with concomitant low salaries for lower enlisted personnel - and the ideal of a broadly representative enlisted force (though this ideal was not always realized in practice) The occupational model clearly underpinned the philosophical rationale of the 1970 Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Force ("Gates Commission Report") Instead of a military system anchored in the normative values of an institution, captured in words like "duty," "honor," "country," the Gates Commission explicitly argued that primary reliance in recruiting an armed force should be on monetary inducements guided by marketplace standards<sup>87</sup>

Moskos points to the use of bonuses and proficiency pays to recruit and retain qualified technical personnel, the increased use of off-base housing (signifying the separation of work and residence that was prevalent in the institutional model), and the increased use of civilian courts in traditionally court-martial area cases as indicators of the movement away from an institutional military towards

an occupational military<sup>88</sup> It can also be argued that the increased reliance on women after the advent of an AVF in the United States and more positions being opened to women in the armed forces in the 1970s and the early 1980s (as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three) also indicates a trend towards occupationalization

However, several years after Moskos's 1981 update of his original hypothesis (" the American military is moving from an institutional format to one more and more resembling that of an occupation")<sup>89</sup>, he partially recanted by arguing that the trend towards occupationalism did not mean that the establishment of an occupational military was inevitable, the military recognized the movement towards occupationalism and began to renew institutional thoughts and initiatives<sup>90</sup>

Such military initiatives as the Navy's Operation Pride (which required wearing uniforms more often, the restoration of rank privileges, and increased attention to military courtesy and ceremony), the Air Force's Project Warrior (which promoted service pride), the restoration of the integrity of the (honourable) discharge system, and the 1987 Supreme Court ruling in the Solorio v United States case that re-established the allowance of the use of the court-martial system for non-service offenses (this overturned the 1969 O'Callahan v Parker decision) all illustrate the attempt to "re-institutionalize" the military, or push back the trend of occupationalism Thus, the military could be

seen as adhering to the institutional model, but also possessing some aspects of the occupational model

It was also during the mid to late 1980s that the American military halted its increased utilization of women and in fact closed positions to women that had previously been open. Thus if the increased use of women indicates a trend towards occupationalization then, arguably, a backwards trend of excluding American servicewomen from hitherto open areas indicates a trend towards institutionalization. Moskos himself sets forth this argument in his 1988 update of the institutional/occupational hypothesis where he presents a table of 'Military Social Organization' in which, under the institutional model, female roles are limited and career patterns are restricted while, under the occupational model, female roles are vast and career patterns are open.<sup>91</sup>

The question that must be answered though is "which model do the militaries of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom adhere to?" Can the militaries of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom be categorized as institutional, occupational, or a combination of the two? Each country will be examined, beginning with Canada.

Charles Cotton, in his 1981 study of the Canadian Armed Forces came to the following conclusion "[t]he data show that while there is demonstrable support for an occupational view of military life among Canada's soldiers, the majority of experienced personnel - especially in the combat arms - advocate institutional or vocational values."<sup>92</sup> Cotton administered a questionnaire to a sample of



Canadian Forces personnel in order to establish a "Military Ethos Scale" with which to measure the institutional or occupational tendencies of Canadian military personnel. Cotton found an attitudinal bifurcation in the Canadian military, as described by Moskos, but support for the occupational model was not as pervasive, in the Canadian military at least, as Moskos hypothesized, there was (and is) considerable support for the institutional model and the values that it presupposes.<sup>93</sup> It can be argued, based on the Cotton study, that the Canadian model is an institutional one, or at least is more institutional than it is occupational. The Canadian military's members are there to fulfil a sense of mission, or answer a "calling", not because of economic incentives.

It has been argued by Cathy Downes in her study of the British military, that it too adheres to the institutional model, rather than the occupational model. Downes examines the compensation system, the disciplinary system, and historical civil-military relations in order to determine which model the British military is most likely to represent. Downes found that the compensation system was an institutional/occupational mix because pay scales are determined by three factors: 1. the military job is compared to the equivalent job and its pay in the civilian sector, 2. the "x" factor realized that there are special features of military life (field duty, danger pay) and compensates for the differences, 3. individual pay allowances are made based on eligibility for additional compensation.<sup>94</sup>

Despite the compensation system being a mix of the institutional and occupational models, Downes argues that the historical gap between military

and civil society, though reduced, still exists, due in part to the fact that all service personnel are subject to a system of military discipline, are on-duty twenty-four hours a day, and are unable to resign at will, change jobs or negotiate for pay or conditions changes<sup>95</sup> These are all aspects of the institutional model which are in existence in the British military The paternalistic attitude, prevalent in an institutional military, also persists in the British case The military provides on-base accommodation for families, schools for children on-base, base television and radio stations, and even educates military wives as to how their husbands perform their jobs and why wives should be supportive of their military husbands<sup>96</sup> Based on the existence of institutional attributes, it can be concluded that despite some evidence of occupationalism, the British military is still firmly ensconced in the institutional model

Both Canada and the United Kingdom, though showing some signs of occupationalism, possess institutional militaries as defined by Moskos The American military (the model for the institutional/occupational hypothesis) is slightly different from Canada and the United Kingdom Moskos based his theory on the increasing occupationalism of the American military As mentioned previously, the entire American all-volunteer force is premised on economic incentives being the basis for recruitment, this and other "occupational" factors lead Moskos to conclude that the military (especially the American military) was shifting from an institutional model to an occupational

model. As also stated, he has since backtracked and is currently asserting that the military cannot be classified as either institutional or occupational, as elements of both are present in the contemporary American military<sup>97</sup>. Rather there is a trend to re-institutionalize the military, as various initiatives already examined illustrate.

Thus, utilizing the definitions of an institutional and an occupational military and applying their features to the militaries of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, researchers have been able to conclude that though there are occupational elements in the militaries of Canada and the United Kingdom, these two countries, nonetheless, have institutionalized militaries. The United States, however, has a mixed institutional/occupational military that has been sliding towards occupationalism until the relatively recent attempts to re-institutionalize the American Armed Services were undertaken. However, despite the conclusions reached regarding the institutional/occupational outlook of the armed forces of the three countries there exists controversy in the literature regarding the validity of the institutional/occupational model as developed by Moskos. Therefore, before too much credence can be placed on the aforementioned conclusions, the critiques of Moskos's theory must be examined.

Since Moskos's institutional/occupational model of the military first appeared in 1977, several other military sociologists have been quick to criticize Moskos's hypothesis for several reasons. The first critique appears in the same journal

volume as Moskos's original article and is written by Janowitz. Janowitz accuses Moskos of wreaking havoc in the field of military sociology by playing degrees of semantics with the words "profession," "institution," and "occupation."<sup>98</sup> Janowitz argues that "profession" as a concept still applies to the military because the concept implies the possession of a high level of skill (higher than what is necessary for an occupation), some form of self-regulation, and a strong element of corporate cohesion. If the officer corps were to move away from a profession to an occupation three things must happen: the skill level of officers must decline, officers lose the right to self-management, and there must be a weakening of corporate identity.<sup>99</sup> As none of these shifts were happening within the officer corps, Janowitz concluded that Moskos was incorrect in asserting that the military profession was losing its professional (or institutional) characteristics and moving towards an occupational model, based on the fact that the officer corps had not lost any of its professional attributes.

Cotton also critiques Moskos in his 1981 article on the institutionalization/occupationalization of the Canadian military. Cotton agrees with Janowitz's critique that Moskos is playing with words in his institutional/occupation model. Cotton asserts

[t]he military is, and will remain, an institution in the social fabric of society, *regardless of whether its features shift in terms of the occupational model as described by Moskos*. To suggest that the military as an institution and the military as an occupation are two alternative and mutually exclusive developmental types is to confuse levels of analysis and to introduce a degree of

ambiguity which hampers research efforts Semantically and conceptually, the term "vocation", with its connotation of military service as a calling is more consistent with the literature<sup>100</sup>

Thus Cotton rejects Moskos's terminology of "institution", and discusses the Canadian military in terms of being "vocational" or "occupational" He does not disagree with the institutional/occupational hypothesis *per se*, but disagrees with the choice of words and the implications of the choice of words Thus, according to Cotton, the model is acceptable, but the terminology must be changed

David Segal also critiques Moskos's hypothesis that the military is moving from an institutional model to an occupational model Segal examines previous studies and surveys to determine if Moskos's hypothesis is valid Segal argues that based on previous studies, the institutional and occupational constructs are not opposite poles of one dimension as indicated by Moskos, but independent dimensions<sup>101</sup> Segal also argues that the occupationalism of the military profession is not a recent one, he points to Janowitz's The Professional Soldier, which found that a "just a job" mentality existed in the officer corps in the past, prior to the establishment of an all-volunteer force<sup>102</sup> (which Moskos argues is the main impetus for the shift from an institutional to an occupational military) Segal asserts

[i]n short, a variety of relatively direct measures suggests that the model orientation toward military service in the United States today is "pragmatic professionalism" a mixture of institutional and occupational concerns There is also a perception that the model orientation has

become more occupational than in the past. The real trend underlying this perception, however, has not been measured.<sup>103</sup>

Thus, based on the findings of previous studies, Segal believes that the institutional/occupational model does exist, but not in the form presented by Moskos. This is because there are elements of institutionalism and occupationalism in the military, therefore they are two different dimensions, not opposite poles of one dimension.

Caforio also critiques Moskos's model by agreeing with Segal's criticism that the institutional/occupational model is really two separate dimensions, not two poles of a single dimension.<sup>104</sup> Caforio also points to Moskos's own revision of the institutional/occupational model as further evidence of the weakness of Moskos's hypothesis. Though Caforio does not develop his own criticism of Moskos's theory, he agrees with others' critiques of the hypothesis, indicating general dissatisfaction amongst scholars with the institutional/occupational model.

Though the institutional/occupational model, as it applies to the military profession, has certain weaknesses as described and explained above, it still has valid elements. Identifying trends within military organization is important for understanding the military both on its own and within the broader societal context. However, to classify the military as either an institution or an occupation is to over-simplify the military establishment. The military is not an institution or an occupation, but a combination of the two models. However, the

studies by Downes, Cotton, Segal, and Moskos all indicate that the military establishments of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom possess aspects of both models, though the militaries tend to be more institutional/professional/vocational than occupational, according to the researchers. Therefore, Moskos's theory concerning whether the military is institutional or occupational has weaknesses, but once it is modified (as per Segal, Cotton, and Moskos) it is a valid model or set of models with which to study the military.

Another theory that has been utilized to study the military which must be examined is the convergence/divergence hypothesis. Moskos fully developed the convergence/divergence approach in his pre-institutional/occupational writings at the beginning of the 1970s. Moskos asserted that there were two contradictory characterizations of the contemporary military:

On the one hand, there is the viewpoint that the institutional forms of the military are converging with those of civilian society. On the other hand, there is the perspective which emphasizes the sharp differentiation between military and civilian structure. The war in Vietnam, the domestic reactions toward that war, and the movement to an all-volunteer force have served to heighten rather than bridge these contrasting interpretations.<sup>105</sup>

Moskos asserted in an earlier book that

[o]n the one hand, there is the view, documented in many scholarly studies, that the contemporary military establishment is increasingly sharing the attributes common to large-scale bureaucracies in a modern complex society. It follows, therefore,

that many of the administrative mechanisms and social forms of the military are converging with those of civilian society. On the other hand, there is the continuing portrayal, especially in the popular culture, of the military as a quasi-feudal organization with the features quite unlike those found in the community at large. This viewpoint emphasizes the total institutional qualities of the military organization and the sharp differentiation between military and civilian structures.<sup>106</sup>

Moskos argues in both works that the long-term military convergence with civilian society has come to an end, and that the post-Vietnam and advent of all-volunteer forces era would bring about military divergence from civilian society.<sup>107</sup> Divergence from civil society means that the institutional/professional nature of the military is more prevalent than the occupational aspects of the military. The military is becoming more distinct and separate from society when divergence occurs.

Moskos was not the only writer of the early 1970s who hypothesized that the military was beginning to diverge from the rest of society in the all-volunteer era. Janowitz also argued that the establishment of an American all-volunteer force halted the long-standing trend of the military towards civilianization (or convergence).<sup>108</sup> Though the trend of the "civilianizing" of the military has been analyzed and examined by many writers, only a cursory explanation of the "civilianization" of the military will be given as an in-depth study of the phenomenon is beyond the scope of this thesis.



Civilianizing of the military connotes that there is a blurring of the distinction between the military and the larger society from which it is drawn. The "civilianization" of the military occurred as technology was introduced to the military, and as militaries grew in size and began to resemble large-scale bureaucracies. These occurrences created the need for "military managers", who compete with "traditional" military archetypes, the "heroic leader "

These military managers in turn become highly civilianized as they faced the problems of research, development, and management found in most large industrial organizations. They are likely in the future to resemble the civilian organization man more than the distinctive and traditional member of the military establishment.<sup>109</sup>

As the military grows in size, it begins to resemble a large bureaucracy and thus requires "managers" to ensure the efficient running of the bureaucracy. The military is no longer totally concerned with war-making (though that remains its main purpose) because the sheer size of the armed forces require more than combat personnel, they need "managers" to keep the military establishments running smoothly, efficiently, and effectively.

Another aspect of the civilianizing of the military is what Janowitz classifies as the "narrowing skill differential between military and civilian elites." Janowitz asserts

[t]he new tasks of the military require that the professional officer develop more and more of the skills and orientation common to civilian administrators and civilian leaders. The narrowing difference in skill between military and

civilian society is an outgrowth of the increasing concentration of technical specialists in the military. The men who perform such technical tasks have direct civilian equivalents: engineers, machine maintenance specialists, health service experts, logistic and personnel technicians. In fact, the concentration of personnel with "purely" military occupational specialties has fallen from 93.2% in the Civil War to 28.8% in the post-Korean army, and to even lower percentages in the Navy and the Air Force.<sup>110</sup>

The previously mentioned decrease in combat specialty positions and the corresponding increase in technical and administrative positions is indicative of the narrowing skill differential between military and civilian occupational specialties.

The civilianizing of the military is thus based in part on the rise of the military manager and the narrowing of skill differences between military and civilian occupations. This indicates a military convergence with civilian society, or at least a trend towards convergence. However, despite the "civilianizing" of the military or military/civilian convergence, the two will never completely come together. This is due to the element of war which is the main reason for the existence of the military. Thus, "[d]espite the rational and technological aspects of the military establishment, the need for heroic fighters persists. The pervasive requirements of combat set the limits to civilianizing tendencies."<sup>111</sup> Even though the military may converge or civilianize, it will never be totally civilianized or completely converge with society because of its unique aspect of war-making or war deterrence.

We have established how the military converges with society and why the civilianization of the military has occurred. It has also been established that the trend towards civilianization or convergence was tempered by the advent of an all-volunteer force. It does appear as if Moskos contradicts himself several times between his early convergence/divergence theory, the initial institutional versus occupational model for the military, and the later revisions of the institutional/occupational model. First, Moskos argued that the military halted its trend towards converging with civilian society and was in the process of diverging. Seven years later Moskos appeared to reverse his position and argued that the military was moving away from its distinctive institutional model and moving towards an occupational model, connoting that a job in the military is "just another job", there is nothing distinctive or special about being a member of the military. Less than a decade after Moskos first argued that the military was moving away from an institutional/divergent model, he recanted by arguing that the military was "re-institutionalizing" itself and that there were elements of both models present in the American military. Despite these apparent contradictions, Moskos does make some valid points, as stated previously. The contradictions in Moskos's writings could be due in part to the contradictory nature of the military, in that the military contains elements of both the institutional and occupational models (as verified by Cotton, Segal, Downes and Moskos) and the military shifts or adds elements of one or the other model.

It can be hypothesized that the military, upon realizing that it is converging too much with civilian society, or is "civilianizing" beyond an "acceptable" level, takes steps to diverge or re-institutionalize in order to assert its distinction from civilian society. It can also be speculated that the military converges with civilian society or adds more elements of the occupational model to its establishment in order to attract and retain personnel in an all-volunteer force. Hence, the increase in pay, better living conditions, increased benefits, and broader allowances in personal appearance and liberties that occurred in the movement to an all-volunteer force,<sup>112</sup> could have been undertaken by the military in order to attract recruits. Granted the aforementioned incentives have an occupational element to them and do indicate convergence or civilianizing tendencies, but it did not nor does not necessarily follow that convergence or occupationalism was or is inevitable. This aforementioned hypothesis could help to explain the contradictions in Moskos's writings as well as in the changes military attitude, outlook and organization.

Now that all of the various theories and possible models of the military have been examined several basic assumptions that pertain to this thesis can be made. It has been established that despite contradictions and weaknesses, the institutional/ occupational model is still a valid one. Based on the findings of Cotton, Downes, Segal and Moskos it can be further established that the militaries of Canada and the United Kingdom adhere to the institutional model, though there are some elements of occupationalism within the establishments,

and that the American military has elements of both the institutional and occupational models, but that it is more institutional than occupational

It can also be asserted that the militaries of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom, because they are more institutional than occupational, are more divergent from civilian society rather than they are convergent. Though there are pressures put on the military to adapt to the broader civilian society, the military remains largely divergent.

Issues in society such as racial, gender, and sexual orientation equality are also issues for the military. However, the armed forces of the United Kingdom and the United States have resisted calls for the full integration of women into all positions, including ground combat, and still adhere to a policy of not recruiting known homosexuals and lesbians **and** discharging those who are found to be homosexual or lesbian. President Clinton had to back down from a decision to allow known homosexuals and lesbians in the Armed Services because of pressure from the military itself.

The fact that, as later chapters will show, women are not fully accepted in the combat arms trades also indicates that the convergence of the military with the wider society is not as prevalent as previously considered. Thus though convergence or civilianizing tendencies are present (much like occupational elements exist within the militaries), the general inclination is divergence from civilian society.

The following analysis and critique of the militaries of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom is based on the presupposition that the militaries are predominantly institutional/professional and divergent from civilian society while being cognizant of the civilianizing tendencies and occupational elements within the military establishments of these three countries

### **ANALYSIS OF THE LITERATURE AS IT PERTAINS TO THE UTILIZATION OF WOMEN**

The fourth and final section of this chapter is an analysis of the findings of the literature, with special attention being paid to how they relate to the utilization of women in the military. Several issues will be addressed in this section. First, there will be a critique of the analysis of the problems faced by countries utilizing all-volunteer forces. This is followed by an examination of the assertion that the militaries are mostly institutional rather than occupational from a feminist perspective. This is followed by a discussion of why women should be utilized to the fullest possible extent by the military. The chapter concludes with an explanation of why women are not fully integrated into the military, and that women who do enter non-traditional support fields or combat positions will be tokens.

As mentioned previously, one of the largest problems faced by countries with all-volunteer forces is recruiting and retaining highly qualified personnel. It was asserted that there is often a trade-off between quality and quantity when it

comes to personnel In an era of advanced military technology, it is necessary to recruit and retain highly skilled personnel

The use of sophisticated weapons - on the ground and at sea as well as in the air - dispels the image of combat assignments as basically unskilled enlisted assignments Yet combat entails much more than technical skill in the use of arms Combat operations place a premium on the independence and initiative of combat soldiers, while unconventional forms of war demand greater political awareness Even enlisted ground personnel, when serving abroad as advisors to indigenous troops, are expected to assume many training and supervisory functions, display tact and diplomacy in dealing with other nationals, and exhibit an understanding of the strategic importance of their mission, For this reason, the Army explicitly seeks to describe ground combat as one of its most skilled enlisted career fields But because many high quality personnel elect technical and administrative jobs, the combat speciality is faced from time to time with shortages of effective manpower, and there is some tendency to fill these assignments with men whose aptitude scores are below Army average<sup>113</sup>

Thus even combat requires highly qualified personnel This need for highly qualified personnel has led to higher enlistment and recruitment qualifications in order to ensure personnel are capable of using the technologically advanced equipment

However, research has indicated that the military does not attract even "moderately bright" recruits<sup>114</sup> Van Doorn echoes many of the concerns found in studies that quality personnel are difficult to recruit and retain He asserts

"[t]he available data show that all-volunteer forces experience considerable difficulty in recruiting the best possible men in sufficient numbers. On the whole, it is difficult to find qualified personnel for professional activities in the developed countries."<sup>115</sup> Many of the writers comment on the fact that militaries relying on all-volunteer forces have personnel problems, particularly in attracting and retaining qualified men.

As women previously have not been officially utilized in non-traditional fields and are either restricted or barred from combat or near-combat positions (where most of the shortfalls seem to be occurring) it seems only logical that the military should open up all positions to women, thereby increasing their resource pool to include one hundred percent of the population, rather than relying solely on the male population, which is only forty-eight percent of the possible resource pool.

Segal asserts that society is willing to utilize women when shortages occur.<sup>116</sup> This is a historical fact in several countries: Britain, Canada, the USA, and the Soviet Union amongst others recruited and even conscripted women during the Second World War to shore up personnel shortfalls as will be discussed in the following two chapters. When it became apparent during the First and Second World Wars that personnel shortfalls were occurring, positions in clerical administrative, some technical fields, and transport (i.e., truck and ambulance) were opened up to women in order to "free a man for the front." It is grounded



in history that women have been and still are called upon to compensate for shortfalls

It has even been asserted that an unplanned consequence of the end of conscription and the advent of the all-volunteer force in the United States is an increased reliance on the utilization of women <sup>117</sup> As will be discussed in greater detail in the third chapter, it was the establishment of an all-volunteer force that increased the number of positions that were open to women, especially in non-traditional or combat support fields in the US and the United Kingdom So it is not uncommon that women are relied upon (historically) to compensate for personnel shortfalls

Sabrosky verifies the aforementioned assertion by stating that the least objectionable measure for shoring up personnel shortages caused by all-volunteer forces is to rely on more women in the active duty, regular force, but he also states " yet the greater recruitment of women does not deal with the problem of shortfalls in the ground combat arms "<sup>118</sup> It appears that there is a reluctance on the part of the military (and civilian analysts/academics) to suggest that women be allowed to enter the combat arms trades in order to fill the shortages of qualified personnel This is beginning to take place (e g the recent announcements by the British Royal Air Force and the US Air Force that women are allowed to pilot combat aircraft), but there is extreme apprehension on the part of the military establishment and civilian governments to push for the

greater use of women in the military, particularly in the ground combat arms trades

Canada is not an exception to this argument in spite of the opening of all positions to women including infantry and artillery (except submarine duty) It must be remembered that the Canadian Human Rights Commission ordered the Canadian Armed Forces to open up all positions to women as the closure of positions on the basis of sex is a violation of the Human Rights Act Thus the Canadian Armed Forces did not voluntarily choose to open up combat positions to women, they had it imposed on them by law

However, the United States and the United Kingdom still do not allow women into ground combat positions like artillery, infantry and heavy armour, despite the fact that they are faced with personnel shortages in these fields The logical solution would be to open up all positions to women, thus there is a pool of the total population to draw from, rather than the forty-eight percent pool that the militaries are currently drawing from But, academic analysts and military personnel refuse to recognize the potential solution to the personnel shortfall problem It seems strange that even civilian analysts are reluctant to suggest that the military utilize women in an increased capacity in order to alleviate the personnel shortfalls This is a major critique that I have of the literature that laments the shortage of qualified personnel in all-volunteer forces The authors (and the military) summarily dismiss the notion of the increased utilization of women in the military without any sound basis for justifying this exclusion

There appear to be two reasons why the military (and civilian scholars studying the military) do not recommend the increased utilization of women by the military in order to alleviate the shortfalls. One reason is that the inclusion of women in combat will jeopardize the "all-male", fraternal aspect of the military. The other reason is that the military is still an institution (as per Moskos's definition), even if women are accepted to **some** positions, not an occupation.

Several authors examined in this chapter comment on the all-male or fraternal element of the military. Janowitz asserts that a sense of fraternity is dominant in the military professional code.<sup>119</sup> Janowitz even went so far as to assert that the establishment of women's auxiliary corps dilutes the military because "the traditional military profession was based on the solidarity of an all-male fraternity."<sup>120</sup>

The last statement can be utilized as an explanation for why the military is reluctant to increase the number of women, even when faced with shortfalls and a potential compromising of quantity and quality of personnel. The military establishment fears that the increased utilization of women will "dilute" their all-male fraternity. Patricia Shields recognizes this assertion when she argues

[t]he armed forces have their roots in time-honored masculine traditions. The uniforms, rituals, and authoritarian structure that permeate military life help transform boys into effective men soldiers. Many traditions and practices of the male-oriented institution clash with effective female assimilation.<sup>121</sup>

Shields goes on to say

[s]cholars speculate that men resist initial integration [of women] because they find it threatening. The very fact that of a woman succeeding in the military dilutes time-honored male rituals and reflects poorly upon the concept of the dominant male. Essentially, they [women] have invaded an elite (perhaps mystical) male testing ground.<sup>122</sup>

It has been established in the preceding chapter that the military is an androcentric institution, it is perceived as a primarily male institution where men can best prove they are men (as defined by the military)<sup>123</sup> Cynthia Enloe makes a valid assessment regarding the peacetime utilization of women. She asserts

[L]acking the finiteness and ideological peculiarity of wartime, a peacetime military force relying on women soldiers seems to have an exaggerated need to pursue more and more refined measures of sexual difference in order to keep women in their place. Western armed forces now conduct official studies of pregnancy, menstruation and 'upper body strength' in an almost desperate search for some fundamental intrinsic (i.e. not open to political debate) difference between male and female soldiers. They search for a difference which can justify women's continued exclusion for the military's ideological core - combat. If they can find this difference, they can also exclude women from the senior command promotions that are open only to officers who have seen combat.<sup>124</sup>

Even when faced with personnel shortages, the military desperately attempts to exclude women from ground combat positions and constantly devises excuses based on studied and unstudied areas in order to justify its exclusionary policies. As stated previously, this is because the military is a traditionally all-male

institution, women have been accepted on varying degrees to all but the most "male-defining" or "masculine" of the military occupations, combat. It can also be argued that by fully accepting women into combat positions, the military would lose its institutional status. It has been asserted in the introduction that the military is a male-dominated institution and it will be shown in the following chapter the military is a male-defining institution, women can serve in the military, but only in the roles established by the men at the top of the institution. It can be argued that women are excluded from combat and some combat-related fields because their presence threatens the institutional nature of the military establishment, the men who make the decisions fear the potential threat of losing institutional status and thus restrict women's access to combat positions.

The fear that the inclusion of women into the military, and especially in combat, would lessen the "institutional" nature of the military is basically unfounded. Mady Weschler Segal asserts

[t]he increases in women in uniform have already required changes in the traditionally male military institution. Such organizational adaptations, however, do not make the military any less of an institution. Military women generally enter the armed forces for the same reasons as men. Indeed, they may be even more institutionally committed than men because women, socialized to subjugate their individual goals, to group goals, in general are often found to be more service - and collectively - oriented.<sup>125</sup>

Thus the military retains its institutional nature even when women are admitted.

Shields echoes Weschler Segal's argument when she asserts

[f]irst, women do not consider the military as just another employer, rather, they are attracted to unique aspects of the military institution, such as discipline and adventure. Second, women soldiers are not fully supported in their institutional identities. Institutional attachment - often eroded by family responsibilities - is diluted because the military does not really accommodate women.<sup>126</sup>

According to Shields, women have the potential to be as institutional as men because of the fact that they do not regard the military as "just another job", which would occur if occupationalism is prevalent. Rather, women appear to be answering a "calling" or fulfilling a sense of mission when they join the military, connoting institutionalism is still prevalent.

Shields demonstrates the high level of institutional attachment with respect to women by pointing to the separate women's corps of the American military, which existed from the 1940s to the 1970s. Shields queries "[h]ow many male career service personnel would there be if marriage resulted in dismissal?"<sup>127</sup> Shields was referring to the fact that female military personnel were automatically discharged upon marriage, until the policy changed in 1967. If a woman, prior to 1967, wished to be a career military person, she had to forego marriage (and pregnancy) in order to keep her position in the military, alluding to institutional attachment for the women who were career servicewomen during the 1950s and 1960s.

Today, women, like men, are drawn to the military for various reasons. However, women, like men, are drawn to the military for more than just

monetary reasons. Recent surveys indicate that women reject occupational values, i.e. economic incentives, as enlistment motivators and have asserted that their primary motivational factor for enlistment was to "better themselves in life", that is women are drawn to the discipline and structure of the military because training and educational benefits were offered as choices for enlistment motivation.<sup>128</sup> This indicates that women do not "dilute" the institutional nature of the military as defined by Moskos. Granted there are bound to be women, and men, who are drawn to the military for "occupational" reasons, such as pay and benefits, but as stated previously, this has always been the case. To assert that women dilute the institutional nature of the military is to misread women's motives for joining the military. Thus, it can be asserted that the admission of women does not dilute the institutional nature of the military, it in fact enhances it, for women join the military for institutional reasons, much like men.

Given the fact that the inclusion of women in the military does not threaten the predominantly institutional nature of the military, there should be no excuse for excluding women from the military, especially from combat and near-combat roles. Thus, a discussion of why women should be allowed to enter combat positions, based on the literature presented in this chapter, can be undertaken.

It has been asserted by Janowitz that "[t]he military institutions reflect changes in the larger society, and in turn help speed up social change by seeking to de-emphasize the importance of the social backgrounds of those who have

been admitted into the profession"<sup>129</sup> Though Janowitz was referring to the opening up of the military profession to previously restricted social backgrounds, his assertion is nonetheless applicable to the utilization of women. If the military reflects changes in the larger society, then it should be receptive to increased utilization of women, if society deems the use of women in combat morally acceptable.

With respect to the issue of women in combat, society is fairly evenly divided, but slightly more in favour of the use of women in combat. Though data on the issue of women in combat are scarce, there are several public opinion polls that indicate people's values are changing regarding the use of women in combat. A 1985 Canadian Gallup poll found that fifty-four percent of Canadians were in favour of a change in policy that would allow women to serve in combat roles on the Canadian Armed Forces, forty-one percent were against the idea, and five percent were undecided.<sup>130</sup> A more extensive public opinion poll commissioned by the Canadian Department of National Defence in 1986 found that the vast majority of Canadians came out in support of the utilization of women in combat. The Environics poll found that twenty percent of Canadians felt that women should serve in combat if they were required to (by law or policy), fifty-six percent felt that women should serve if they volunteered to, while only twenty-six percent of Canadians felt that women should not serve in combat at all.<sup>131</sup>



There is no reason to believe that attitudes towards women in combat in the United States and the United Kingdom differ from that of Canada. The American public's acceptance of women in combat is even stronger than the Canadian's. A New York Times/CBS poll taken after the 1989 invasion of Panama indicated that seventy-two percent of those surveyed felt women should serve in combat if they so choose. A Gallup Poll conducted after the Gulf War in 1991 found that a large majority of people, 79% believed women should be allowed to enter combat positions<sup>132</sup>

There is no reason to believe that attitudes in the United Kingdom towards women in combat would differ greatly from those in Canada and the US. Though there may not be an overall majority of people in the United States and the United Kingdom who support the issue of women in combat, it can be assumed that a fairly large minority of the general public supports the issue of women in combat, or at least the increased utilization of women in the military.

As will be discussed in a separate chapter, women are entering many "non-traditional" fields of employment, i.e. engineering, construction, management, and police forces. Society is relatively accepting of women in non-traditional employment fields, thus, if what Janowitz asserts is correct (that the military reflects changes in the larger society), then changing attitudes towards women in non-traditional fields of employment should transfer into the military. Widespread acceptance of women in the military, and especially women in non-traditional military occupations like combat, would reflect the changes in society.

regarding women Changing attitudes towards women in society, towards women's employment in non-traditional fields, and towards women in the military is one reason why women should be allowed to enter combat or near-combat positions in the military

Another reason why women should be allowed to enter combat or near combat positions in the military is because of the personnel shortages faced by armed forces, especially in the combat arms trades It has already been argued in this chapter that militaries experienced shortfalls in qualified personnel, especially with the re-establishment of all-volunteer forces Technically qualified personnel have been in short supply Furthermore,

[p]hysical effort has been replaced by mental tension, through which an appeal is made to other human faculties The pilot, the artillery man, and the tank crew do not have "to fight bravely," in the strict sense of the expression, in the same way, the crane operator and the rolling-machine operator do not have as their prime obligation "to work hard " In both cases a combination of skill, attentiveness and "availability" is much more necessary Foot-soldiers and porters belong to equally obsolete forms of military and productive effort, still, and perhaps for always, indispensable, but often highly inefficient and decreasing in quantitative importance<sup>133</sup>

Thus, with the diminishment of the physical effort necessary to complete military tasks and the increased importance of advanced technical intellect, there is no justification for excluding women in general from combat and near combat positions This is especially true in light of the fact that all-volunteer forces are

experiencing difficulties in attracting and retaining sufficient numbers of qualified personnel in combat fields. Because of the difficulties experienced, women should be allowed to enter the combat and near-combat positions in the military, subject only to the same criteria of selection as men.

If the implications of personnel shortages, changing societal attitudes, and the changing requirements of the military were taken seriously, the armed forces of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom would open up all positions to women, including near combat and combat positions. There are no valid justifications for excluding women from any position in the military, especially in light of the common lament of a lack of qualified personnel that is so often made by the authors consulted and by the military itself. However, despite the valid reasons why women should be allowed to enter combat and near combat positions, they are either not allowed to enter them, or if they are, only in token numbers.

Many of the authors consulted make the argument that the increased use of women in the military to alleviate the qualified personnel shortfalls is not a desirable option for military establishments. The Dutch Ministry of Defence, though it has opened up all military positions to women, including combat, prefers not to use women as substitutes for male personnel, even when faced with personnel shortfalls.<sup>134</sup> No reason is given for this preference, so it is difficult to determine why the Netherlands, though it has an open policy of recruitment, is reluctant to utilize women to the fullest possible extent.

Sabrosky makes the following assertion regarding why the United States is hesitant in opening up all positions to women

Many have argue that women can be used in greater numbers in the military (and especially in the airforce) than has been the case to date without any attenuation in the institutional cohesion and operational effectiveness of the armed forces Others, however, question the desirability of adding ever-larger numbers of women to the defence establishment, at least pending some conclusive reappraisal of the combat restriction now in force and an equally comprehensive consideration of their possible impact on mobilization and rotation schedules <sup>135</sup>

Sabrosky recognizes the under-utilization of women by the American military and suggests

[m]oreover an appraisal of the objective requirements of the US armed forces suggests that - except for ground combat arms and certain physically demanding tasks - far more women could be used in a far greater variety of roles than is now the case <sup>136</sup>

It is implicit within Sabrosky's assessment of the under-utilization of women that the increased use of women in combat is undesirable He does not explain why women should not be allowed to make up for personnel shortfalls in the combat arms positions, and he also states that further research is needed in the area This implies a reluctance on the part of researchers to suggest an increased use of women, especially in combat positions

Harnes-Jenkins makes a valid assertion that could be used to explain, in part, the reluctance of armed forces to increase the number of women and the number and types of positions available to women in the military

Already the recruitment of more women has compensated for some of the shortfall in male recruitment, and the percentage of women in the military has already risen with the early 1970s. One question which has to be asked is to what upper limit this trend can be rationally extended. It has been suggested that in the mid-1980s women will make up 11 per cent of the US enlisted force. We have to question what is the maximum number of women who can be recruited if armed forces are to retain a positive military credibility.<sup>137</sup>

The need to retain positive military credibility could be a reason why militaries are reluctant to open up all positions to women, especially those in combat and near combat fields. Military commanders and civilian political leaders may fear that if they utilize "too many" women in various military positions they will not be able to maintain an effective defence policy of deterrence. But I believe that the under-utilization of women goes beyond this, it has to do with something much more fundamental, that is the maintenance of the military as an institution, particularly an androcentric institution.

Moskos, in the revised version of the institutional/occupational hypothesis, makes the following assertion regarding the utilization of women in the military

In a traditional military, women service members are small in number and assigned to limited support roles, often in separate female corps. Career patterns are prescribed and restricted. In an occupational military, both recruitment needs and

greater entry of women in the labor force lead to a higher proportion of female service members. Female corps are abolished, and women are much more integrated into mainstream roles. Combat exclusion structures, however, still work against completely open career patterns. Accordingly, pressures to do away with female combat exclusion become stronger.<sup>138</sup>

According to Moskos, the military moves towards a more occupational model as it increases its utilization of women, it is more institutional or "traditional" when there are small, separate, auxiliary women's corps. The institutional nature of the military combined with its androcentricity work to ensure the peripheralization of women. This is something that Moskos fails to explore. Despite fears from the military that women are incapable of institutional attachment, research by Weschler Segal and Shields shows that institutional attachment by military women is attainable. But Moskos's point is valid to an extent, especially as it pertains to assertions already made.

The military establishment fears that the introduction of women would weaken the institutional status of the military and their inclusion, especially in combat positions, would make the military more occupational than it is institutional. Moskos's point regarding the utilization of women with respect to the institutional/ occupational model supports this assertion. The assertion is even more valid when one considers the fact that military professionals, because they are experts in their field, offer policy advice to the civilian policy-makers, including personnel advice.

Abrahamsson makes several assertions regarding the political power of military professionals. He states that in practice, politicians leave some decisions to military commanders (because of their expertise) including decisions regarding " planning of, resource allocation to, and education of personnel for the armed forces (e.g., issues pertaining to the organization, distribution of resources between the services, **recruitment of manpower**,(sic) curricula of military schools, " (emphasis added)<sup>139</sup> Abrahamsson also argues that the military is not neutral in its policy advice to civilian policy-makers, it will strive to fulfil objectives and implement values that it sees as central to its self-preservation<sup>140</sup>

Based on Abrahamsson's assertion regarding the political power of the military profession, some conclusions can be drawn regarding the military as an institution and how it reacts to women. Given that Moskos has argued that the increased utilization of women points to an occupational trend or model, and given that military professionals offer policy advice to civilian policy-makers that is often central to the military's self-preservation, it can be asserted that the military will do anything and everything in its power to maintain its status quo as an institution, and what is more, an androcentric institution including, as will be discussed in later chapters, institutionalizing the tokenization of women. In order to maintain its status as not only an institution, but as a male-dominated institution, it is in the military establishments' best interests to exclude women as much as possible, even when faced with qualified personnel shortages. To

ensure this, women are restricted to token representation, particularly in the core, combat

Shields argues that the most severe integration problems in all-volunteer forces are when women enter non-traditional specialities, " , these women experience all the problems common to tokens "<sup>141</sup> Shaw also discusses the issue of tokenism with respect to women in the military He asserts that women in the British armed forces are still occupying traditional support positions, something that did not change even when British female military personnel were sent to the Persian Gulf in 1991 He also argues that

[t]here is little prospect of radical change in this situation, not least because the pressure is already on the armed forces to civilianize support roles and so reduce levels of military staffing even further The most likely outcome of such rationalization is the maintenance of the overwhelming male dominance in the forces themselves, with women's supporting roles pushed even more into the civilian sphere The inevitable cuts in military recruitment as a result of European detente are, moreover, hardly the most propitious circumstances for any radical opening up of new roles to women Nevertheless, 1989-90 has seen interesting moves in the direction of sex equality the Army announced that by posting women closer to the notional front line in the Rhine Army, an additional 10,000 jobs would be opened to them, the Royal Air Force decided to allow women to train as pilots, although still exempting them from 'direct combat' where possible [combat positions were opened to women in December 1991], and finally, the Navy agreed to allow Wrens (women sailors) on board warships, promoting speculation about a significant increase in the Women's Royal Navy Service It seems likely,



however, in the circumstances, that these signals of a willingness in principle to accommodate greater sexual equality will have largely token importance (emphasis added) <sup>142</sup>

Though these writers do not indicate that the token position of women in non-traditional military fields is due to the androcentric nature of the military institution, they recognize that women will not constitute more than token amounts in the non-traditional fields of the military, including combat. The hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in the combat arms positions of the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens does have a base in the writings in the field of military sociology and thus warrants further examination and explanation.

The notion of tokenism (which will be fully defined and detailed in Chapter Four) also warrants discussion in relation of the wider field of military sociology and the convergence/divergence and institutional/occupational hypotheses. As stated previously, the move towards the increased utilization of women in the military indicates a trend towards occupationalism while modern militaries in the three countries possess traits of both the institutional and occupational models, although remaining largely divergent from the mainstream society as partly indicated by their general reluctance to fully integrate women and homosexuals. However, the theory of tokenism (a concept used to study women in non-traditional civilian occupations), indicates a convergence with the larger

society from which it is drawn in that a phenomenon which negatively affects civilian women also affects servicewomen. However, the presence of tokenism within the armed forces which serves to keep women in combat positions to a token few, also serves the purpose of sustaining the institutional nature of the military and maintains the trend of institutionalization. Having a few token women in combat positions and restricting career access stems the trend towards occupationalization. It thus validates the institutional integrity of the military while appearing outwardly occupational in nature by having a few highly visible women in non-traditional occupations. Thus the hypothesis must be fit into the larger framework of the institutional/occupational hypothesis.

## CONCLUSIONS

Many ideas, thoughts, and theories have been examined in this chapter. The history of the evolution of the military was traced from the times of the feudal amateur gentleman through to the establishment of a professional officer corps. The evolution of the rise and decline of the mass army and the movement to all-volunteer forces in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom was also examined. The second section of the chapter examined how the military reacts to changes in society. This consisted of how the military adapts and reacts to technological changes, with particular emphasis on how this affects personnel policies. There was also a discussion of how the military reacts to social

changes This included the changing base of recruitment, from aristocratic to middle and working classes, the advent of all-volunteer forces, and personnel and economic problems faced by countries with all-volunteer forces

The third section of this chapter dealt with conflicting models of military organizations The notion of the military as a profession (as per Janowitz, Huntington, and Abrahamsson) was analyzed, including definitions of a profession in general and their application to the military's officer corps It was found that military officership is a profession according to a standard definition The notion of the military as an institution or a profession was then assessed with respect to the assertion that the military was moving towards an occupational model Moskos's institutional/occupational hypothesis was examined, as were the critiques of his models, and it was determined that the militaries of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom, though possessing elements of an occupation, are still largely institutional

The third section also included an examination of the blurring of the distinction between military and civilian society, the civilianizing of the military, the halting of the civilianizing trend and the reasons why blurring and civilianizing were occurring and later stopping This included an assessment of the convergence/divergence model of the military, as developed by Moskos It was found that because the militaries of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom are more institutional than occupational, they also diverge from

civilian society more than they converge, though convergence has occurred and still does occur to a limited extent

The fourth section of this chapter entailed a detailed critique of the literature. This section included a critical analysis of the problems faced by countries with all-volunteer forces and the literature detailing the problems. This was followed by an examination of the assertion that militaries are more institutional than they are occupational. There was then a discussion of why women should be allowed to occupy non-traditional positions, including combat. The section concluded with an examination of why women have not been utilized to their full-potential by the armed forces. It is argued that despite facing qualified personnel shortfalls, particularly in combat fields, the militaries are still androcentric institutions in their organization and outlook.

Military commanders may fear losing their institutional status and thus their distinction from the rest of society. By admitting women to combat, the "ideological core" of the military, the military appears to be approaching an occupational model, it is "just another job" and people are drawn by economic incentives, not to fulfil a "calling" or a sense of mission. Thus, in order to keep their distinct status, or institutional model, the military strives to restrict the inclusion of women, especially in the combat and near combat positions. If the military does allow women to enter combat positions, women could be tokens because of the androcentric bias.

However, before a detailed examination of the tokenization of women in the armed forces can be made a history of women warriors and the utilization of women in the armed forces of the three countries must first be detailed. As stated previously, the increased bureaucratization and centralization of the armed forces came at the expense of women as they were marginalized and eventually eliminated from 'modern' militaries, particularly in the era of mass armies sustained by the conscription of young males. The following chapter sets out the history of the role(s) of women warriors and female combatants prior to the advent of bureaucratized standing armies under centralized state control within the framework of an analysis of the notions of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression.

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## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THEORIES OF INHERENT FEMALE PACIFISM AND INHERENT MALE AGGRESSION: AN ASSESSMENT BASED ON THE HISTORY OF WOMEN WARRIORS AND FEMALE COMBATANTS**

The male element is a destructive force, stern, selfish, aggrandizing, **loving war, violence, conquest** (emphasis added), acquisition, breeding in the material and moral world alike discord, disease and death See what a record of blood and cruelty the pages of history reveal! The male element has held high carnival thus far, it has run fairly riot from the beginning, overpowering the feminine element everywhere, crushing out the diviner qualities in human nature The need of this hour is not territory, gold mines, railroads, or special payments, but a new evangel of womanhood, to exalt purity, virtue, morality, true religion, to lift man (sic) up into the higher realms of thought and action <sup>1</sup>

So wrote Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1868 as she expounded the virtues of women so that women would be enfranchised The notion of women as being morally upright and pure, and men as being violent and selfish is one that is written about by feminists and non-feminists alike Past and contemporary feminists have used the notion of the "pure" woman to argue for women's inclusion in the public sphere, i e voting and other rights Anti-feminists, both past and present have used the same argument for women's exclusion from enfranchisement, equality rights, and most recently, full utilization of women in the military, including combat arms positions

Related to the notions of the moral righteousness of women and the destructive nature of men is the concept that women are inherently peaceful and pacific, by and in nature, while men are inherently aggressive and warlike This chapter examines the notions of women's alleged pacifism and men's claimed aggression and passion for war This chapter also questions whether the theories of men's aggression and women's pacifism are valid bases for excluding or



attempting to exclude women from the combat arms position in the Armed Forces of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. The chapter critically examines the literature on the theories of women's pacifism and general aversion to war and assesses the theories' validity with respect to the notion of women in combat. It also provides an examination of the history of women warriors and female combatants as evidence for the rejection of the argument of inherent female pacifism.

Much of the available literature espouses the notion that women, by and large, are pacific, due to either nature or nurture, and thus, abhor war. Though the literature attempts to reinforce this concept of women as pacifist/men as aggressive, it does not adequately explain the presence of women in modern militaries, nor the existence of past women warriors such as Boadicea. Nor do the theories of female pacifism/male aggression adequately explain the existence of male pacifists, such as Mahatma Gandhi. This notion of female pacifism is one of the reasons (it can be hypothesized) why women are not allowed to hold combat arms positions in the military, and if allowed to hold these positions, why they are discouraged, not completely accepted, or have restricted or difficult access to the combat arms trades and positions, i.e. infantry, artillery, heavy armour, and fighter pilot and end up being tokens.

Closely related to the notions of female pacifism/male aggression is the concept of women as the bearers of life, not the takers of life. This is a theme that continually emerges from the literature and thus warrants examination as it is a biological determinist/socialization argument that is used by both the

feminist/pacifist camp and the anti-feminist/militarist faction. Yet there is no justification or verification for this distinction between women and men, as an assessment of the literature pertaining to the notions of female pacifism and male aggression shows.

## THEORIES OF FEMALE PACIFISM

Much of the literature examined espouses the notion of female pacifism. Women, according to the literature, are perceived as and perceive themselves as being peaceful and non-aggressive, as the establishment of all-female peace camps and movements, such as the Greenham Common, illustrates.<sup>2</sup> Writers throughout history have presented the position that equates women with pacifism and peace. For instance, Lady Mary Worthy Montague wrote in 1793 that women can perform military service, **but** women's sex makes them abhor war.<sup>3</sup> The quote at the beginning of the chapter by Cady Stanton, one of the leading nineteenth century suffragists, shows that there is an historical affirmation of the notion of women's pacifism.

Early feminists are not the only women who draw upon the notion of women's pacifism and exclusion from war. Nineteenth century anti-suffragists used the same notion as Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony to argue for the exclusion of women from public life, as the following quote from an unidentified anti-suffragist illustrates:

Man assumed the direction of government and  
war, woman of the domestic and family affairs

and the care and the training of the child It has been so from the beginning and it will continue to be so to the end, because it is in conformity to nature and its laws, and is sustained and confirmed by the experience of six thousand years The domestic altar is a sacred flame where woman is the high and officiating priestess

To keep her in that *condition of purity*, it is necessary that she should be separated from the exercise of suffrage and from all those stern and contaminating and demoralizing duties that devolves upon the hardiers sex - man (Emphasis added)<sup>4</sup>

Modern day anti-feminists, such as Phyllis Schlafly, utilize the same line of argument to restrict women's access to the public sphere and to maintain their (women's) supremacy in the home <sup>5</sup>

Twentieth century feminist writers have also put forth the notion that women are inherently pacifist and peaceful, mainly due to the fact that women are excluded from the institutions of power and thus are not corrupted Women also do not make actual formal decisions about war because of their exclusion from the public sphere and the decision-making process Virginia Woolf first put forth this view in her 1938 book Three Guineas Woolf states

For though many instincts are held more or less in common by both sexes, to fight has always been the man's habit, not the woman's Law and practice have developed that difference, whether innate or accidental Scarcely a human being in the course of history has fallen to a woman's rifle, the vast majority of birds and beasts have been killed by you [she was responding to a man], not by us, and it is difficult to judge what we do not share <sup>6</sup>

Many latter day feminists, writing from the 1970s to the present, expound the view that women, as a group, are inherently pacific and peaceful Ruth Roach Pierson states that the new feminist is "a maternalist, pacifist" feminist<sup>7</sup> This "new feminism" involves the idealization of motherhood, women who are part of this new feminism are often "Moral Mothers" who are concerned with and are identified with nurturing and peace<sup>8</sup> Hence the all-female peace encampment at Greenham Common in the 1980s Sharon MacDonald in the introduction to Images of Women in Peace and War. Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives (note the order of the words - peace and war) states that though women's relationship with peace is largely uncharted, occurrences such as the Greenham Common should not be regarded as anomalies, but as part of a long history of women's peace movements<sup>9</sup>

However that is not to say that all feminists of the 1970s women's movement glorified motherhood and expounded women's natural link with pacifism and peace Many radical feminists like Shulamith Firestone rejected motherhood and in fact wrote of the 'tyranny of the womb' Women can never be truly equal with men until they reject motherhood or the artificial womb is created to relieve women of their mothering duties In essence, biology is destiny and if women are to alter their destiny and become equal to men, motherhood and all of its ideals must be rejected Thus the women's movement and how women perceived themselves and their roles within society is more complex Many feminists and anti-feminists idealized motherhood and argued that women are inherently pacific because of biological considerations, while other feminists rejected

motherhood outright and urged other women to do the same in order to escape the destiny that biology held in store for them

But why are women generally associated with or associate themselves with peace and pacifism? Pierson states that though there are hypotheses that women are pacifists either by nature (predicating a biological reason for pacifism) or by socialization (meaning that women's pacifism is learned or acquired), there exists no evidence to support either of these hypotheses concerning why women are generally perceived or perceive themselves as pacifist Pierson qualifies this argument by stating the following

[t]his historic links between feminism and pacifism are counterbalanced by the instances when women have embraced revolution with hope and war with enthusiasm There has not been a consistent women's response to war and revolution any more than there has been a uniform feminist position on women's relation to organized violence <sup>10</sup>

History shows that for every Greenham Common, Pentagon Action Centre, or Women's Peace Party, there has been a Boadicea, a Joan of Arc, or a woman in combat fatigues bearing arms in either liberation armies or in various nations' armed forces Yet despite the fact that there have been and still are female soldiers/combatants, there persists this deeply-rooted perception that women are inherently peaceful and pacifist However, before the validity of the notion of inherent female pacifism can be evaluated, the origin of this perception must be examined

Most of the literature that expounds the notion of female pacifism argues that women tend to be more pacific than men because they are the sex that bears new life. Much of the feminist/pacifist and some of the anti-feminist/militarist literature makes the argument that women are the bearers of life, not the takers of life. As co-creators of life and the sex that brings forth/bears new life, women are either morally opposed to war or have biological functions which are incompatible with war and life taking. This is a deeply-rooted, historical notion that persists to this day.

Pierson traces the historical evolution of the theory of women as the bearers of life, not the takers of life. She states that even though women have been combatants and have performed well in all types of armed forces throughout history, women are still perceived as pacifist due to their life-bearing function and that motherhood is equated with self-sacrifice and tenderness.<sup>11</sup> Pierson states that the origin of this notion evolved out of the Industrial Revolution, for during the nineteenth century the notion of the male breadwinner/female homemaker became the ideological norm.<sup>12</sup> Motherhood became glorified (again) during this period and the Christendom of motherhood was emphasized.<sup>13</sup> It was during this period of time that the perception of female pacifism and motherhood meaning self-sacrifice and tenderness emerged. The association of women with peace and men with war gained credence during this period as well.<sup>14</sup>

Other feminist/pacifist writers also utilize the female life-bearer argument to explain why women tend to be more pacifistic than men.

Women's historical work was to create life and  
to nurture children, therefore 'feminine' and

'maternal' came to be associated with meekness, caring and mediation at times of conflict, rather than aggressiveness, fighting and death Hence women's exclusion from armies and their special ability to contribute to a culture of peace <sup>15</sup>

Addis takes the female life-bearer argument on several levels (a) because women bear life and nurture children, they are excluded from armies and have "special" associations with peace, (b) meekness and non-violent conflict resolution are seen to be 'feminine' because of **women's** historical role to 'create life and nurture children' Addis attempts to explain this co-relation between motherhood and peace that many feminist writers put forth Yet this is inadequate, there must be more to the association of women as life-bearers with the concepts of peace and pacifism, or the association of peace and pacifism with 'maternal' or 'feminine'

Jean Elshtain offers a deeper exploration of this perception that women as life-bearers are more pacifist and peaceful than men, who are aggressive, war-like and life-takers on a large, organized scale

Male and female bodies figure centrally in our shared reiterations of women and life giving, men and life taking Male bodies, straight, hard, are more fit for combat and toughening Male bodies are also more expendable in large numbers, from the First World War's "fallen" to Vietnam's "wasted" The dominant sex is also the one Western cultures have most enthusiastically bumped off This seems odd at first blush But consider female bodies - softening, rounding out, *giving* birth The bodies of young females are not expendable they are what re-creates and holds forth promise of a future The body of the young woman is not yet complete She needs time to *give* birth Then the men may take that life away if the life brought forth is one like themselves

Popular understandings of female givers, male takers, loft upward, becoming narrative truth for many, including contemporary scholars, male and female, and (some) feminists. Whatever women may finally do once wars have begun, women don't start them. Men are the first cause, the prime movers, of war<sup>16</sup>

Elshtain emphasizes the use of symbolism when describing the differences between male and female bodies, and how these physical differences manifest themselves into the symbolic gender differences in the roles women and men play in wars and in life. Elshtain also states

War is men's. Men are the historic authors of organized violence. Yes, women have been drawn in - and they have been required to observe, suffer, cope, mourn, honor, adore, witness, work. But the men have done the *describing* and *defining* of war, and the women are "affected" by it. They "mostly react."

Thus, to men's wars, women are backdrop. To women's homes and babies, men play similarly supporting roles. A man's involvement in paternity is inferential given his role in the procreative process. He may own the house, but she makes the home - if anybody does. Women's involvement in war seems to us similarly inferential, located somewhere offstage if war is playing.

For the most part we accept some rough and ready division between male life takers and female life givers, a cleavage enshrined through such symbolic vehicles as Beautiful Soul and Just Warrior<sup>17</sup>

As Elshtain's work illustrates, much of the literature points to the symbolism and imagery behind the differences in women and men's wartime and peacetime roles. It appears that much of the perceived differences between women and men



with respect to war are symbolic or image-laden, there exists no valid or tangible biological reason for these different responses and roles. MacDonald also draws upon the use of imagery in the introduction to Images of Women in Peace and War, the entire volume is dedicated to the images of women in wartime and peacetime. MacDonald also asserts that the sociological rationalizations of war and sex-differences rest on the perception that men are aggressive and that women are pacifist, caring, and maternal.<sup>18</sup> She goes on to state "the exigencies of female biology, especially motherhood, are frequently worked in explanations why women are not or should not be warriors."<sup>19</sup> Again, women's biology is drawn into the argument of female pacifism, without further explanation. This is one of the major shortcomings of the literature, no clear connection is made between female biology, i.e. women as life bearers, and female pacifism. It is not stated if it is a causal relationship being a mother or a potential mother causes women to be pacifist, or whether the images of women, as described by Elshtain, are so deeply-rooted within society that women as life bearers perceive themselves as physically incompatible with the image of soldiering, war, and life taking, or if the male decision-makers (politicians, dictators, chiefs) view women's bodies and their child-bearing capabilities as incompatible with war and life-taking. The literature presents subtle nuances and symbolic image-laden concepts regarding theories of female pacifism and why women perceive themselves and are perceived as pacifist and peaceful, usually couched in terms of the female life-bearing role. Yet the literature does not put forth any clearcut reasons why women perceive themselves or are perceived as

pacifist or peaceful Perhaps an examination of notions of male aggression will help explain why this perception of women exists

## THEORIES OF MALE AGGRESSION

Though much of the literature focuses upon women's roles and responses in wartime and peacetime, some of the writers also focus on the notion of male aggression The quote at the beginning of the chapter from Cady Stanton illustrates the long-standing belief that men are inherently aggressive, war-like, and destructive According to the literature there is ample justification for this belief, Elshtain states "[m]en are the first cause, the prime movers, of war " Historically men have been responsible for most of the declarations of war, and it is most often men who are called upon to fight wars

Elshtain traces the history of predominantly male war-making by examining ancient and current societies She notes that from ancient Greece (including Sparta and Athens), through early Christianity, the Middle Ages and the Crusades, the American and French Revolutions, all the way to twentieth century conflicts (including the two world wars, Vietnam), men have predominantly been the declarers of war and most often have been the warriors Granted women such as Boadicea, Joan of Arc, Elizabeth I, and Deborah Sampson (to name a few) have either declared war or lead/fought battles, but these women are the "Ferocious Few", the exceptions to the norm of male war-making<sup>20</sup> Elshtain argues that the reason for males warriors is linked to the

notion of citizenship Men as citizens of Greek cities, as citizens of Machiavelli's "republica", as citizens of Rousseau's "true cities" must fight to protect the city or to take over other territory<sup>21</sup> Only men are citizens, women are revered as "mothers-of-citizens" or "mothers-to-be", but are not citizens themselves<sup>22</sup> One can take Elshtain's argument of citizenship one step further and state that women did not become citizens of most Western countries until after the First World War, in that women in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom did not become enfranchised until between 1917 and 1920

The notion of citizenship can be used to explain why traditionally women have been excluded from wars and decisions about wars, and why men have typically done the war decision-making and the actual fighting The citizenship theory also gains credence when one finds that women were also admitted to the armed forces on a large scale during the Second World War, approximately twenty years after they became enfranchised or were recognized as citizens Though women served only in the auxiliary fields of nursing, communications, transport, supply, and administration during the wars of the early to mid twentieth century, they still managed to break into the bastion of men, the military But the concept of citizenship, as plausible as it may be for explaining why men historically have been the predominant declarers and fighters of wars, does not explain the notion of inherent male aggression and inherent female pacifism It may be true that men, because they are citizens of cities, states, or countries, have been the declarers and fighters of wars, but does it necessarily follow that men are therefore aggressive, either by nature or nurture Being a

citizen does not mean necessarily that men are aggressive or that they are inherently war-like. There must be more to the theory of inherent male aggression and the declaring and fighting of wars than citizenship. The question still remains why is there this deeply-rooted, traditional notion " that the defense of the nation is the responsibility of men"<sup>23</sup>

Citizenship does not answer fully the aforementioned question, as women are now legal citizens of their countries but are either prohibited or restricted in the positions that they can serve within their countries' armed forces. There must exist a deeply-rooted ideological, or at the very least, symbolic, reason why women are not fully integrated into the armed forces of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Feminists (and non-feminists) have put forth the argument that women as life bearers are inherently pacifist, men are inherently aggressive and war-like, thus are better suited to declaring and fighting wars.

Some feminists (and non-feminists) posit the hypothesis that " aggressiveness is seen as inherently, indeed, biologically, male "<sup>24</sup> Even if aggression may be deemed by some as inherently male, (though that is not the position put forth in this thesis for it will be shown that women are just as aggressive as men both individually and collectively), is it biological? As stated previously in the chapter there is no conclusive evidence that women are inherently pacifist, either through biology or socialization, it then can follow that there exists no conclusive evidence that men are inherently aggressive, due to either nature or nurture. The literature does not offer any evidence that men are

inherently aggressive and war-like, except for the quotes from Cady Stanton  
There appears to be a basic assumption that because men historically declare and  
fight wars, men as a sex-classified group inherently must be aggressive  
However, the literature does not attempt to verify this assumption that men are  
aggressive, it is simply taken for granted that men are inherently aggressive and  
war-like

The literature does state that the military is a bastion of manhood, it is the  
place where men can best prove they are "men", not women This concept of the  
military as a bastion of manhood is also cross-cultural and historical The Inka  
held warring as a male occupation, as was discovered during the Spanish  
conquest of South America in the sixteenth century "[b]eing a warrior was part  
of a masculine career, and a means through which men could obtain social  
recognition"<sup>25</sup> Even though women might assist in wars either through tending  
to the home and family, performing auxiliary roles such as nursing, transport,  
supplies, or communications, or actually assisting on the battlefield in a combat  
capacity, war is still seen as a "masculine career", connoting not feminine

Added to the notion that war is seen as a masculine career is the male  
dominance of the entire military system as is put forth by Cynthia Enloe

[T]he military, even more than other patriarchal  
institutions, is a male preserve, run by men and  
form men according to masculine ideas and  
relying solely on man power The military has  
been presented as inaccessible, a secret order that  
doesn't need women (excepts as sweethearts, pin-  
ups, or prostitutes) The great majority of women  
have had no first-hand experience inside the

military The very language of military life uses a vocabulary that is foreign to most women<sup>26</sup>

According to Enloe, the military is a male preserve, run by men for men to enable men to prove their masculinity or manhood. However, there is no mention of aggression, in that men join militaries in order to assert their male trait of aggression or war-making. So it cannot be assumed that men possess this so-called trait of aggression before they join the armed forces as will be illustrated later in this chapter.

Virginia Woolf puts forth three reasons why men go to war " war is a profession, a source of happiness and excitement, and it is also an outlet for manly qualities, without which men would deteriorate "<sup>27</sup> However, Woolf asserts that women cannot understand what instinct compels men to war or what glory they seek from war, as fighting to Woolf is a 'sex characteristic' (the female equivalent being maternal instinct) which women cannot begin to judge for they have been excluded from war (the decision-making and fighting processes) due to centuries of patriarchy<sup>28</sup> But Woolf does believe that men are no more naturally war-like than women are naturally peaceful<sup>29</sup> She does not argue that aggression is a natural trait in men and that pacifism is a natural trait in women, due to the fact that there exists male pacifists and female combatants<sup>30</sup> It is women's exclusion from the public sphere that does not allow women to understand why men war and what pleasures (if any) they derive from fighting. If Woolf and others seem to believe that men are not inherently

aggressive, where does the association between men and aggression, wars, and militaries come from?

Militaries have been called male preserves or bastions of manhood, Judith Stiehm calls the military "a male-defining institution"<sup>31</sup> It has also been stated that the military is run by men, for men to become "men" Enloe asserts that in the case of Filipino men dedicated to fighting a repressive regime who watched Rambo, "[i]t did seem as though men everywhere, even those in repressive movements who take up arms, yearn to prove their manhood through military adventure"<sup>32</sup> Yet if the military is a place where men can 'prove their manhood' and express their masculine trait of aggression, why are passivity and subservience (supposed feminine attributes that women possess) utilized and reinforced throughout men's basic training, and indeed throughout men's military careers?

The literature, and popular culture as represented by various modern Hollywood war movies, illustrates that drill sergeants (the people who undertake most of the new recruits' basic training) play on the manhood/"woman" theme<sup>33</sup> Throughout men's basic training, it is argued, the recruits are called "ladies", "girls", or "women"<sup>34</sup> The reason why men are called "ladies" or "girls", the various authors assert, is in order to prepare for combat men must be stripped of any feminine qualities<sup>35</sup> Men remain passive throughout basic training, and this passivity is reinforced by calling recruits "girls" or "ladies"<sup>36</sup> The recruits are passive and subservient, taking orders from a "real man" and are called "girls" to remind them that they are not yet men, as defined by the military The male

recruits will become "men" after basic training, and only then will they have masculine attributes that are prescribed in accordance with the military definition of masculinity<sup>37</sup>

However, nowhere in the literature does it state that aggression is an inherently male attribute, though there are numerous references and allusions to the notion of passivity being a female trait. The female trait of passivity is drawn upon during basic training through calling recruits "ladies", but does that necessarily mean that this notion of female pacifism/male aggression is legitimate? If men must remain passive and thus "feminine" or "woman-like" throughout basic training and must be trained to become "men" as defined by the military, is not the supposedly male trait of aggression learned through basic training? That is to say, if male recruits have to be taught or have drilled into them the supposed male trait of aggression, then they must not have possessed aggression, or at least not military-defined aggression, prior to enlistment and basic training.

Enloe refers to the aforementioned phenomenon as "militarized masculinity", in that militaries have to force men to believe that for men, a relationship with the military is the best way to prove that they are "real men"<sup>38</sup>. This notion of militarized masculinity harks back to the argument that men are taught or have drilled into them, such masculine traits as aggression and fighting. Thus, one cannot assume that aggressiveness and the desire to fight and kill existed within the recruits prior to basic training. It is during the basic training that the recruits are trained to become aggressive, to fight and kill - to become "men" as defined



by the military (and perhaps society?) Given that the military has to teach recruits such "male" traits as aggression, it cannot be concluded that men are inherently aggressive, or at least are not aggressive enough to fight wars and kill other people. If anything, men possess the so-called "feminine" trait of passivity prior to the completion of basic training (as exemplified by calling recruits "ladies" or "girls") and must be trained by the military to be aggressive, to fight wars, and to ultimately kill.

Because men, according to most written history, have traditionally done the declaring and fighting of wars, it could be that aggression has been designated as a typically male attribute. Women, according to written history, have not traditionally done the declaring and fighting of wars, thus passivity, pacifism, and peace are defined as feminine or woman-like attributes or situations. However, the literature does not verify conclusively the hypotheses that either due to nature or nurture, men are inherently aggressive and women are inherently pacific. These hypotheses' credibility is questioned even more when one takes into account that neither of them adequately explains why there are women who willingly enter the military, why there are male pacifists, and why women warriors/combatants have existed in the past and still exist today. All of these questions throw the preconceived notions that people have regarding male aggression and female pacifism into doubt.

## MEN AS PACIFISTS?

If men are supposed to be inherently aggressive, then the presence of male pacifists must be seen as an anomaly, or that male pacifists are not really "men". However, the existence of such pacifist luminaries as Mahatma Gandhi, the Dalai Lama, and soldiers like Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon makes one question the generalization that men are inherently aggressive. Even the existence of the First World War's shell-shocked soldiers destroyed the image of masculine war heroes.<sup>39</sup> Nor were the incidents of shell-shock limited, by 1918, in the United Kingdom alone, there were eighty thousand diagnosed cases of shell-shock.<sup>40</sup> The sheer number of shell-shock cases indicates that men are not immune to the horrors of war. This in turn challenges the traditional notion of male aggression and the image of the masculine war hero.

If war is supposed to be a man's game and an "outlet for manly qualities", why did so many men suffer from shell-shock, why did men and why do men desert the military, and why do men resist conscription by stating that they are conscientious objectors? If aggression is a truly male attribute, there would not be desertion from armies or conscientious objectors to conscription, or at least not on a large scale. The existence of so many victims of shell-shock shows that though men can be aggressive and fight wars, they are also vulnerable to the trauma brought on by fighting. Shell-shock indicates that men can also be destroyed psychologically and emotionally by wars and lose their will to fight,

like Sassoon's refusal to return to the front-line and his and Owen's pacific writings

Elise Boulding argues that there is a gap between the image of men as aggressive and war-like, and the actual behaviour of men, the common view of male behaviour ignores pacifist and peace-loving men like Gandhi, St Francis, and U Thant<sup>41</sup> Sassoon's pacifist piece "A Soldier's Declaration" and Wilfred Owen's poems describing the horrors of war (e.g. "Strange Meeting" and "Dulce et Decorum Est") illustrate that even soldiers do not necessarily want to be part of wars, or express aggression. If aggression is an inherent male trait, why do male pacifists exist? None of the literature adequately explains the existence of male pacifism. Nor does the literature adequately explain why men must remain passive during basic military training and are taught to be aggressive in accordance with military standards. These two situations call into question the notion of inherent male aggression. Due to the fact that male pacifism exists and the fact that the military teaches men to become "men", i.e. aggressive and ready to fight wars and kill, it cannot be concluded that men are inherently aggressive - to assert such a notion is to over-generalize. Yes, typically it has been men who have done the declaring and fighting of wars, but much of the history of wars and the world has been written by men<sup>42</sup> It was also typically citizens of states who were allowed to fight wars. If enfranchisement is considered a prerequisite for citizenship, women were not allowed to vote until after the First World War, thus were not recognized as citizens until after that point in time. But there is something more than citizenship as a requirement to fight and more than the

existence of male pacifists that causes us to question the notions of inherent male aggression and inherent female pacifism, that is female aggression or women warriors. The very existence of female warriors raises doubts about the notion of female pacifism<sup>43</sup>

### WOMEN AS AGGRESSORS?

The literature reinforces the notion of female pacifism but fails to explain adequately the presence of women within militaries and women who declare wars, nor does it adequately explain the notion of female aggression. As stated previously, there is no conclusive evidence that women are inherently pacifist. It is a fact that women have been mobilized for war in both the civilian and military sectors, " , the realities of the two world wars contradicted the myth that war compels men to go forth and fight in order to protect their women who remain passive and secure at home with the children "<sup>44</sup> Women have enlisted in the military, worked in defence industries, been active participants in resistance and liberation movements and not just in the "traditional" female roles of nursing and support (transport, supply, and administration), but in combat as infantry and artillery soldiers, and as fighter pilots. The very presence of women warriors calls into question the notion of inherent female pacifism, if women are inherently pacifist, why do they join the military or disguise themselves as men (in the past) in order to enlist?

Boulding asserts that women have the same capacity for violence as men, just as men have the same capacity for nurturance as women <sup>45</sup> This assertion calls into question the validity of the theories of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression. If women, as a sex-classified group, are inherently pacifist, then there should only be a few women, anomalies, who wish to join their nations' armed forces, but this is not the case. In the United States military, there were 221,649 women out of a total force strength of 2,123,669 <sup>46</sup> The sheer number of women who voluntarily enlisted in the American Armed Services indicates that the notion of inherent female pacifism is not as widely-held a trait as the literature would have us believe.

Elshtain asserts

We know women can be brave, but doubt they can be ruthless. We know those made of sterner stuff will defend themselves and their children in the final redoubt, the home/land itself, but doubt women will march out to a nation's defense. We know women have been in uniform, but think of auxiliary services, support, non combat duties. We can accept female spies, for that is a sexualized and manipulative activity given to our Mata Hari-dominated image of it. We think rarely of women who have *actually* fought, who have signed themselves up by disguising themselves as men or volunteering their services to resistance and guerilla movements, <sup>47</sup>

We do not think of female combatants, though they have existed, because traditionally it has been men who do the fighting. If women declare war or fight battles, they are dismissed as exceptions, anomalies, or men in women's clothes (though they were sometimes women in men's clothes). Women are not

normally equated with violence,<sup>48</sup> be it organized violence (wars) or unorganized violence (terrorism, riots, insurrections) But just because we do not equate women with aggression does not mean that women are incapable of violence, there are historical examples that cause us to question the notion of inherent female pacifism

## **HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF WOMEN WARRIORS**

As stated previously, war is a man's field, or is perceived to be an exclusively male domain Throughout history war has been seen as men's work or duty This attitude persists to the present day despite the fact that historically there existed numerous capable women warriors and war leaders However, the historical contributions and documentation of these contributions often has been omitted by the chroniclers of the history of war History is filled with examples of women warriors like Boadicea and Rani of Jhansi There also exists numerous accounts of Amazon warriors, even though their existence is questionable to some, they were still seen and chronicled as worthy war adversaries by the ancient Greeks

Because much of the history is written by men, women's participation in wars beyond the traditional nursing, and later, clerical and administrative functions, is largely ignored Many of the mainstream military history books ignore or give only cursory examination to female war declarers, warriors, and soldiers John Keegan in both his recently updated Who's Who in Military History and A

History of Warfare fails to give even a passing mention to female war leaders and declarers like Boadicea and Margaret Thatcher though he discusses the Roman occupation of Britain and the Falklands War in some detail <sup>49</sup>

It is only when history books dedicated to the history of women are examined that the true extent of women's contribution to war and conflict becomes apparent. Because of a dearth of information regarding women and their contributions to war as **warriors** in the mainstream literature, alternate sources were consulted, that is history books about women written by women. This section examines the history of women warriors, war leaders and combatants from ancient times to the present. The well-known examples of the Amazons and Boadicea are reviewed as are less well-known examples of women warriors. This section is not intended to be an exhaustive examination of the history of women warriors, but details examples of female combatants.

This section examines and illustrates the numerous examples of women warriors throughout history. The Amazons and Boadicea are examined in detail as examples of women warriors who challenge and ultimately negate the notion of female pacifism. Other women warriors examined in this section are both mythical and real, Athena, Tamara of Georgia, Mathilda, Joan of Arc, and the Rani of Jhansi and their contributions to military history are reviewed. This section is not intended to be a comprehensive history of women warriors but is designed to illustrate the argument that women have in fact proven themselves to be capable combatants and war leaders. The section begins with an examination of women warriors in the ancient world.

Throughout the ancient world there is scattered but abundant evidence of women fighting under arms, fighting as soldiers in the front-line engagements that conventional wisdom decrees have always been reserved for men. Ruling queens led their troops in the field, not as ceremonial figureheads but as acknowledged and effective war-leaders. Tamyris, the Scythian warrior queen and ruler of the Massagetae tribe of what is now Iran, commanded her army to victory over the invading hordes of Cyrus the Great, and had the great king put to death in revenge for the death of her son in battle. Ruling women also commanded military action at sea, as the Egyptian queen Cleopatra did at the battle of Actium, where her uncharacteristic failure of nerve cost her the war, the empire, her lover Antony and her life. Warrior queens were particularly celebrated in Celtic Britain, where the great goddess herself always bore a warlike aspect. The pre-Christian chronicles contain numerous accounts of female war-leaders like Queen Maedb (Maeve) who commanded her own forces, and who, making war on Queen Findmor, captured fifty of the enemy queen's women warriors single-handed at the storming of Dun Sobhairche in county Antrim.<sup>50</sup>

There are numerous examples of known women warriors, that is people who have actual credible existence. However, the notion of women warriors goes beyond "real" people, and can be taken to mythical beings whose existence is not so credible. Athena, the Greek goddess of war and wisdom is one such example whose myths must be examined.

Myths are as culturally important as written history as they are reflection of culture and beliefs. Claude Lévi-Strauss in his book Myth and Meaning attempted to make sense of the significance and meaning of myths. Lévi-Strauss argued that myths are not unique to a single culture or society, they appear all



over the world. However, " myths of a given population can only be interpreted and understood in the framework of the culture of that population "51

Thus myths are not only culture specific but time specific

Levi-Strauss also asserts that history is merely a continuation of mythology and that in Western societies history has replaced mythology<sup>52</sup> He queries " where does mythology end and history start? In the case, entirely new to us, of a history without archives, there being of course no written documents, there is only a verbal tradition, which is claimed to be history at the same time "53

Myths can be a form of oral history passed down along generations in an era prior to written history. Myths have been and still are used to detail or explain practices, beliefs, or traditions and are sometimes centred around historical events. The literal translation of the Greek word *mythos*, from which the word myth is derived, is "oral history". Though the Greek goddess Athena (and all other gods and goddesses) may not have actually existed, stories of their origins and lives in mythological lore allowed ancient Greeks to understand their universe.

The "myth" of the Amazons can also be explained in terms of the aforementioned explanation of myth. Myths are a form of oral history, thus the below described existence of a tribe or society of war-mongering women called the "Amazons" can be an oral history of wars fought by the Greeks against matriarchal societies, or armies which had women warriors, something the ancient Greeks did not conceive of in their own society. The significance of the Amazons must be held in this context.

Athena, according to Greek myths, was born from her father Zeus's head "While her [Athena] mother was pregnant, Zeus swallowed her and, in time, at the stroke of the axe of Hephaestus, Athena was born, as befits a goddess of wisdom, out of the head of Zeus, fully armed and uttering her war cry"<sup>54</sup> Athena, according to the legends, was the patroness of wisdom, which is a masculine quality to the ancient Greeks However, it is the notion of a goddess of war that is most interesting

As stated previously war in ancient Greece was a man's occupation, only men were warriors, women were the keepers of the home, hearth, and children The Greeks did have a god of war, Ares, but Athena was also ascribed warrior status "She is also a warrior goddess, protector of the citadel, armed with shield, spear, and helmet In this capacity she is patroness of a number of mortal warriors and heroes"<sup>55</sup> Despite the ancient Greek society being a patriarchal one, they still had a goddess of war It is not understood why, according to Greek mythology, a woman was ascribed the masculine traits of war and wisdom, but legends state Athena possessed these traits and was seen as capable in both her capacities

Another example of legendary women warriors in ancient Greek society is that of the Amazons Amazons, according to Greek legends are " - a fierce, warlike nation of women"<sup>56</sup> Amazons reject womanhood and take on a traditionally male activity, fighting wars Amazons are not portrayed as passive women they are trained warriors deemed to be worthy adversaries by the Greeks The existence of a nation of women known as "Amazons" has been questioned throughout history, but writings of credible authors like Pliny, Strabo,

Herodotus, Aeschylus, Diodorus, Homer, Virgil, and Plutarch about the Amazons offer credibility to their existence

According to the legends, Amazons were a race of women warriors who lived at the outside borders of the "known" world, usually near the Black Sea or Northern Anatolia who had institutionalized warfare to such an extent that their right breasts were removed for easier weapon use<sup>57</sup> The Amazons were said to have annexed most of Asia Minor using curved double-axes to conquer people and territories. Amazons were credited with founding cities and sanctuaries and establishing temples and countries. Smyrna, Sinope, Cyme, Gryne, Pitania, Magnesia, Clete, Mytilene, and Amastris all credit Amazons as being their founders<sup>58</sup> However, it is the Greek myths regarding wars with the Amazons that most recall about the Amazons

Homer's The Iliad, Virgil's The Aeneid, and Plutarch's The Life of Theseus (which is based on Aesop's lost book, circa 4 B C) all provide descriptions of the Amazons. According to the ancient writings there were several battles between the Amazons and the Greeks, one taking place at the Amazon capital of Themiscyra at the River Thermodon in Asia Minor, another taking place in Athens, and a third at Troy during the Trojan War. In the first conflict Heracles was sent, as one of his labours, to retrieve the girdle of the queen of the Amazons, Hippolyte, also known as Antiope. Hippolyte listened to Heracles' request and asked him to wait while she made her decision. Hera arrived disguised as an Amazon and told Hippolyte that Heracles came to kidnap her and that the girdle request was simply a ruse. The Amazon women rallied

around their queen and refused to let Heracles near Hippolyte. After a fierce battle, Heracles with the help of Theseus, defeated the Amazons, Heracles departed with the girdle and Theseus departed with Hippolyte who he married once back in Athens.<sup>59</sup> Hippolyte, according to legend, gave birth to Hippolytus, another Greek god.

The second war between the Amazons and the Greeks took place in Athens. The Amazons, enraged by the kidnapping of their queen, set off to retrieve Hippolyte and seek revenge. According to Plutarch, the Amazon army came to Athens from Themiscyra by land, marching over Cimmerian Bosphorus and through Thrace before arriving in Athens. Plutarch does not doubt the Amazons' presence in Athens ' the fact that they encamped almost in the heart of the city is attested both by the names of the localities there and the graves of those who fell in battle.<sup>60</sup> Antiope, the alternate name for Hippolyte is the name of a street in Athens. The siege of Athens by the Amazons is said to have taken place over several months, with a truce finally ending the siege.<sup>61</sup>

Another battle between the Greeks and the Amazons took place during the Trojan War when the Amazons were in Troy as allies of the Trojans. However, the Amazons were not of much help to the Trojans as shortly after their arrival, Penthesilea, the Amazon queen who was leading the Amazon army, was slain by Achilles.<sup>62</sup> But the intrigue of the Amazons did not end with their defeat at Troy, stories involving Amazons continued to emerge throughout the ages. Alexander the Great (circa 356-323 B C ) was said to have cavorted with an Amazon, and even in the twelfth century A D , Adam Bremen wrote of Amazons living in the

Far East<sup>63</sup> The attack of Athens by the Amazons was supposed to have taken place during the thirteenth century B C and the Trojan War took place between 1350 and 1100 B C Though no written record of the Amazon seige of Athens or the Amazons' participation in the Trojan War exists from the time period in which the battles were fought, later records of Amazons and their military battle prowess survive

These records are in both written and art form As stated previously, several Greek writers detailed the escapades of the Amazons Homer wrote that when the Amazons helped the Achaians fight the Trojan War, the Amazons were considered "men's equals" in warfare<sup>64</sup> Art work also depicts Amazons in battle with the Greeks The Parthenos Shield (c 447-432 B C ) depicts the battle between the Greeks and the Amazons The Bassae Frieze from the Temple of Apollo (420-400 B C ) depicts a battle between the Amazons and the Greeks, with both Amazon and Greek war dead being shown Heinrich Schliemann, who discovered the ancient city of Troy, also found at Tiryns, a terra-cotta shield fragment, circa eighth to seventh century B C , with either Achilles or Heracles battling an Amazon<sup>65</sup> The Amazons are also depicted at the Athenian treasury at Delphi, and on the throne and footstool of the statue of Zeus at Olympia.<sup>66</sup> Amazons also appear on many *amphora* vases from early to late 500 B C These vases show Amazons fighting Greeks, including Heracles and Achilles, the Amazons armed with daggers, shields, and spears However, despite the abundance of artistic renderings of the Amazons, and written works of their

escapades, little hard evidence of a nation or tribe of women warriors known as "Amazons" has been found <sup>67</sup>

The lack of hard evidence makes the existence of the Amazons questionable

Some argue

[w]hether the Amazons had a historical existence is unprovable. It appears not to be beyond the realm of possibility that exclusively female societies existed. Herodotus relates that the Amazons succumbed to the Scythians, whose historical reality has never been questioned, and that the Amazons and the Scythians together thus became the ancestors of the Sauromatae. The Amazons yielded to the Scythians partially because they preferred sex to victory.

On the other hand, the fact that many Greek heroes had to test their strength against them leads one to suspect that the Amazons could have been either a totally mythical fiction or a group whose eccentricities inspired many false tales. <sup>68</sup>

However, there are others who do not dispute the existence of a group of women warriors known as "Amazons "

Internecline feuds, revolutions, changes in dynasty, and massacres of one group of men by another unsettled a great number of women and brought together a good many of them who had been accustomed to fighting in the army and participating in all the pursuits of the men. Probably there were several female armies founded from remnants of diverse tribes, scattered over broad stretches. "Amazons" is a collective name for **belligerent** hordes of women with self-government, whose aversion to any kind of permanent matrimonial ties varies in graduation. <sup>69</sup>  
(Emphasis added)

Thus the Amazons could have been groups of women who fought after men left the areas in which they were living, or women living in matriarchal societies who warred with men

It is the origin of the word "Amazon" which seems to have caused much controversy regarding the existence of a tribe or tribes of warring women. Diner states

[t]here is some doubt about the origin of their Greek designation *A-Maza* would mean "no barley bread," that is, those who live without bread. The derivation *A-Mazo* was more popular, it was supposed to come from *amastos*, "without breast," referring to the burning of the lacteal gland on all girls, through the application of hot irons, when they reached their eighth year. With some groups, the breast was merely limited in growth by being tied up with cloth, a custom surviving in such countries as Japan.<sup>70</sup>

The traditional origin of the word amazon is *A-Mazo*, without breast. However, Diner argues that the origin of "amazon" could come from the Cherkessian *emetchi* meaning "those who count by the mother", indicating a matriarchal tribe, or from the Kalmuck language, with *aemetzaine* meaning strong heroic women.<sup>71</sup> The origin of the word "amazon" and the meaning of the word are in as much dispute as the question of the actual existence of the group of women warriors.

The debate over the existence of a tribe or groups of tribes of fierce, war-like women collectively known as Amazons has yet to be resolved. But the debate over their existence has two possible meanings. First, Amazons could be as Diner described, a collective group of women warriors who banded together to

fight However, if the Amazons are a myth or eccentric group(s) of women whose exploits inspired tall tales, the notion of women warriors still cannot be dismissed The fact that the legends of the Amazons continue to emerge throughout history shows that the notion of women warriors, who ultimately may be defeated in wars but are still viewed as capable adversaries, is not entirely unfathomable

Thus whether myth, reality, or exaggeration of the truth, the Amazons as an example of women warriors is significant If the Amazons, as a band of women warriors did exist (and there is no reason to doubt that they did), then they undermine the theory of inherent female pacifism in that they were a collective group of women warriors and not single women or a few fighting on their own The Amazons illustrate that ancient societies had collective groups of female fighters who were not seen as exceptions, but were the norm Even if Amazons are an exaggeration of the truth (e.g. battling Heracles and removing their right breasts) they still cause us to question the notion of inherent female pacifism for though they may not have battled gods they did fight wars with other societies and acquire territory

Even as mythical beings like the Centaurs who also battled the Greeks, the Amazons are nonetheless important Myths are oral histories and must be understood in the context of the society which developed the myths As Athenians and Spartans did not utilize women warriors (and in fact relegated women to the home and non-citizenry), societies with whom they did battle which used women warriors or were in fact matriarchal societies with



predominantly female soldiers were quite unlike their own. Thus stories about battles fought with societies with women warriors could have been exaggerated to the extent that the women were said to have removed their right breasts for better warring, indicating the fighting expertise of the Amazons. By attributing such qualities as "fierce" to the Amazons and writing about though not portraying in visual art the removal of breasts, the ancient Greeks indicate that the Amazons are not "typical" women, they are masculinized to conform to their concept of warriors, though other societies' conceptualization of women warriors may differ particularly if they used female soldiers.

The "myth" of the Amazons told not only by the ancient Greeks, but regaled throughout the centuries is significant as it represents the general acceptance of the idea of wars fought with or against women warriors or soldiers, not just on an individual, exceptional woman basis, but against a collective of women. This history of women warriors known collectively as "Amazons" dispels the commonly held perception that only exceptional women fought as soldiers.

Now that the issue of "mythical" women warriors has been presented, attention can be focused on women warriors and war leaders who have a firm place in history, though are not generally credited by mainstream historians as being capable warriors. The first woman warrior to be examined is Boadicea. Boadicea came to power when her husband Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, died in 59 or 60 A.D. She was allowed to rule as regent for her two daughters in the established Roman client kingdom. The local Roman authorities rejected Prasutagus's will and seized his assets. After that point, according to history,

Boadicea was flogged and her daughters were raped by the Romans. Most historians assume that it was the flogging and the rapes that provoked the Iceni to war against the Romans. However, these outrages do not explain why other tribes joined Boadicea and the Iceni in trying to oust the Romans from Britain. Thus, some assert that the rebellion was in part due to the Roman rule of the area and the Roman financial exploitation of the people and land appropriations.<sup>72</sup> Whatever spurred the Celts to fight is not the main issue. The Celts were led to fight by a woman - Boadicea. She gave a rousing speech the night before the Iceni and other tribes departed to fight the Romans.

Later, Boadicea is said to have prayed to the Celt goddess of war, Andraste or Andaste.<sup>73</sup> The Iceni and the Trinovantes (120,000 warriors in total according to Dio Cassius) went to Cumulodunum (Colchester) and fought the Romans there. The Celts later went to Londinium to sack and raze that city as well. After ancient London was burned, Boadicea and the Celts went to Verulamium (St Albans) where they were ultimately defeated by the Romans under Suetonius. According to the account of Tacitus, Boadicea did not die in battle, but killed herself after the defeat of the Iceni.

In history Boadicea is seen as an anomaly, perhaps provoked by outrages committed against her and her daughters, but certainly not representative of Celtic women. However, it is entirely possible that the story of Boadicea is the only surviving account of Celtic women warriors leading battles against oppressors like the Romans. The Celts had a goddess of war, and it is said in Celtic mythology that women influenced battles through magic or actually

participated on the battlefield. Because of the examples of women warriors within the northern Gaelic and Celtic people, Boadicea may have been within the bounds of her society to act as a war leader<sup>74</sup>

The notion of Celtic women warriors is given further credence by the fact that when several male Celtic Britons were captured by the Romans in A.D. 50 and brought to Emperor Claudius, they ignored the Emperor and offered obeisance to Empress Agrippina<sup>75</sup>. Despite the fact that Boadicea and the Iceni were ultimately defeated at Verulamium, the fact that under Boadicea's leadership they were able to defeat two cities attests to Boadicea's warrior status and military expertise.

Like the Greeks with the Amazons, the Romans' written records of battles with the Celts may portray women warriors like Boadicea as exceptions for in their own society women were not warriors. However, within Celtic society, women warriors were not deemed as exceptions, but rather the norm. The fact that women influenced or participated in battle in Celtic mythology indicates a tradition of female fighters. The norm of Celtic women warriors is furthered by the existence of a goddess of war and the offering of obeisance to the Empress whilst ignoring the Emperor. Thus, like societies known collectively as the Amazons, the Celts may have had a tradition of women warriors which adds to the history of societies with female fighters that causes us to question the notion of inherent female pacifism.

Other tribes also warred with the Romans in parts of continental Europe. In the Punic wars of approximately 100 B C, Germanic tribes with women warriors also battled against Roman soldiers.

The Germanic tribes also had another very matriarchal type of institution, the Amazon element, the armored maidens, the Valkyrie. At the first terrible collision of the Romans with the Cimbri and Teutons, the battle with the armed women was more difficult for the Romans than the fight with the men. The later linguistic distinction between "distaff side" and the "sword side" would have been very mistaken at a time when the tall Teutonic maidens' dowries included no spindles ("distaff") at all, but rather a complete suit of armor with spear, sword, and shield, not for the bridegroom, but for the bride's own usage. The Romans always found many female corpses on German battlefields, and the archaeologists have unearthed many skeletons of Germanic women with the insignia of war and in full armor.<sup>76</sup>

Thus, there is archaeological evidence of women warriors during the time of the Roman conquest of Europe. Though there are few written accounts of the "Valkyries'" military expertise, there are Roman accounts of women war dead from battles with Germanic tribes.

In the third century, an Arab woman, Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra led her people to war against the Romans. In 266 or 267 A D, upon her husband Odaenat's death, Zenobia assumed regency of Palmyra for her son, and by 269 A D had declared war on Egypt and taken over Syria to add to its territory.<sup>77</sup> By 270, Zenobia had conquered Bithynia and declared independence from Rome. The final battle between Palmyra and Rome took place in 271 on the banks of

Orontes with Zenobia leading approximately seventy thousand troops into battle. The Palmyrenes lost to Rome and Zenobia was taken to Rome as part of the "Emperor's Triumph" parade.<sup>78</sup> Though Zenobia ultimately lost to the Romans, she still masterminded the military takeover of several countries, illustrating that women are capable military strategists.

Other early female war leaders include Aethelflaed, King Alfred's eldest daughter whose marriage to Aethelred of Mercia led to the union of Wessex and Mercia.

Aethelflaed, born about 870 and dying in 918, was generally known as the Lady of the Mercians rather than the Queen (although the Annales Cambriae referred to her as Regina at her death). Whatever her title Aethelflaed seems to have held joint authority with her husband during his lifetime, profiting from his illness and subsequent death to assume sole control, her numerous campaigns against the Danes and the Norse included leading her troops personally to victory at Derby.<sup>79</sup>

Another English woman who declared war to obtain the throne was Empress Matilda, or Maud. In 1127, Henry I made the barons and bishops swear allegiance to his daughter Matilda who was later sent to marry Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. Matilda lost favour with the bishops and barons, they switched allegiance to her cousin Stephen, grandson of William the Conqueror, who was crowned at Westminster before Matilda could be crowned. By 1139 Matilda had regained the loyalty of some of the barons and bishops and began to press her demand that she be crowned ruler. In 1141, at Matilda's insistence, a battle took place at Lincoln with Stephen being defeated and Matilda becoming monarch.

Matilda ruled for nine months until Stephen's release whereupon he regained the crown<sup>80</sup> Though Matilda did not actually fight as a warrior, a war was declared on the King at her insistence, illustrating that women also have the bellicosity to have wars declared in order to assume power for themselves

Georgia's Queen Tamara (Thamar) co-ruled with her father King Giorgi from 1178 until 1184, when she became sole ruler of Georgia upon her father's death She exiled her first husband, remarried, and subsequently had two children Tamara pursued policies of military expansion during her reign, making and plotting battles, demonstrating expertise in military strategy She embarked on field speeches, like one made in 1196 in Cambetch But Tamara is most well-known for her participation in the Battle of Basiane in 1205 against the Turks Tamara marched with the Georgian army to the encampment in the traditional way of monarchs - barefoot, and gave a rousing speech the night before the battle The day of the battle, Tamara mounted her horse, but could not participate in the battle due to exhaustion, yet watched from the sidelines<sup>81</sup>

Joan of Arc is another example of a female war-leader who proved to be quite capable in the capacity of soldier Joan is said to have heard the voices of Saints Michael, Catherine, and Margaret, when she was approximately sixteen years old, telling her to aid the dauphin Charles VII who was being kept off the French throne by the English She convinced Robert de Baudriher (the military governor of Valcouleurs) to grant her an interview with the dauphin Joan (in male garb) and six companions journeyed to convince the dauphin to furnish her with troops Joan convinced Charles to give her troops and led these troops to victory

against the English in 1429 at Orleans, and later Patay Charles VII was restored to the throne and Joan was at his right side during his coronation She lost favour with the monarch when she led an unsuccessful seige against Paris in 1429 She was captured by the Burgundians who sold her to the English in 1430, was tried and found guilty of heresy She relapsed and was burnt at the stake in 1431, guilty of heresy In 1456 Charles VII revoked the guilty verdict and restored her innocence<sup>82</sup>

The participation of women in the declaration and fighting of wars is not restricted to the annals of classical antiquity Women in early modern and modern history have also shown themselves to be declarers of war and capable fighters in liberation and resistance movements, as well as in revolutions and wars both as individuals and in collective female efforts

Another challenge to the notion of inherent female pacifism comes from the Inka women's participation in battles against the Spanish in South America during the conquest of the sixteenth century Spanish historians have made frequent reference to women near or on the battlefields of South America, some of whom brandished such weapons as slings<sup>83</sup> Some of the women used their slings against the Spanish invaders with a degree of skill, indicating that they had practised with slings previously<sup>84</sup> Though it is not recorded if Inka women always participated actively on the battlefields, Inka art does show images of breasts, slings and the taking of heads<sup>85</sup> The images shown by Inka art, combined with the fact that female Inka monarchs and deities like Princess Chanan Cori Coca and Pachamama are also portrayed as war-like and

aggressive,<sup>86</sup> illustrates that Inka women may not have been full-fledged warriors, but they did participate in fighting and did possess the attribute typically ascribed to men, aggression

During the French Revolution, women protested and rioted in the streets. Women also marched to Versailles to demand bread and that Paris have a resident King.<sup>87</sup> By 1791, women were protesting violently against price increases in sugar and coffee and eventually raided warehouses and stores in search of food.<sup>88</sup> The women of France did not sit passively at home waiting for the men to bring food, they rioted in the streets, demanding bread, sugar, and coffee. Though women were not officially part of the organized violence of the French Revolution, they did protest and riot, illustrating that women are capable of random violence and acts of aggression.

On the other side of the Atlantic, in the United States, aboriginal women of various Indian bands were also noted for their expertise on the battlefield. John Cremony gave this 1851 account of Apache women:

Many of the women delight to participate in predatory excursions, urging on the men, and actually taking part in conflicts. They ride like centaurs and handle their rifles with deadly skills. I cannot conceive why the bullet sped by a woman should not be quite as much an object of danger as the one shot from the weapon of a man. In the estimate made, no account is taken of the fighting women, who are numerous, well trained, and desperate, often exhibiting more real courage than the men.<sup>89</sup>



In both the "old world" and the "new world" there are examples of women warriors who are judged by men to be men's equals in battle

Another incident involving a female war-leader is that of the Mutiny of Jhansi (now part of India), led by a woman known as the Rani of Jhansi or Lakshmi Bai. Jhansi was a region in India that was under rule by its own people. Upon her husband Gangadhar Rao's death, Rani acted as regent for their adopted son Damodar Rao. Adopted children are generally accepted as heirs, but not in this case, Jhansi was annexed and added to the British territory. On 4 June 1857 a mutiny took place in Jhansi, mutineers invaded Star Fort and killed the British officers. On July 7th the City Fort was overtaken by mutineers and most of its European residents were killed.<sup>90</sup> Rani, though not responsible for the mutiny, was blamed for it. She participated in the siege of Jhansi and led her followers into a final assault against the British forces under Sir Hugh Rose on 3 April 1858. She led a force of over fourteen thousand troops and was often found in the thick of the fighting. She died in battle on 17 June 1858 while defending Gwalior.

The exact manner of the Rani's death is not known for certain, nor who actually killed her. The British clearly took some trouble afterwards to find out. Three independent accounts written within a week of her death agree that she was mortally wounded as a result of a blow received during hand-to-hand fighting. As J. Henry Sylvester, who was present, wrote 'the gallant queen of Jhansi fell from a carbine wound, and was carried to the rear, where she expired, and was burnt according to the custom of the Hindoos'. This is probably the truth although some local Indian ballads and songs have the Rani carried by faithful servants to the nearby

monastery of Baba Gangadas and whispering to the Baba as he put the Ganges water in her mouth 'I leave my [son] Damodar in your charge'<sup>91</sup>

African women have also proven themselves to be capable warriors. There is the example of the Amazons of Dahomey (c. 1880) who protected King Gueso when he warred against Abeokuta and who subsequently saved the king's life by holding the battlefield while the male army fled.<sup>92</sup> The traditional insult for cowards was "you are a man,"<sup>93</sup> given the fact that it was the men who fled in terror from the battlefield while the women continued to fight. Several accounts of these modern day "Amazons" were given

'Their appearance [reported Captain Duncan of the Life Guards] is more martial than that of the men, on a campaign I should prefer the women of that country as soldiers to the men. After all I have seen in Africa, it appears to me that the King of Dahomey possesses an army superior to any other west of the Great Sahara.'

Female warriors at times might be considered the 'Swiss Guards' of Africa, but there also were large female armies, like those of the sultans of Zanzibar and the old kingdom of Monomotapa in southeastern Africa. The Monomotapa army had a whole province assigned to it near the Zambezi River, and it held the deciding voice in the election of kings. Farther to the north, there was an Amazon Kingdom, with the ruler as well as all members of the army belonging to the female sex: the Kingdom of Galla.<sup>94</sup>

Women have also participated in resistance and liberation movements, many of them in this century. During the Second World War, women participated in all facets of the underground resistance in occupied France. Women collected

information, printed and distributed papers, smuggled arms and munitions, demonstrated against the occupation, and also carried out acts of sabotage<sup>95</sup> The act of sabotage is an aggressive one, and women were performing these kinds of acts in occupied France

Women also fought as guerrillas during the 1952-1957 fight for the liberation of Kenya, constituting approximately five percent of the total number of those fighting in the forest<sup>96</sup> Women were also active participants and sometimes the initiators of the protests and revolts of 1922, 1947, 1948, and 1951, and went so far as to chase meat inspectors and burn down inspections centres in 1951 when the inoculation of cattle caused livestock deaths, culminating in five hundred women being arrested<sup>97</sup> Though many of the female forest guerrillas initially did such "feminine" chores as cooking and laundering, some women cleaned guns, produced weapons and ammunition, and some became warriors<sup>98</sup> The very presence of female guerrillas in Kenya illustrates that women are capable of aggression, and again raises doubts about the validity of the notion of inherent female pacifism

Women have also participated in revolutions or liberation movements in Algeria, Chile and Nicaragua, to name a few countries Women served in many capacities in these internal conflicts, either in civilian, military, or paramilitary roles and have left the world with images of women in combat fatigues, bearing arms<sup>99</sup> Even if women in these movements performed "traditional feminine tasks", such as cooking, nursing, or administration, the fact that they joined armed movements that had as their goals the overthrow of repressive regimes,

means that these female participants are not pacifist, but are showing aggression To bear arms, for any purpose, indicates aggressive tendencies, not pacifist And it was not just a few women who participated in these armed conflicts, 10,949 women registered with the Algerian Ministry of Veterans,<sup>100</sup> indicating that these women are not anomalies that can be easily dismissed

Diner adds a contemporary footnote to the notion of African Amazon warriors

The New York - Herald Tribune, Paris Edition, of Dec 2, 1964, page 10, describes an Amazon army of 5000 forming an elite body in the Army of Dr Hastings Banda, the founder and first premier of Malawi (Nyasaland) The female corps was instrumental in helping to achieve Malawi's independence and at the time of the report was guarding the crucial boundary with Tanganyika (Editor-translator)<sup>101</sup>

The fact that the terming of women warriors as "Amazons" is interesting, but is not the root of discussion in this section What is important is the fact that all over the world, in every continent, women have proven themselves to be capable war leaders and warriors, throughout history Even male observers and participants comment on the fact that the mentioned examples of female combatants and military strategists have proven themselves capable as warriors In some instances, the women were braver and showed more courage in the face of battle than their male counterparts

These women warriors help refute the long-held notion that women did not nor do not make capable combatants The fact that women throughout history have planned wars, led, fought battles, and won battles shows that women are

capable of performing well in combat duties during wars or armed conflicts. The example of the Soviet all-women combat units of the Second World War further illustrates this assertion.

Due to severe personnel shortages faced by the Soviet Union during the Second World War, women were called upon to fill traditional (i.e. nursing and clerical) positions, and later, non-traditional positions, combat

More than 800,000 Soviet women and young girls served at the front - including 27,000 partisans - constituting about 8% of Soviet personnel at the end of 1943. They mastered almost all military specialties, for instance, they became members of aircrews, tank crews, and gun detachments. In addition, many were front-line medical personnel, some of whom fought and all of whom were usually endangered.<sup>102</sup>

Soviet women made up all-female combat units, including the so-called "Battalion of Death" in Russia which used to shame male soldiers back to the front or risk being shot by the female combat soldiers for being cowards.<sup>103</sup>

Soviet women made up three combat air force units: the 588th Night Bomber Regiment, which saw thirty-three of its women pilots killed during the war<sup>104</sup>, the 586th Fighter Regiment, and the 587th Bomber Regiment. These units became famous for their bombing and fighting escapades. For example, the 588th Regiment flew twenty-four thousand sorties and dropped three million tons of bombs during the war.<sup>105</sup> Several female Soviet pilots were also legendary for their fighting and flying skills.

Soviet women were sent to sniper school in Moscow, every two months one hundred fifty women snipers finished their course.<sup>106</sup> Women in the Soviet navy

went on fifty mile marches, trained on ships, did amphibious landings, and practised land and sea battles, they went through the same training as men to be combatants<sup>107</sup> These women participated in battles throughout the Soviet Union, displaying courage and expertise in many fields, including combat The experiences of the Soviet women placed in combat units lends credence to the assertions that women have the potential to perform combat duties under war conditions, and do their assigned jobs efficiently under adverse conditions

Women throughout history have declared wars as well Many of the 'Warrior Queens' and female political/military leaders in antiquity have been discussed However in the past century women leaders have declared offensive and defensive wars Golda Meir was leader of Israel when it entered the Yom Kippur War of 1973 against its Arab neighbours after being attacked Indira Ghandi as Prime Minister successfully lead India to war against Pakistan in 1971 And perhaps the most recent example is former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher leading the United Kingdom to war with Argentina in 1981 over its invasion of the Falkland Islands The images of Thatcher dressed as Boadicea in political cartoons and her riding in a tank go far to dispel the notion of inherent female pacifism Not only have women throughout history fought in wars, but as political leaders have declared war

As shown in this brief history of women warriors women have participated in combat and near-combat capacity in revolutionary and independence movements throughout the world Women in resistance, revolutionary, and independence movements fill combat positions in adverse conditions Many

movements like those in Algeria, Nicaragua, Kenya, and occupied France would not have succeeded had it not been for the contributions of the women of those countries. These women performed traditional medical functions and non-traditional combat roles and performed efficiently in all capacities, including combat.

The number of women from different cultures and countries who participate in militaries and paramilitaries makes us question the validity of inherent female pacifism. If women are inherently pacific and peaceloving, why do so many women voluntarily enlist in military or paramilitary organizations? As Boulding asserts "[women] have made splendid warriors, throughout history, and women can thrill to sword-brandishing as much as men"<sup>108</sup>, women can be just as aggressive as men when it comes to militaries and wars.

The notion of inherent female pacifism can be further questioned upon the examination of the large number of women who joined their nations' armed forces, especially during the two world wars. Even if women entered the traditionally 'feminine' areas of nursing, administration, transport, or supply, they still joined a military system, complete with weapons, drill, and death. The literature does not explain why women enlisted during the two world wars, nor does it explain why women today are still joining the armed forces and are enlisting for combat (where allowed) or near-combat positions. In wartime, it is perhaps for reasons of patriotism that women join the armed forces and fill a support position to free men for the front, but what about in peacetime?

The literature which expounds the notion of female pacifism, does not explain why women are enlisting to become military police, or fighter pilots (in Canada and recently allowed in the United Kingdom and the United States) These positions, among others, are not positions for pacific people, they require a degree of aggression. If women are inherently pacific, there would not be a large number of women volunteering to join the military, perhaps only a few hundred or a couple of thousand women. But in the United States alone, there are over 200,000 women in the Armed Services, serving in all capacities except those designated as direct ground and naval combat and this may change in the next few years as Congress debates the issue of women in combat in light of the performance of women in the Persian Gulf. This lack of explanation constitutes a failure within the contemporary literature on women and war.

Even if women do not actually enlist to fight wars, they are still exhibiting aggression when they encourage men to enlist and fight wars. If women were as pacifistic as the literature asserts, campaigns such as the First World War's "Women of Britain Say - GO!" would not have even been launched, let alone successful.<sup>109</sup> If women are inherently pacific, they would not hand out white feathers (signifying cowardice) to men who did not enlist during wartime, women would not join civil defence units like the First World War's Voluntary Air Detachments in the United Kingdom, and women would not become involved in war preparedness movements like the American women who belonged to the Women's Section of the Navy League did during the First World War.



The long history of women in the military, female warriors and revolutionaries, and women's tolerance and encouragement of men who war indicates that women are not inherently pacifist, as most of the literature espouses. There have been too many incidents of female aggression or women's tolerance/encouragement of acts of aggression to support the notion that women are inherently pacifist. If there had been only a few, isolated incidents of female aggression, then the notion of inherent female pacifism might be valid. However, the wide-spread and long-standing occurrences of female aggression or female soldiering indicates that the notion of inherent female pacifism must be questioned and ultimately dismissed as being invalid. Boulding asserts that women are not inherently more peaceful than men and that "[e]ach of us has something of the warrior and something of the saint/peacemaker inside."<sup>110</sup> The evidence confirms such an assertion, men are capable of pacifism and are pacifists, women are capable of aggression and are warriors. To assert that women are inherently pacific is to dismiss millions of women who have fought for various reasons and to diminish the capabilities and contributions of the present female soldiers. The facts do not verify the assertions of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression, there are too many examples to the contrary to validate these notions.

## CONCLUSIONS

The quote by Pierson given in the first section of this chapter regarding the inconsistent approach of women to war is important as it sums up the argument presented in the last section of this chapter, even though there is a link between feminism and pacifism, which manifests itself in the assertion of inherent female pacifism, there is also historic and contemporary evidence of female aggression and warriors. To assert that there is a notion of inherent female pacifism ignores or diminishes the contributions and capabilities of female warriors.

Much of the literature espouses the notion of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression, but does not adequately explain male pacifism or female aggression. There is much evidence regarding female aggression (women warriors like Boadicea, resistance fighters, revolutionaries, and contemporary female soldiers) and women's tolerance and encouragement of acts of aggression. Because women's history of fighting wars is as long as men's (though it varies in degree of involvement), the assertion of inherent female pacifism cannot be supported in this thesis. Even though the assertion is prevalent in much of the literature and is a deeply-rooted perception of women, it is not a valid one. That is one of the main shortcomings of the literature, much of it reinforces the notions of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression without adequately explaining the existence of male pacifists or female aggressors. Female aggression or tolerance/encouragement of aggression

is not restricted to isolated incidents throughout history, there is a long history of female aggression which refutes the notion of inherent female pacifism

The literature accurately establishes the fact that women are typically excluded from declaring and fighting wars. However, this cannot be attributed to the notion of inherent female pacifism, it is part of the system of power that exists and has always existed, patriarchy. Elshtain asserts "[t]he dominant sex is also the one Western cultures have most enthusiastically bumped off." This harks back to the notion of citizenship. Only citizens could defend the states, which historically has been men. Women are excluded from the decision-making process with respect to wars as well as the fighting of wars because of the system of power.

Imagery also plays a central part in why women typically have been excluded from declaring and fighting wars. Women do not have bodies conducive to fighting wars, they are supposed to be the sex that bears life, not takes life. This could be the origin of the notion of inherent female pacifism. It is true that women bear children, but being a mother did not stop Boadicea from leading troops into battle against the Romans, nor has it stopped female revolutionaries, resistance fighters, or women in modern militaries. These women can be and are mothers as well as soldiers/warriors.

The image of the female pacifist or women as life-bearers not life-takers is inconsistent with the evidence of women warriors and male pacifists, the image is an inaccurate one that has no justification in reality. However, it is constantly invoked as a reason for restricting women's access to combat-related positions in

the military or to restrict access to the military completely. Could it be that the notions of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression are so deeply-rooted, because of the images of women as mothers or mothers-to-be and of men as warriors, that even historical evidence of male pacifists and female combatants cannot dispel the myths, and the examples are dismissed as exceptions or anomalies? The fact that the literature still espouses the notions of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression despite evidence to the contrary, indicates that these are deeply-rooted perceptions and could be a reason why women are not totally integrated into combat units, which will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Now that the notion of inherent female pacifism has been discussed and dismissed in light of the long, cross-cultural history of women warriors and female combatants, attention can be focused on more recent history as it relates to the three countries being examined in this thesis. The next chapter is a history of the utilization of women in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which is a necessary basis for examining the role of women in combat arms positions in these countries.

## ENDNOTES

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7 Pierson, "'Did your mother wear army boots?'," p 223

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- 15 Elizabetha Addis, "The Effect of Military Spending on Women in Italy," in Eva Isaksson, ed, Women and the Military System (London Harvester-Wheatsheaf, 1988), p 142
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- 25 Penny Dransart, "Women and ritual conflict in Inka society," in Sharon MacDonald, Pat Holden and Shirley Ardener, eds , Images of Women in Peace and War. Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives (London Macmillan Education, 1987), p 75
- 26 Cynthia Enloe, Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives, 2nd ed (London Pandora Press, 1988), p 7
- 27 Woolf, Three Guineas, p 160
- 28 Ibid , pp 310-311 Patriarchy here means male rule or dominance, the exclusion of women from the public sphere, i e education and politics
- 29 Ibid , p 160
- 30 Ibid This point will also be elaborated upon in subsequent sections of this chapter
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- 32 Cynthia H Enloe, "Beyond 'Rambo' Women and the Varieties of Militarized Masculinity," in Eva Isaksson, ed , Women and the Military System (London Harvester-Wheatsheaf, 1988), p 71
- 33 Enloe, Does Khaki Become You?, p 14
- 34 Ibid , Enloe, "Beyond 'Rambo'," p 79 , MacDonald, "Drawing the lines," p 16
- 35 Enloe, Does Khaki Become You?, p 14
- 36 MacDonald, "Drawing the lines," p 16
- 37 MacDonald, "Drawing the lines," p 16 makes the point of proving one's masculinity in accordance with the military definition I feel that they are not "men" until after basic training, as that is usually when recruits are no longer referred to as "ladies" or "girls", they have finished basic training, they are now "men"
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- 40 Ibid
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## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **AN EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORY OF WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES OF CANADA, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Now that the theories of the professionalization/occupationalization of the military and the institutional nature of the armed forces of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom have been discussed, and the history of women warriors presented, the specific issue of the utilization of women in the militaries of the three countries can be examined. This chapter examines the historical evidence of women in the organized armed forces of the three countries. Recent Canadian, American, and British military history is filled with examples of women soldiers, some of whom are performing in the capacity of combatants. However, as argued in the previous chapter, historians and military analysts tend to omit the contributions of women warriors to military history, allowing people to falsely conclude that women are not capable of fighting wars and armed conflicts, and that women who do participate in military campaigns are anomalies or exceptions to the norm.

In this chapter, the history of the utilization of women in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States is chronicled. Each country's history of women in the military is examined from the first unofficial utilization of women as nurses to the deployment of women to the Persian Gulf in 1991, and recent developments in the expanding roles of women into non-traditional fields in the military.

After each country's history of the utilization of women in the armed forces is examined, a critical analysis of the employment of women will be undertaken. Once the "recent" history of women in the armed forces of Canada, the United

States, and the United Kingdom (that is the past two hundred years) is presented it becomes apparent that despite a long history of capable women warriors and war leaders, women are used to serve the purposes of the men at the top of the military hierarchy That is to say, the women participate only in the capacity established by the military elite - the men at the top of the military chain of command

It becomes apparent that women are used to shore up military personnel shortfalls and were first used "only for the duration" or for as long as wars lasted When it became evident to the military planners that it would be impossible to sustain a credible and efficient peacetime all-volunteer force, military leaders again turned to women to fill "traditional" positions, such as administration, clerical, and communications Later, women were utilized to fill certain "token" percentages of non-traditional fields like the motor pool, technicians, combat support, and other positions traditionally closed to women Now there are women in almost all positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom

Women are allowed in all positions including the direct combat fields of infantry, artillery, heavy armour, and fighter jet pilots in the Canadian Armed Forces, except for positions aboard submarines Women are permitted in most positions in the four branches of the American Armed Services, except those which are defined as direct combat military occupational specialties (MOSSs) and units, such as infantry, combat engineer and those aboard warships In

November 1991, Congress passed a recommendation to study the repeal of the law prohibiting women from air combat positions in the Navy and Air Force which was implemented in April 1993. The United Kingdom does not allow women to hold combat positions in the Army, while all positions are open to women in the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force.

However, despite the apparent expanding of roles to women to include the male preserve of combat, women are still restricted to very limited numbers and participation in the armed forces, especially in combat and near-combat positions. Despite historical evidence that women make capable warriors and combatants, they are artificially restricted from participating fully in all facets of the armed forces of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The history of women in the militaries of these three countries illustrates the androcentric nature of military institution. It is evident when one examines the history of the deployment of women in the military that they are used to suit the purposes of the male hierarchy.

Within Western countries there are varying degrees of the utilization of women in the armed forces. Women, for instance, are restricted to medical and musical officers in the German military, the medical and financial/administrative officer corps in Greece, medical, teaching, and technical officer units in Turkey, and are completely excluded from the Italian military. The Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark allow women in combat positions in their armed forces (except for the Submarine Service and Marine Corps of the Netherlands,

the Portuguese Navy, and fighter pilots in Denmark), but all rely or did until recently rely on male conscription to sustain their militaries. France allows women to occupy land combat positions to a ceiling of 3%, while also utilizing male conscription. Belgium and Luxembourg have all-volunteer forces that allow women into all positions. Outside of NATO, Australia also has an AVF and the Australian Defence Force (ADF) has opened combat related positions to women (who are ten percent of the total ADF) and is considering the total integration of women. However, within NATO, the numbers of women in the military remain small, with the exception of Canada, the United Kingdom and the US. The representation of NATO countries which restrict the use of women to 'traditional' roles is: Germany, 462 women (all in the nursing corps), or 0.1% of the total force, Greece, 4,671 women or 2.1%, and Turkey, 152 women or 0.021%. Countries which have male conscription and allow women in combat positions have the following breakdown: Denmark, 1,000 women, or 3.4% of the total strength, the Netherlands, 1,750 women or 1.7%, Norway, 972 women or 2.4%, Portugal, 14 women or 0.02%, and Spain, 96 women or 0.031%. Spain and Portugal have not had any women volunteer for combat training while the numbers of women in Norwegian combat positions are unknown. Denmark had 7 women in land combat units with no women serving at sea. The Netherlands had 280 women serving aboard naval combatant vessels and 134 women serving in land combat units.



France had 13 000 women constituting 2.9% of their total force, with no women serving in combat units. Though the number of women serving in combat units in Belgium and Luxembourg are unknown their total representation of women is Luxembourg, 28 women (out of a total of 700), or 4%, and Belgium, 3 092 women or 3.1%<sup>1</sup>

Though Australia has a relatively high percentage of women in their armed forces, amongst NATO nations the three countries in this study have the highest proportion of women. The United States has 217 899 women or 11.3%, Canada has 9 400 women or 10.9%, and the United Kingdom has 18 100 women or 6% of their total. Now that the representation of women in western armed forces has been detailed, the history of women in the armed forces of the three countries in this thesis can be presented, beginning with the United Kingdom's

## **WOMEN IN THE BRITISH ARMED FORCES**

Women in the various branches of the armed services of the United Kingdom have had a much longer history than women in the militaries of Canada and the United States. It was a British nurse, Florence Nightingale, who was the first woman to officially lead a group of women in a military support capacity, nursing. British women have had a long, unofficial history in the military, sometimes as combatants as illustrated in the previous chapter, but in modern times they have served mostly in the capacity of camp-follower, wives and

women of the regiment's male soldiers. These women were allowed to follow regiments, performing cooking, cleaning and medical tasks in return for food and lodging<sup>2</sup>

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, women performed many tasks for the military, and often did much of the tending to the sick and wounded of the regiment. Up until the early eighteenth century women nurses served aboard British warships where they were tolerated but never officially recognized. The use of women nurses aboard ships was banned in the early eighteenth century, but sailors' wives were often used to perform nursing and cooking tasks<sup>3</sup>. It is interesting to note that as argued in the first chapter women were utilized in varying capacities in the military but were edged out as the armed forces became more bureaucratized and under central control. It was not until the Crimean War of 1853 to 1856 that women were recognized officially and sent by the state to act as nurses for the military. Florence Nightingale and a group of women nurses were sent to the Crimean to tend to the wounded and the sick. It was the first time in British military history that trained women, professional nurses or health care aides were sent to provide medical care for the military<sup>4</sup>.

The use of professional female nurses was such a success during the Crimean War that the use of women nurses became commonplace. However, it was not until the 1880s that women and nursing units became an official part of the British military. In 1881, women became an official part of the British military

when they were allowed to form a women's nursing service<sup>5</sup> The British Army Nursing Service, (BANS) established in 1881, was the first officially recognized women's service in British military history Women who belonged to the service were sent wherever British troops were sent, and subsequently served in South Africa, Sudan, and Egypt During the Boer War of 1899-1902, over twelve hundred women served with the British Army Nursing Service<sup>6</sup> In 1902, the British Army Nursing Service was renamed as Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service (QAIMNS) when Queen Alexandra became Royal Patroness of the women's military unit<sup>7</sup> Before 1910 a number of military and paramilitary women's units and organizations emerged

In 1906 the Territorial Forces Nursing Service was established, in 1907 the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) and the Women's Convoy Corps emerged, and in 1909 the Voluntary Aid Despatchment (VAD) was founded<sup>8</sup> Both FANY and VAD were affiliated with the Red Cross, but deployed women abroad when the First World War erupted FANY provided female ambulance drivers and nurses who were deployed to the front to tend to and pick up injured soldiers FANY was at first a private organization that soon became affiliated with the military as an auxiliary women's detachment

In 1914, the Women's Signallers' Territorial Corps (WSTC) was formed This was the first women's unit designed to replace men with women, at least on the home front WSTC was formed to have women replace signallers in the United Kingdom, the women did signalling jobs on the home front freeing male

signallers to go to the battlefield. The formation of the WSTC is significant because it illustrates that women are viewed as being capable of performing jobs beyond the traditional area of nursing. Its formation is also significant because it sets the status of women's services for years to come, that of auxiliary or ancillary service. They are affiliated with the military, but women do not have full military status nor are they integrated with men and male units. It was not until 1917 that women's corps in the Army and the Navy were established.

By 1917 the shortage of troops for the frontline was so severe that the army was willing to use women in the United Kingdom to replace men to go to the front. The Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC) was formed in January-February 1917 (its name was changed to Queen Mary's Auxiliary Army Corps (QMAAC) in 1918) to release men performing administrative duties on the home front for positions on the battlefield. The Women's Royal Navy Service (WRNS) was formed in the spring of 1917 to perform shore duty jobs that would enable men previously on shore duty to be reassigned to sea duty. From the beginning the women's services were designed to be auxiliaries to the military. Women were sent abroad and served at home, but held no military rank, were given civilian titles, and were not entitled to the same pay and benefits as the males they were replacing.<sup>9</sup>

Goldman and Stites assert

, the status of military women was wholly, and no doubt deliberately, ambiguous. They were taken into the army but recruited by the Ministry of Labour and by women's organizations, depending upon the offense and the location, they

were subjected to different disciplinary codes, and they were described simultaneously as having military designation but as civilian employees. Since most women in the units were grateful for even partial integration (the units were created very late in the war), there seems to have been little resistance to the ambiguity among the recruits themselves, although much discussion among the organizers and the authorities<sup>10</sup>

Women were expected to perform jobs within the military traditionally performed by men, but were relegated to auxiliary status, with large differences in pay and benefits.

The Women's Royal Air Force (WRAF) was formed in 1918 for the same reasons as WAAC and WRNS, to free men for the front. The Royal Air Force Nursing Service (RAFNS) was formed in the same year as WRAF. In all of the services women were restricted as to the types of jobs they could perform. Women in WAAC, WRAF, and WRNS could perform only clerical and certain transport jobs, quartermaster tasks, and some elements of communications like switchboard operator.<sup>11</sup> Being part of a women's service generally meant performing essential but mundane tasks. Women in FANY and the Women's Legion Motor Transport Section (WLMTS) formed in 1916, were sent to the front to act as drivers and ambulance drivers and attendants. It appeared that driving to the front was not so dangerous to restrict women in FANY and WLMTS from performing their tasks. Yet women in the service corps were not allowed to perform these kinds of tasks. However, that is not to diminish the contributions made by the women in the three services.

Women in all services did not fly, travel aboard ships or fire weapons. On the other hand, women were killed and wounded by shellfire and in raids from aircraft, and they were cited for valor on a few occasions for their conduct in perilous situations. But their worth must be judged on their performance of the limited support functions that they were assigned, and these they carried efficiently. Their camps were self-contained and enmeshed in a strict regimen of order, discipline, and rigid morality.<sup>12</sup>

By the end of the First World War, eighty thousand women had served with the Army, Navy, and Air Force with twelve thousand women being sent to the rear line of communications in France.<sup>13</sup> There were also over eighteen thousand nurses serving with QAIMNS and TFNS by the end of 1918.<sup>14</sup> However, like most women's military auxiliary corps, the women in most of the services served only for the duration of the war. All military units of women were demobilized after 1919, with only a few WRAF members serving in occupied Germany and some members of FANY, WLMTS, and VAD remaining, as these organizations existed before the war.<sup>15</sup>

Given the rapid demobilization of the women's services at the end of the First World War, it becomes obvious that the women were needed solely to supplement personnel shortfalls. They were not afforded military status or benefits, and after the war were told that their services were no longer needed. Women were good enough and capable enough to serve during the war, but after it was over their services were no longer wanted, the nursing corps excepted. The demobilization of women after wars is not peculiar to the United Kingdom.

As will be discussed later, Canada and the United States also had a mobilization followed by a rapid demobilization of women during war times

Military women were not the only ones to contribute to the war effort in the United Kingdom civilian women working in factories and offices on a large scale for the first time since Victorian legislation had largely edged them back into the home also contributed greatly As more men were required by the military to fight, industry increasingly turned to women to shore-up civilian worker shortfalls Women worked in the munitions factories and other industries, as well as performing clerical and administrative work in civilian offices This is significant as prior to 1914, men were clerks and administrative assistants, but like the factories, offices found that the employment of women was necessary

After the war factories were again staffed by the returning male soldiers However women's contributions to the war effort did not go unnoticed for women were awarded the vote in 1918 It also became acceptable for unmarried women to work outside the home in the "new" female occupations of secretary, social worker, and teacher, formerly male occupations, which women began to occupy during the war years Though women gained financial independence, the end result was an affirmation of the gender division of labour and the establishment of the "pink collar ghetto" (female employment clusters which are low paying and low status) Despite this the First World War acted as a watershed for women for they were finally given the right to vote, permanent

new employment areas (beyond domestic service) were opened to them<sup>16</sup>, and it became acceptable for "independent" women to hold jobs. Thus the First World War was significant in that perceptions about women changed as did rights and benefits afforded to them. Though attitudes about the role of civilian women changed after 1918, the role of women in the military was not a topic of discussion.

There was no further discussion of women in the armed forces of the United Kingdom (beyond the nursing corps) until the late 1930s, with the events taking place in Europe, and in particular, Germany. In 1938, the Women's Legion and VAD merged to form the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS). FANY was affiliated with the ATS but remained a separate organization. Also in 1938, QMAAC went under the jurisdiction of ATS while the WRAF was renamed the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF). The WRNS also re-emerged in 1939. By the time that the Second World War erupted in September 1939, women's auxiliary corps were already established and ready to recruit women.

The Second World War proved to be the turning point regarding the use of women in the military. Women were recruited in larger numbers than the First World War and were given expanded roles to play, though the combat restriction remained in place throughout the war and has only recently been rescinded partially. For example, nursing was expanded, the RAFNS had twenty-one thousand three hundred nurses serving in the Second World War, and only one hundred thirty women serving during the First World War<sup>17</sup>. A civilian



organization, called the Air Transport Auxiliary (ATA) which used women pilots to ferry aircraft within the United Kingdom and to the continent, including combat fighter aircraft, was formed in 1939 illustrating the broadened scope of the utilization of women

By the end of the Second World War almost five hundred thousand women served with the various civilian and military organizations in such diverse roles and as nurses at home and in combat zones, plotters in Fighter Command operations rooms, "gunner girls" in anti-aircraft batteries, members of balloon unit crews, courier and ambulance drivers, intelligence unit members, and saboteurs and spies<sup>18</sup> Within the ATS there were eighty different specialties or trades women could chose from by 1943

One of the most profound events of the Second World War was the fact that the National Service Act, passed in December 1941, which took effect January 1942, gave the government and the military the power to conscript women The demand for women recruits surpassed the volunteer supply by so much that the British government had to rely on the conscription of women to supplement its personnel Single women between the ages of eighteen and thirty were required to join the ATS in a variety of occupations

The conscription of women was one "breakthrough" regarding the increased importance and role of women in the United Kingdom during the Second World War (Some would argue, however, that conscripting women was in fact a setback for women rather than a step forward towards equality) Another

breakthrough was the recognition of ATS and WAAF as military organizations, subject to full military status in 1941. WRNS did not achieve full military status until after the war. Full military status for ATS and WAAF did not mean equality however. Women did not have equal pay with men, though they were allowed to hold equal ranks and commissions, women's services remained separate from the mainstream military though, mainly due to the adherence of noncombatant status for women.<sup>19</sup> Though women had compulsory service overseas and were subjected to bombing raids, U-2 rockets, and long-range guns, they were not designated as "combatants" even when serving with anti-aircraft batteries (AABs) because military women were forbidden by law to use guns, fly aircraft, or serve aboard ships.

Despite the fact that women could serve as engineers on ships in the Merchant Marines, that women acted as spies and saboteurs in occupied France which meant parachuting into the territory at night, and formed integral parts of AABs, by Royal Warrant women were not allowed to be designated as combatants. Women in AABs did everything but fire the guns that shot down the planes, they plotted and sighted targets, yelled "plane" to the male gunners, they did everything but pull the triggers, yet were not allowed to be designated as combatants.

The efforts of these women and their achievements on gun and balloon sites did not go unnoticed and ' brought about a remarkable change of attitude towards servicewomen, particularly with commanders who had witnessed at first hand the superb bearing and coolness of women under fire. They had seen girls, most of

them under 21, staying at their posts despite strafing, bombing and scenes of horrific carnage, and they recognized that their refusal to quit was even more praiseworthy when it was remembered that during those first years of war each girl had it in her own decision whether to call it a day, and desert without punishment, or remain under such terrifying conditions<sup>20</sup>

The success of the integration of women into AABs prompted the military decision-makers to allow women to run searchlight sites, even though these sites were subject to heavy enemy fire, WAAF members formed balloon barrages performing as crew members who brought the balloons down, and WAAF members to participate in the secret Air Defence Plan which consisted of mostly women working on secret radio location instruments to forewarn about incoming air attacks<sup>21</sup> Members of the WRNS or "Wrens" watched the Thames during bombing raids and called locations to the Port of London authority for possible mines Approximately twenty Wrens were assigned to run Enigma machines which involved the cryptanalysis of Axis coded messages, which once translated allowed the Allies to follow all of the enemy moves<sup>22</sup> Yet none of these jobs were designated as combat, mainly because they did not involve the women actually **taking** lives, hence no violation of the Royal Warrant prohibiting women from combat

However, this restriction of women in combat roles did not protect members of FANY, WAAF, WRNS, ATS or ATA from being killed Of the one hundred women ATA pilots, fifteen were killed during the war, some in flying accidents and some shot by enemy aircraft<sup>23</sup> The ATA pilots, women included, flew with

ammunition in their plane guns, but the guns were not cocked, they were unable to fire when being fired upon. These women were designated as civilian and non-combatant, yet faced death while performing their jobs. Women, including nurses, were taken as prisoners of war by the Japanese in Hong Kong. Twenty-two Wrens died when their ship the SS Aquila was sunk by a German U-Boat. Women also acted as agents for the Special Operation Executive (SOE), which meant being planted in occupied territory. Of the fifty SOE agents sent to France, thirty-nine were from FANY or WAAF, of those thirty-nine, thirteen were killed in the line of duty and most of the remaining twenty-six were captured and tortured, yet survived<sup>24</sup>

None of the women were designated as combatants, but SOE agents did 'combat' jobs like detonating explosive devices and shooting at the enemy. Nurses and other women were certainly not combatants, they saved lives not took them, yet they also died doing their jobs. Being designated as a noncombatant did not nor does not protect women from being captured and/or killed by the opposing forces, it simply means that women cannot take lives by such means as firing guns on AABs or flying fighter planes that drop bombs or engage the enemy.

Women in the ATS did such noncombat tasks as driving three ton trucks and carrying one hundred pound packs as part of their daily routine<sup>25</sup>. Most women served in noncombat capacities and did not undergo the physical rigors of women in the searchlight crews or in the SOE. However, given the fact that

some women did endure physical hardship and perform essentially 'combat' jobs illustrates the fact that women were deemed capable of performing both traditional and non-traditional specialties, including combat tasks. Despite the fact that women could not fly aircraft as members of the WAAF, bear arms, serve in assault units, serve aboard ships, or be part of tank crews, they still suffered relatively high casualties. The women's casualty figures for the Second World War were six hundred twenty-four killed, ninety-eight missing, seven hundred forty-four wounded, and twenty captured. Of these total figures, seven hundred fifty-one were ATS, six hundred eleven were WAAF, and one hundred twenty-four were WRNS.<sup>26</sup>

The Second World War proved to be a watershed with respect to women in the armed forces of the United Kingdom. Close to half a million women served with the forces with over six hundred of these women being killed despite their noncombat status. Women served in many facets of the military, achieved military status but not parity with men, and started to occupy fields beyond the traditional women's area of nursing. However, despite women's immense contribution to the war, their corps and units were demobilized at the end of the Second World War.

Though demobilization occurred in 1945, women were recognized as a small but essential part of national defence. Women had proven their worth during the war, showing the War Department and the public that women are capable in military positions beyond the traditional field of nursing.

Like the First World War, the Second World War had a significant impact on the roles and perceptions of women. Women worked in civilian capacities much like their mothers did from 1914 to 1918, with 51% of adult women working outside the home in 1943, (42% of which were married, and one-third of whom had children under fourteen)<sup>27</sup> Thus the Second World War saw an increase in the percentage of married women taking paid employment outside of the home (according to the Census, only 10% of wives went out to work in 1931, compared to 22% by 1951)<sup>28</sup>, many of whom were 'older' workers, e.g. over the age of 35. However, despite advances made in the number of married women employed, the war also served to further complicate women's advancement towards equality in the labour market.

Women were still clustered in many of the traditional areas of female employment, though they made long-term advances in engineering (10% of engineers in 1939, 34% in 1943 and 21% in 1950), metal manufacturing (6% in 1939, 22% in 1943 and 12% in 1950), and transport (5% in 1939, 20% in 1943 and 13% in 1950)<sup>29</sup>. Women still did not gain equal pay with men (something they waited until the 1970s for). And most importantly, part-time employment for women was introduced officially in 1943 which allowed women to be mobilized for the war effort without causing much disruption to home life, a pattern of women's employment that persists to this day. Though the war mobilized women into the paid labour market, and had some permanent spillover, the overall effect was the continuation of the pattern of low-paying, low

status female employment clusters that were often part-time and which emphasized the gender division of labour Penny Summerfield concluded

I have emphasized the war's contribution to the expansion of opportunities for older and married women to engage in paid work, particularly through the establishment of part-time working arrangements as a normal employment practice This was a major change for many women Casual work had of course existed before the war, and women continued to take jobs like charring, childminding and numerous types of homework, still largely unaccounted But part-time work in factories, offices, schools and hospitals offered older married women who took it up less housebound lives than their pre-war equivalents, even though there is little evidence to suggest that it assisted the breakdown of sexual divisions at work or at home Whether one is talking about manual or white-collar work, married women's part-time work since the war has had the lowest status and has been the lowest paid The war may have accelerated the rise of companionate marriage, and the readiness to dissolve an unsatisfactory one, but although such a change in style was important in terms of the way the marital relationship was experienced, it did not remove the fundamental division of economic and social roles between men and women In short, women's participation in the war effort did not doom the conventional sexual division of labour, though it did assist her involvement in the world of paid work on terms that did not threaten her responsibility for the domestic sphere <sup>30</sup>

The war was important for women for several reasons the marriage bar was removed in 1946 allowing married women greater access to employment, part-time work became more readily accessible, and several manual job areas were opened to women However these advances must be taken in context in that the

gendered division of labour was left relatively untouched both inside and outside the home, the ghettoization of women's work continued as women turned to low-paying, low status part-time employment in traditional female employment clusters (e.g. the service sector), and an era of heightened traditional family values ensued from the end of the war to the late 1950s, until the outbreak of the Second Wave of Feminism and the publication of Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique and the English translation of Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex. Though gains were made in the sphere of paid employment because of military and civilian women's contribution to the war effort, they were relatively minimal.

In February 1949, the Women's Royal Army Corps (WRAC) was established as a direct revival of ATS, with women playing a small but essential role in the armed forces. WAAF was renamed the Women's Royal Air Force (WRAF) by the same bill, giving women a part in the air element of Britain's defence. The WRNS was officially established separately by the Navy giving it military status. There has been a slow and gradual expansion in the total number of women in the services and the types and numbers of positions within the services that they can occupy.

From 1949 until approximately 1979, the WRAC had one main purpose, to replace men in clerical, administrative and other traditional women's roles so that men were free for combat. Members of WRAC were subject to many of the same rules and regulations as men, but despite holding equal rank, did not



receive equal pay, benefits or career opportunities. The military rules governing the behaviour of members of WRAC were not as rigorous as the ones for men, and women could only be disciplined by other women within the chain of command. Despite separate basic training for WRAC members, some women found their way into integrated units, especially as women began to occupy more fields and positions. By the 1970s, as it became apparent that women were not willing to accept auxiliary and secondary status in the WRAC, changes began to occur.

Schools began to be opened to women to train for "non-traditional" fields. However, when the Sex Discrimination Act was passed in 1975, the armed forces were exempt, meaning women seeking non-traditional military fields and careers had no legal recourse for challenging bans and restrictions. Women in WRAC were not allowed to hold rank beyond that of Brigadier, which was (and is) usually reserved for the director of WRAC. By the 1980s, roles for women were slowly expanding but the combat ban was (and is) still in effect, and most women were (and are) still in the traditional fields of clerical, driving, and nursing.<sup>31</sup>

The 1980s, despite the slow expansion of roles, did offer improved opportunities for the members of WRAC. In 1980, women were officially recognized as part of the army, not replacements for men. In 1982, WRAC members were allowed to carry arms for self-defence purposes and were given weapons training, but could object to arms training and bearing if they so

wished In 1984, women's officer training was moved to Sandhurst, integrating training for officers However, women received less emphasis in physical training and tactical planning By the late 1980s, one hundred thirty of the one hundred thirty-four army trades were open to women, the major exception being combat, i e infantry and artillery

In March 1989, a Ministry of Defence Report of Women in the Military was released This Report made several recommendations including expanded roles for women, a trial of basic training for women almost equal to that of men, and the allowing of women to be stationed up to eight kilometres from the front line But there was no repeal of the direct combat prohibition

Though women are prohibited from occupying combat positions in the British army they have been part of the Ulster Defence Regiment since 1975, being stationed in Northern Ireland at border crossings and other areas

The closest women have come to a wartime situation is in Northern Ireland. About six hundred women serve in the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) in communications, road duty, and border patrols (all unarmed) The women of the UDR, called "greenfinches" because of their high-pitched voices on the radio, are interesting for at least two major reasons In the first place, they are the closest thing to women in combat Ironically, one of the reasons for the formation of the WUDR, the name of their unit, is that female terrorists of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and other groups were being utilized to conceal weapons and explosives in their garments Women of the UDR were recruited locally to search females, to set up road checks, to accompany night patrols, to operate radios, and to man (sic) operations rooms In a way, it is one of the rare examples of using women in a military

situation against other women. The other interesting aspect of the Greenfinches is that they were recruited locally and put directly into a British regiment, instead of being detailed from the WRAC. This is the first case of complete integration of males and females in a British military unit. Commentators are already pointing to it as a possible model for future units along the road to complete male-female integration of the armed forces<sup>32</sup>

The deployment of women to the UDR shows a marked change in attitude towards women in the military, and illustrates the expansion of roles for women in the British forces.

Other changes that came about in the 1980s that affected members of WRAC and the other women's services is that equalized pay for women and men became a reality. Pay is based on skill and rank, not sex. Women also became liable for discipline from male officers, since women officers had been able to discipline lower-ranking men for some time. However, in spite of the changes towards equality, pregnant women were still required to leave the services once their pregnancy became known<sup>33</sup>

WRAF and WRNS also underwent major changes since their inception in 1949. The WRAF has been integrated with the RAF since its renaming in 1949. Basic officer training has been gender-integrated since the early 1960s, and non-commissioned members training has been integrated since the mid-1970s. Since the 1980s, all noncombat flying positions and air crew positions have been open to women. Selection for these positions is based on merit, that is, whoever is best suited or qualified for the position is selected, irrespective of sex. Thus

women have been flying noncombat aircraft in the RAF for almost a decade. WRAF members have weapons training, and are issued arms if they wish for self-defence. However, the biggest change in the WRAF came in December 1991, when the Ministry of Defence announced that women were going to be able to fly combat fighter aircraft, like Tornado bombers and Harrier fighters.

An experiment started in 1989, which saw the trial of women pilots of support aircraft and helicopters. Based on the experiment's findings, an MOD decision was made to allow women to train as fighter aircraft pilots and to follow a policy of sending a woman pilot into combat if her squadron is called upon to serve.<sup>34</sup> This illustrates the total expansion of women's roles in the air force and the repeal of combat exclusion. Decisions regarding pilots are supposed to be based on merit, the best **person** is chosen for the position. The integration of women into the RAF is now complete as the WRAF was disbanded in 1994.

The members of the WRNS have been banned from going aboard ships, allowing women to occupy only shore jobs. Officer training within the Navy has been gender integrated for almost as long as officer training in the RAF. Most of the positions held by the WRNS members were the traditional communications and clerical positions. However, in 1990, a decision was made by the MOD to end the ban on women at sea and from naval combat. This decision allows women to occupy all positions in the Navy, including those aboard warships and considered "combat".

The only restriction in the Navy is that women are not allowed to serve aboard submarines due to the lack of privacy. This shows that the Navy, like the RAF, believes that women are capable of performing all jobs within the armed services, including combat. The Navy, following the lead of the British Army, disbanded the WRNS in November 1993, all 'Wrens' are part of the Royal Navy. And a woman has recently completed her VC-10 pilot training and is a fully qualified pilot.

The reasons given for the expanded use of women in the Navy and the Air Force are important. The Navy announced that the decision "was aimed at solving the Navy's recruitment problems"<sup>35</sup>. The RAF also found that they require the "best" candidate to fill positions, by opening up all positions to women they would have a pool of one hundred percent of the population to choose from, rather than restricting themselves to forty-eight percent. Thus, the two services found themselves in the same position that they were in during the world wars. They could not find or recruit enough qualified men to fill all of the positions, so women were called upon to supplement personnel. The Navy and the Air Force were not driven by the quest for gender equality to recruit women, they were driven by their own personnel needs. However, whatever the reasons for the increased utilization of women, their roles within the WRAF and the WRNS have expanded considerably since 1949.

There have been several recent events that have shown that women within the British forces have proven themselves as capable military personnel. Though

women constitute approximately six percent of the total British force strength, they are an integral part of the military. Women were approximately 2.8% of the total force strength (or over 800 women) sent to the Persian Gulf in the 1991 Operation Desert Storm against Iraq. Initial reports indicate that members of the WRAC operated well under the adverse conditions. The Navy had women aboard the HMS Brilliant, and initial reports of women's effectiveness in the Persian Gulf have also been positive.

Another landmark decision regarding women in the military was made in late 1991. The automatic dismissal of pregnant military women was found to be unfair in light of the Sex Discrimination Act and the European Community equal treatment directive of 1990. The British High Court ruled that two nurses were unfairly dismissed once their pregnancies became known.<sup>36</sup> The Ministry of Defence has since changed its policy and has announced interim rules for fourteen weeks of paid maternity leave, followed by up to thirty-four weeks of unpaid leave.<sup>37</sup> This policy change marks a direct reversal of the original policy requiring pregnant servicemembers' dismissal. It also shows that women are becoming increasingly important to the military.

It was also announced in late 1991 that women would have increased roles in the WRAC. Officer training was to be gender integrated. In April 1992 WRAC was disbanded and basic training for enlisted personnel became gender integrated, first by trial in April 1993. The Army is going to follow the same policy as the Air Force and the Navy and chose the best qualified candidate for

the position, though there has been no indication that the ban on women in the combat arms trades of the army would be repealed. Women in 1991 formed 5.25% of the total army, with a target of ten percent women for the regular army. This shows an increased willingness by the Army to utilize and deploy women. However, the aforementioned changes have yet to be implemented, so it is too early to determine if they will be successful.

It was also announced in April 1992, that a woman doctor, Lieutenant Colonel Lois Lodge, would be commanding the first military unit sent to the former Yugoslavia as part of the United Nations peacekeeping force. Lodge is the commanding officer of the two hundred sixty person 24 (Airmobile) Field Ambulance unit.<sup>38</sup> Lodge also has another "first" in British military history, not only is she the first woman to command a British peacekeeping force for the UN, but in September 1991 she became the first female commanding officer of a "sizable" British unit in a NATO capacity.<sup>39</sup> Women are also patrolling the Adriatic aboard the HMS Ark Royal which forms part of the UN mission. There were (July 1994) fifty-six women serving with twelve hundred men on this ship. Thus, women are experiencing expanded roles within the British armed forces as the events of recent months illustrate.

Women have performed both traditional and nontraditional roles within the British Armed Forces, since they began participating as "camp-followers". Slowly, women have been recognized as an important part of the military establishment. However, at first they were allowed to perform only "traditional"

tasks like nursing, and later transport and clerical. The Second World War proved to be a watershed for women in Britain, for they performed both traditional and nontraditional tasks in the military. Women were subject to conscription between 1942 and 1945, and even found themselves in "combat" positions, like AABs and agents for the SOE though they were never designated as combatants. In 1949 women were given official military status with the establishment of WRAC, WRAF, and WRNS. However, women were allowed to serve in only limited, traditional capacities and had their numbers restricted.

The 1970s ushered in many changes for women in the British forces. Officer and enlisted training became integrated in the WRAF, women were allowed to join the UDR, and roles began to expand due to the advent of an all-volunteer force in the 1960s. The 1980s and 1990s marked real change for women in the military. Pays became equalized for women and men in this era. Women were allowed to have increased roles and fields to choose from. The bans on women at sea and women pilots, and later women fighter pilots were repealed and women began to enjoy a full and complete range of military specialties to choose from, at least in the Air Force and the Navy. Though the Army still has combat bans for women, women began to receive weapons training and are allowed to carry arms for self-defence purposes if they wish. There were also a number of trials in 1992 and 1993 for women in the army, which might eventually open up all positions to women, including combat.



However, despite gains being made with respect to maternity leave, expanding numbers and positions for women, the deployment of women to the Persian Gulf during Operation Desert Storm and to the UN mission in the former Yugoslavia, women also commanding military units, some of which fulfil NATO and UN obligations, as will be shown in subsequent chapters women are not fully accepted as members of the British military Women in nontraditional fields and specialties, particularly combat, are or will be tokens But before a discussion of the issue of tokenism can ensue, an examination of the history of women in the Canadian Armed Forces and the American Armed Services must first take place, beginning with the history of women in the American Armed Services

### **WOMEN IN THE AMERICAN ARMED SERVICES**

Women have had a relatively short history as an official part of the American Armed Services, but have unofficially participated in every American conflict dating back to the American Revolution in 1776 "Molly Pitcher" is probably the most famous of the revolutionary heroines "Molly" was most likely Mary Hays, wife of a member of the 7th Pennsylvania Regiment According to the story, Hays brought water to cannoneers and dressed wounds until she noticed that her husband was felled by enemy fire She took his place as a "rammer", removing

unexploded powder, ramming the cannon with a charge and firing until relief came<sup>40</sup>

Hays was not the only woman who fought or took her husband's place when he was injured. In 1776, Margaret Carbin took her husband's place as a gunner during the battle of Fort Washington, performing her husband's artillery duties until relief came<sup>41</sup>. Others, like Deborah Sampson did not take their husband's place but disguised themselves as men in order to fight. Sampson enlisted in the 4th Massachusetts Regiment in 1780 as Robert Shurtliffe and fought for three years at various locations like Tappan Bay, Tarrytown, and Yorktown. Even when wounded, Sampson managed to disguise her true identity. It was when Sampson contracted a fever that her true sex was discovered and she was discharged from the army<sup>42</sup>.

However, most women did not go to the lengths that Sampson and Lucy Brewer did. Brewer served as a Marine aboard the USS Constitution for three years as George Baker during the War of 1812. Most women were content with civilian status within the military, serving as camp-followers in the capacity of nurse or cook. It was not until the American Civil War of 1861 to 1865 that women served in numbers, although not in any official or recognized capacity.

Approximately four hundred women disguised themselves as men so that they could fight for the Confederacy or the Union during the Civil War<sup>43</sup>. Women like Sarah Edwards, Frances Hook, Anne Carrol, Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Pauline Cushman, and Loreta Velasques (also known as Lieutenant Harry T

Buford) fought in various capacities during the war. Some women acted as spies, some in the infantry, others in the artillery, and some sustaining injuries in the course of their duties. However, most of the contributions from women came in the area of health care. Women like Clara Barton, a Union nurse, collected medical supplies and tended the wounded in the field.

There is also the example of Dr. Mary Walker, who gave up her medical practice to serve as a nurse with the Union army since women doctors were not accepted by the military. In 1864, Walker was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Medical Corps, serving as the first female doctor in the American military, in the capacity of assistant surgeon. For all her bravery and valour, Walker was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest combat award available, becoming the first and only woman (thus far) to be so honoured. It was withdrawn in 1917 as women could not hold combat awards, but was restored by an act of Congress in 1976.<sup>44</sup> Many other women served without distinction or recognition, as nurses and in other capacities.

In 1861, Dorothea Dix was appointed by the United States Secretary of War as Superintendent of Women Nurses. Dix established an organization of nursing volunteers which saw over six thousand women serve with the Union Army as volunteers.<sup>45</sup> However, after the war ended in 1865, women were "demobilized", including the nurses, and health care for the military again became the responsibility of enlisted men.

Women were an essential, but not an official part of the military during the Civil War. Most women were never recognized for their contributions to the war effort. Walker and the rescinding of her Congressional Medal of Honor is one such example. Another is that of 'General' Harriet Tubman. Tubman is well known for her part in the underground 'railway' which smuggled slaves from the southern United States to the northern United States and Canada, however few recognize that Tubman was also a military strategist. Tubman planned and commanded a military assault on 3 June 1863 in the Port Royal region of North Carolina which resulted in the freeing of seven hundred fifty slaves.<sup>46</sup> Tubman is the only woman in American military history to plan and lead a military campaign, but is not generally recognized as such. She is much better known for her abolitionist stance and for her part in the underground 'railway'.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 provided another opportunity for women nurses. A typhoid fever epidemic erupted within the Army and the Army attempted to recruit six thousand men to assist with health care needs. This attempt fell short and Congress authorized the Army to use women as nurses, but only as civilians. Within two months, twelve hundred professional women nurses were recruited under Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee, with over fifteen hundred women serving as civilian nurses for the army between 1898 and 1901.<sup>47</sup> These women served in the United States, overseas, and aboard the hospital ship Relief. However, at the end of the war, these women were demobilized, partly due to the fact that many officers, including the Surgeon

General, were opposed to having women in the field<sup>48</sup> This is despite the fact that the women were professionally trained nurses and provided better health care than enlisted male corpsmen. However, despite the hesitation of male officers and policy-makers, women began to become an official part of the military.

In 1901 the Nurse Corps was established as an auxiliary to the Army. The nurses were peripheral to the army, they held no military rank and did not receive the same pay or benefits as the men.<sup>49</sup> On 12 May 1908, the Navy established its own nurse corps, however, the Navy Nurse Corps was given official recognition and was not an auxiliary like the Army Nurse Corps.<sup>50</sup> Nurses, according to the Navy, were a necessary and permanent part of the military. Thus when the United States entered the First World War on 6 April 1917, the Navy was prepared to deploy women almost immediately.

Women served in the American military during the First World War in limited capacities, except for the Navy. On 17 March 1917, almost one month before the United States entered the war, the Navy Department authorized the use of women in the Naval Reserve as yeomen (F), also known as "yeomanettes", in the capacity of electricians and other essential fields. Women within the Naval reserve provided clerical and technical assistance such as draftsmen and radio electricians.<sup>51</sup> Despite repeated requests from Army officers, the War Department refused to expand women's roles during the First World War. Women were permitted to serve as nurses only, and many were sent

overseas to perform their duties. The Marines did not enlist women until early 1918, becoming the last service to utilize women.

Though most women served in traditional roles during the First World War, they still provided essential services to the American military. By the end of the war in late 1918, thirty-four thousand women served in the Army and Navy Nurse Corps, the Naval Reserve, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard. The Army Nurse Corps had expanded from four hundred women to twenty thousand women by the war's end. The Navy Nurse Corps expanded from four hundred sixty to fourteen hundred women. These women served in the United States and all over Europe. The first women sent abroad were four hundred Army nurses who left for Europe in May 1917 to serve with the British Expeditionary Services in France.

By 11 November 1919, one year after the war ended, ten thousand American women served overseas in field hospitals, mobile, evacuation, and base hospitals, troop trains and transport ships in such places as Belgium, the United Kingdom, Italy, Serbia, and Siberia.<sup>52</sup> Women also distinguished themselves with exemplary service with three nurses receiving the Distinguished Service Cross (the second highest American combat medal), twenty-three receiving the Distinguished Service Medal (the highest noncombat award), and twenty-eight receiving the French *Croix de Guerre* for their service in France.<sup>53</sup> Twenty-eight women also died during the war and were buried overseas. Like previous wars

women were demobilized at the end of the First World War with the Nurse Corps being reduced to their peacetime strength

Military nurses were accepted, but they were viewed differently from enlisted women. Nursing was accepted as women's work, and nurses were considered a necessary evil. In 1920, in recognition of their wartime services, the nurses were granted the status of officers with "relative rank" from second lieutenant through major. They were allowed to wear insignia of rank but were not given full rights and privileges, such as base pay equal to that of male officers of comparable grades. Their lack of full military status would keep them safely isolated from the military mainstream, somewhat like members of a ladies' auxiliary.

Yeomen (F) and Marines (F) were a different matter. They enjoyed full military status and had replaced male personnel in military jobs, hence could have been perceived as a threat to the male status quo. In 1925, the wording in the Naval Reserve act of 1916 authorizing the Navy to enlist "citizens," which had permitted women to be eligible for the Navy and the Marine Corps, was changed to limit eligibility to "male citizens." This ensured that the Navy Department could not enlist women again without Congress's express approval.<sup>54</sup>

The rapid demobilization of nurses and the disbanding of women's corps illustrates the nature of the utilization of women within the military. Women remain peripheral and serve only for the duration of the war. Women are an important part of the military **only** when there are not enough men available.

Although the United States did not enter the First World War until 1917, the contributions of civilian women were significant, as were the rewards for their

efforts In the autumn of 1918 President Woodrow Wilson appealed to Congress for female suffrage, which 'was vital to the winning of the war' and ensuring democracy<sup>55</sup> Congress in 1919 passed the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution granting women the right to vote which was ratified and became law in 1920 Thus female suffrage in the US came about, in part, through an appeal by the President to aid the war effort, with women's contributions to the war factoring into the decision

Women also worked in positions traditionally held by men (though not to the extent experienced in Britain) Women, because of their military and civilian participation in the war reaped some of the same "gains" as their British sisters wider access to employment, like the professions (though again in the new female areas of stenographer, secretary, typist), and the right to vote

Though there were three ill-fated attempts to establish a women's army corps between 1918 and 1939, women were not mobilized again on a large scale until the United States entered the Second World War In 1940 a peacetime selective service act was approved by Congress, establishing the draft of young men However it took until May 1941 before an act to establish a women's corps (besides nursing) in the American military was introduced

H R 4906 was introduced by Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers and recommended the establishment of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) However the bill was not passed until May 1942, almost six months after the United States entered the war<sup>56</sup> H R. 4906 established a women's



auxiliary army, WAAC was run by the Army but was not an official part of the Army. Members of WAAC had no contract to compel them to remain, they received no benefits if injured, they had no dependents' benefits, they did not receive equal pay with men, and they did not hold military rank. It was not until June 1943 that a bill was passed eliminating the auxiliary status and establishing the Women's Army Corps (WAC).

On 30 July 1942, Public Law 689 was passed by Congress establishing the Navy Women's Reserve. Members of the Reserve were known as "WAVES", Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service. The Marine Corps Women's Reserve was also established by the Navy bill. However, women in the Marine Reserve were known as Marines. In November 1942, the Coast Guard Women's Reserve was established using the acronym "SPAR", "Semper Paratus - Always Ready" the Coast Guard motto.<sup>57</sup>

Women joined both the enlisted ranks and the officer cadres. The number of applications soon surpassed the goals established by the military planners. Tens of thousands of women wanted to join the military to do their part for the war effort. Women were recruited to free men for combat, filling many clerical and administrative posts in the United States and abroad. Women were also utilized in non-traditional fields and positions like control tower operators, radio repair and operations, parachute riggers, gunner instructors, naval air navigation, and mechanics. Some members of WAC were assigned to the Manhattan Project, several WAVES and SPARS worked at the highly technical Long-Range Aid to

Navigation stations (LORAN), and several WAVES were assigned to night-fighter training projects<sup>58</sup> A few women were also assigned secretly, as part of an experiment, to mixed-gender anti-aircraft battery units in Washington, D C , a combat speciality But, like the British example, women's positions were defined as noncombat as they did not fire guns<sup>59</sup>

Two other organizations also utilized women during the Second World War The Army Air Force (the precursor to the Air Force) allowed women in all facets of its operations, except for combat and flying schools Air-WACS served all over the world in a multitude of jobs A civilian organization known as Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) hired women as pilots to tow air gunnery aircraft, ferry aircraft, and teach flying to Army Air Force cadets<sup>60</sup> Members of WASP did much of the same duties as members of the British ATA, often risking their lives as civilians for the war effort

Members of the Nursing Corps also served in the United States and in the European, Pacific, and African theatres However, of the women's service corps, only WACs were allowed to serve abroad, WAVES, SPARs, and Marines were restricted to the United States and its territories WACs and nurses often had to deal with extreme conditions while serving abroad, quite often in the direct line of fire

The WACs coped with 100-degree, humid weather and insect-infested camp sights They turned yellow from atabrine tablets They endured the blowing mud of New Guinea and the hub-deep mire of Leyte They lived in tents with dirt floors and mission schools recently deserted by

the Japanese They ducked for shelter from  
enemy air raids and sniper fire <sup>61</sup>

Despite serving in squalid, hazardous conditions, the general conclusion was that women performed their jobs efficiently and with excellent results The performance ratings of women serving in the United States and its territories was much the same, women performed their jobs beyond the expectations of most commanders and military planners The use of women was an unqualified success

By the end of the Second World War in 1945, there were one hundred thousand WACs, eighty-six thousand WAVES, eighteen thousand Marines, eleven thousand SPARs, fifty-seven thousand Army nurses, and eleven thousand Navy nurses, a total of three hundred fifty thousand women served in the American military <sup>62</sup> Of that total serving overseas there were seventeen thousand WACs, four thousand WAVES, one thousand Marines, two hundred SPARs in Hawaii, and two hundred SPARs in Alaska, with five hundred sixty-five of these women receiving combat decorations <sup>63</sup> Women were also taken prisoner of war, with sixty-six Army and eleven Navy nurses interned at the Santo Tomas POW camp in the Philippines The Army Nurse Corps alone sustained two hundred losses, with seventeen nurses buried overseas <sup>64</sup> Despite their noncombat status, women were taken prisoner and died while performing their duties, not unlike the men at the front in combat positions

The deployment of women proved to be so successful that by the war's end there was a movement to make women a permanent part of the nation's defence

By the close of the war, the AGF [Army Ground Force] had decided that the services of the women had proved of direct assistance in winning the war, and that a far greater number could have been effectively employed. A study concluded that "economical, efficient, and spirited results are achieved in military installations where both male and female personnel are on duty." The once reluctant AGF subsequently took the lead in urging a permanent place for women in the Regular Army.<sup>65</sup>

Civilian women also made a large contribution to the war effort of 1941-1945. Over six million women worked outside the home, or over 50% of the female labour force, with non-traditional employment areas seeing the largest increases.

The wartime system of labor priorities enabled many women to escape the low-paying female-dominated fields of domestic and personal service and obtain jobs in the burgeoning war industries or in the government. Between 1940 and 1944 the number of women employed in manufacturing increased 141 percent, while those in domestic service declined by 20 percent. Women's share of the jobs increased from 22.0 percent to 32.7 percent in manufacturing and from 19.4 percent to 38.4 percent in government. Former saleswomen, waitresses, and maids took over jobs as riveters, welders, taxicab drivers, and drill-press operators, demonstrating women's capabilities in these and a host of other activities assigned almost exclusively to men. Wartime imperatives were thus undermining somewhat the sex-segregated labor market and the ideas that perpetuated it, long an impediment to economic advancement for women.<sup>66</sup> (Emphasis added)

Thus like British women, American women began to move into the factories to take jobs traditionally held by men and earn higher wages. Women also increased their representation in the paid workforce during and after the Second

World War, rising from 26% of all civilian workers in 1940 to 36% in 1945<sup>67</sup>, and continued to rise after the end of the war from 37.4% in 1960 to 41% by 1968<sup>68</sup>

There was also a shift in the age and marital status of women in postwar employment with 58.5% of the female labour force being over the age of 35 in 1968 (compared to 41.6% in 1940), while the representation of married women in the female labour force grew from 16.7% in 1940 to 31.7% in 1960<sup>69</sup>. However these gains were not as significant as they seem as most women were employed part-time in the traditional female fields and were usually only employed on a short term basis, with only a few women continuing in the new occupations opened to them by the war, most did not alter their traditional gender roles<sup>70</sup>

In 1947 there were several attempts to integrate women into the military. The Senate approved the Women's Army Corps Integration Act, but the House did not approve the bill. H.R. 5919 was introduced in the House of Representatives to make the Navy Women's Reserve a permanent organization, but the bill was not passed either. In April 1947 the Army-Navy Nurse Act was passed making the nurses' corps a permanent part of the peacetime military. The law also allowed the integration of women nurses in the officer ranks up to the rank of lieutenant colonel or commander, with the Chief of Corps holding the rank of temporary colonel. In 1949 the Air Force established its own Air Force Nurse Corps.

Congress passed the Women's Armed Services Act on 2 June 1948, which President Truman signed into law on 12 June 1948. This Act established a permanent place for women in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps. Women could be put into clerical and other traditional "women's jobs" within the military. The law provided the combat exclusion of women in the Navy and the Air Force by banning women from ships and aircraft. The Army was not and is not bound by law to exclude women from combat, but does so by policy in keeping with the original intent of Congress to bar women from combat trades and specialties.

The particulars of the law were straight-forward: women were integrated in all of the services, except for the Army which kept the Women's Army Corps a separate organization. However, women were limited in their integration. There was a two percent ceiling on the total force strength of women in the regular service, with only one female colonel or naval captain per women's service serving as the temporary head of the service. The Air Force had no such rank limitations or restrictions. There was a ten percent limit in regular force lieutenant colonels or commanders and a twenty percent limit on naval lieutenant commanders. There were separate promotion lists for women and men, with women competing against women for promotions in all of the services except for the Air Force which integrated promotions for all ranks below colonel. The minimum age for women to enlist was eighteen, with parental consent needed for women under twenty-one, while men could enlist at

seventeen, with parental consent under the age of eighteen. With regards to dependents' benefits, men's dependents were automatically covered for benefits while women had to prove that they were depended upon for "chief support" of the family in order for their dependents to receive benefits. Based on the inequities between women and men, it becomes obvious that women were seen as peripheral to the military, hold overs from the auxiliary status era.

The integration act gave wide latitude to the service secretaries as to the kinds of positions women could fill, setting out explicit exemptions and restrictions. The Act, most of all, ensured that women would not be used in combat positions as it

[a]uthorized the service Secretaries to prescribe the military authority that women might exercise and the kind of military duty to which they might be assigned provided, in the case of the Navy and Air Force, that they "may not be assigned to duty in aircraft while such aircraft are engaged in combat missions", nor, in the case of the Navy "may they be assigned to duty on vessels of the Navy except hospital ships and naval transports."<sup>71</sup>

Thus women were restricted to noncombat roles, with the positions they could occupy being determined by male service Secretaries. With the reinstatement of peacetime selective service in 1948 it is not surprising that the role of women remained peripheral and minimal.

Further restrictions on women in the military came in the form of Executive Order 10240, signed by President Eisenhower on 27 April 1951. This Order required the automatic discharge of all women who were pregnant and the

discharge of all women with minor children. It appeared that women could not be career military personnel and mothers at the same time. This further limited the number and the type of women who could join or remain in the military.

In June 1950 Truman ordered troops into South Korea and it was decided to send women to Asia in a noncombat capacity. As only nurses could serve in combat zones, other military women were stationed far from any fighting and away from combat zones. Though large numbers of women did not serve in Korea, five thousand four hundred nurses were stationed there by June 1951, including six hundred in the war zone. Other limited numbers of women filled clerical and administrative positions in Japan, Iwo Jima, and the Philippines.<sup>72</sup>

Following the Korean War, during the 1960s, women's roles were becoming more limited with an emphasis being put on the appearances of military women rather than their job performance. Women's skirt hemlines rose with the fashions, women took physical training only to remain fit and trim, not to build stamina and strength, and makeup application lessons became part of basic training for recruits. The numbers and types of positions women could fill also diminished. By 1965, enlisted women were allowed in only thirty-six of the sixty-one noncombat occupational groups. More than seventy-five percent of women were filling administrative, personnel, or information desk jobs, and twenty-three percent of women were in medical fields, leaving less than two percent of women filling "non-traditional" fields.<sup>73</sup>



The women's movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s provided an impetus for the opening up of positions for women. On 8 November 1967, President Johnson signed Public Law 90-130 which removed many of the restrictions on women in the Armed Services. This law removed the ceilings on the numbers of women allowed in the military, the rank ceilings, and the higher (general officer) rank prohibitions. Thus the 1970s saw the first women being promoted to the ranks of brigadier general and rear admiral.

Women also played a small but vital role in the Vietnam War. Women, at first, were not sent to Vietnam, at least military women. It was not unusual for civilian women to be sent to fill clerical and administrative positions. Only a few hundred WACs and women Marines were sent to Vietnam, with Air Force women being sent towards the end of the war. By the end of the war over seven thousand women nurses and medical specialists served in the Pacific area.<sup>74</sup>

However, despite serving in limited noncombat capacities, women were not spared from the strains of war and combat. The Tet offensive proved that women could work well under fire and combat situations, despite their noncombat status. In fact, because of the Vietcong offensive, women were issued combat boots for the first time, prior to that they wore oxfords or pumps.<sup>75</sup> Eight women died in Vietnam as the result of hostile fire. Women were also given side arms to use for personal protection and trained to handle M-16 machine guns. Despite the fact that women were noncombatants, they were beginning to be trained in the realities of war.

The Vietnam War and its unpopularity proved to be the impetus for the next phase in American military policy, the advent of the all-volunteer force, by 1973 the United States had an all-volunteer force. The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the American Constitution on 22 March 1972 marked another new phase involving women in the military. The ERA, if ratified, meant that there could be no discrimination against a person on the basis of their sex. Therefore the military could not restrict, limit, or prohibit women in fields and positions they could occupy, including combat.

Because of the possible ramifications that the ratification of the ERA would have on women in the military, changes began to take place. The Supreme Court was one venue that provided change for women in the Armed Services. Several Supreme Court decisions directly affected the treatment of women by the military. In 1973, the Supreme Court decided in Frontiero v. Richardson that the difference in dependent benefits policies for servicewomen and servicemen was unconstitutional.<sup>76</sup> It was a violation of the Constitution for women to prove that their dependents were reliant on them for their chief support, while men's dependents were automatically covered. Frontiero v. Richardson ensured that servicewomen's dependents were automatically covered for benefits, the same way that servicemen's dependents were covered.

Other changes in military policy towards women followed in rapid succession. In March 1973, the acronym "WAVES" was abolished, in June 1976 WAF was abolished, in June 1977 "Women Marines" were "Marines", and in

April 1978 WAC was abolished and women were integrated into the regular army. In 1975 the involuntary discharge policy for pregnant women and women with minor children was changed to allow pregnant women and mothers to remain in their positions and take a thirty day maternity leave. In 1973, the Army received permission to integrate promotion lists, abolishing separate men's and women's lists, the Navy and the Marine Corps integrated promotions in 1981. In 1975 Congress ordered the Department of Defense to allow women entrance to the military academies and war colleges, thereby opening up opportunities for women officers. Also in 1975 the Army required all women to have individual weapons training as part of their basic training. Women learned to fire small side arms, M-16s, grenade launchers, laymore mines, and M-60s (a large machine gun), with the other services soon following the Army's example.

The Air Force conducted tests for women pilots and navigators in noncombat flying during 1975. By 1976 women were allowed to fly noncombat planes including T-38 Talons and KC-135 refuelling tankers. By 1978 women were also allowed on permanent assignment to naval ships, provided that they were noncombat ships. Women could serve only temporarily on combat warships. Women were also allowed by 1979 to be assigned to support and command positions in the Minutemen and Titan nuclear systems. Thus by the end of the 1970s women were able to occupy most of the positions in the Armed Services, except direct combat. Women were also recognized as equal to men in the military with respect to equal benefits, pay, and promotion opportunities.

Because of the situation in the Middle East, President Carter reinstated registration for selective service and stated that women as well as men would be required to register for the draft in February 1980. However, the notion of requiring women to register for the draft did not pass through Congress. In April 1980, the Manpower and Personnel Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee rejected the registration of women by a vote of five against and two for the notion.<sup>77</sup> The Supreme Court echoed Congress's disapproval of registering women for the draft in their 1981 decision in Rostker v. Goldberg. This decision stated that it was not against the Constitution to require men only to register for the draft, thereby excluding women from draft registration.<sup>78</sup> The 1981 Supreme Court decision marked a turning point in the utilization of women in the military. While the 1970s provided increased opportunities for women by allowing them to seek careers in non-traditional fields, the 1980s halted and rescinded some of the equal employment opportunities gained by women.

The 1980s ushered in a new era of neo-conservatism under the guidance of President Ronald Reagan. Combat definitions were re-worded, positions open to women in the 1970s were closed to them in the 1980s, and quotas were placed on the numbers of women allowed in certain fields in spite of the massive military build-up that was taking place. The combat exclusion statutes for the Navy and the Air Force were re-worded to ensure that women would continue to be prohibited from combat fields and positions.

Title 10, USC 6015 stipulates that "Women may not be assigned duty on vessels or in aircraft that are engaged in combat missions nor may they

be assigned to other than temporary duty on vessels of the Navy except hospital ships, transports, and vessels of similar classification not expected to be assigned to combat missions "

Title 10, U S C 8549 states, "Female members of the Air Force, except those designated under Section 8067 of this title, or appointed with a view to designation under that section, may not be assigned to duty in aircraft engaged in combat missions "79

Thus, by law, women were prohibited from combat positions in the Navy, Marines (governed by the Navy law), and the Air Force The Army has no legal requirement to exclude women from combat, but does so by policy

Title 10, U S C 3012 gives the Secretary of the Army authority to determine assignment policy for all Army personnel As such there are no statutory restrictions on Army assignment policy The Secretary of the Army has stated that women will be assigned in all skills and positions except those which involve the highest probability of direct combat with enemy forces He has defined direct combat as "engaging an enemy with individual or crew-served weapons while being exposed to direct physical contact with the enemy, and a substantial risk of capture Direct combat takes place while closing the enemy by fire, maneuver, or shock affect in order to destroy or capture, or while repelling assault by fire, close combat, or counterattack "80

The Direct Combat Probability Coding System (DCPC), established by the Army in 1983, is the deciding factor as to which positions are open and which positions are closed to women

Under the DCPC, every position in the Army is evaluated upon the duties of the Military Occupational Speciality (MOS) or Area of Concentration (AOC), and the unit's mission,

tactical doctrine, and location on the battlefield. Each position is then coded based upon the probability of engaging in direct combat, with P1 representing the highest probability and P7, the lowest. DCPC restricts women from serving in P1 positions.<sup>81</sup>

Based on the DCPC system, positions like infantry, artillery, and heavy armour are closed to women since they are coded P1. Positions in the rear of the front are also closed to women because of their proximity to the front. Thus many combat support (CS) and combat service support (CSS) positions are also closed to women. This is in spite of the fact that women performed well in field exercises in the 1970s, which placed them in CS and CSS positions.

The MAXWAC test assessed the effect of unit performance by varying the proportion of women in Army units that were on field exercise. The REFWAC test was carried out during the 1977 REFORGER NATO exercise which placed mixed units in the field for thirty days. The results of these exercises showed no evidence that women hamper group cohesion or unit performance when placed in non-traditional positions in CS and CSS units.<sup>82</sup> However, the DCPC system closed many CS and CSS positions to women because of their proximity to the front, including eleven noncombat MOS's and one hundred fifty-nine units that were previously open to women.<sup>83</sup>

The Navy and the Air Force also have their own definitions of combat and various restrictions on the utilization of women. Navy directive SECNAVINST 1300.12 defines a combat mission as 'one that has as one of its primary objectives to seek out, reconnoiter, or engage the enemy'.<sup>84</sup> This directive also

governs the assignment of women in the Marine Corps The Air Force restrictions are included in AFR 35-60 and exclude women from

a Aircraft whose principle mission involves aerial combat, defined as

(1) Delivery of munitions or other destructive material against an enemy or

(2) Aerial activity over hostile territory where enemy fire is expected and where risk of capture is substantial

b Duties or units where there is a probability of exposure to hostile fire and substantial risk of capture

c Instructor or staff positions where training or experience in combat aircraft is a prerequisite<sup>85</sup>

The Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force, like the Army, can close noncombat positions to women

[N]oncombat units can be also closed to women on grounds of risk of exposure to direct combat, hostile fire, or capture, provided that the type, degree, and duration of risk is equal to or greater than that experienced by associated combat units (of similar land, sea, or air type) in the same theaters of operation<sup>86</sup>

These policies, introduced during the Reagan era, closed many combat support positions to women that were previously open to them However, these restrictive policies did not nor do not prevent women from being exposed to hostilities and enemy fire Two hundred Army women were sent to Grenada when Reagan ordered troops to the island in October 1983 to rescue American medical students<sup>87</sup>

During the 1986 air raid on Libya, women flew as aircraft commanders, copilots, navigators, and fuel-boom operators on tankers which refuelled fighter

aircraft<sup>88</sup> Though women were not flying combat aircraft, they still flew to a hostile location in a combat support capacity and risked fire from anti-aircraft guns In 1987, two hundred forty-eight women sailors, including twelve women officers were sent to the Persian Gulf (defined as a combat zone) to repair communications equipment aboard the Stark which was damaged by Iraqi missiles<sup>89</sup> Even restrictive policies did not prevent women from being deployed to hostile areas to perform noncombat and/or combat support duties

The utilization of women in noncombat positions continued under President Bush's tenure, however women were still being exposed to enemy fire Over eight hundred women were deployed in the early morning America invasion of Panama in December 1989 One hundred fifty women were in the direct line of enemy fire because of the support positions that they occupy<sup>90</sup> Captain Linda Bray, a female M P from the 988th Military Police Company, led an attack on a kennel which was under armed guard, becoming the first woman in modern American history to lead a company into combat She engaged the enemy in fire and risked capture or injury despite her noncombat status, and in spite of not having the legal right to lead a company into combat However, Bray was performing her job and took the necessary action to complete her assigned task, which happened to include a combat mission as defined by the Department of Defense

The war against Iraq also saw the deployment of American women to the Middle East in late 1990 and early 1991 By mid April 1991, there were over



forty thousand American servicewomen in the Persian Gulf (7% of the total American force strength), with twenty-six thousand Army women, two thousand six hundred Navy women, twenty-two hundred Marines, and twelve thousand Air Force women<sup>91</sup>

Women were administrators, air traffic controllers, logisticians, engineer equipment mechanics, ammo technicians, ordnance specialists, communicators, radio operators, drivers, law enforcement specialists and guards. Many women truck drivers hauled supplies and equipment into Kuwait. Some brought Enemy Prisoners of War (EPWs) back to holding facilities. Many flew helicopters, reconnaissance aircraft, and refuelling aircraft. Still others served on hospital, supply, oiler and ammunition ships. Others served as public affairs officers and chaplains. A number of women commanded brigade, battalion, company, and platoon size units in the combat support and combat service support areas. Two women were taken as Prisoners of War (POWs). In sum, women were fully integrated into the force.<sup>92</sup>

Five American women were killed 'in action' during the Gulf conflict, including a female helicopter pilot who was shot down after the cease-fire, with there being another six female "nonbattle deaths". Thus, despite their noncombat status, women are still subject to capture, injury, and death.

Reports of women's performance in Grenada, Libya, Panama, and the Persian Gulf are all positive. Women performed their jobs effectively while under stressful and combat situations. The Gulf War initial reports " indicate that the deployment of women was highly successful and that women performed admirably and without significant friction or special considerations."<sup>93</sup> Even in

their increased capacity and their deployment in non-traditional fields and specialties, women performed their jobs effectively despite adverse or hostile situations

The success of the deployment of women to the Persian Gulf in early 1991 had prompted Congress to question the prohibition of women from Navy and Air Force combat positions. In November 1991 Congress voted to repeal the air combat exclusion laws for women.<sup>94</sup> President Bush established a committee to study the feasibility of opening air, ground, and naval combat positions to women, which in turn recommended that only the Navy ban be lifted. However, under President Clinton, the former Secretary of Defense Les Aspin ordered air combat pilot positions open to women and asked Congress to repeal the ban against women on warships, with the first female combat pilot completing her training in March 1994. However, combatant naval vessels and ground combat positions remain closed to women.

Women in the American Armed Services have performed many diverse roles, officially and unofficially. Since the War of Independence, women have been involved in the military in one facet or another. Women have disguised themselves as men in order to fight in wars. Women have acted as nurses, cooks, spies, and couriers in eighteenth and nineteenth century American conflicts. Women had to wait until the early twentieth century before they could act in an official capacity in the military, first as nurses and eventually in other fields.

However, women had to suffer the indignity of being mobilized during wartimes because of manpower shortages, only to be just as rapidly demobilized after wars without recognition or benefits. Even when women became a permanent part of the military in 1948 they were still restricted in numbers and types of MOS's they could occupy, were subject to discharge for being mothers, and forced to accept unequal pay and benefits. Women served with American forces in Korea and Vietnam, but in a smaller capacity than they did in the Second World War. It was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that policies towards women began to equalize.

Public Law 90-130 lifted some of the restrictions on women in the Armed Services, including the two percent ceiling. However, it was the congressional approval of the ERA that precipitated many of the changes towards women. Women were integrated into the regular military with the abolition of WAC. Women were also allowed to claim dependents benefits automatically, could enter the service academies and war colleges, could apply for non-traditional near-combat and combat support positions, and were no longer required to take an involuntary discharge upon discovery of pregnancy. Women could serve aboard ships, albeit in a limited capacity, and fly noncombat aircraft, including refuelling tankers.

However, the Reagan era and the conservatism of the 1980s closed many opportunities to women, including many non-traditional MOS's that were previously open to women. Despite the artificial restrictions placed on women,

they performed their assigned duties effectively and successfully in combat situations, like those who served in Grenada, Panama, Libya, and the Persian Gulf. The success of women in non-traditional CS and CSS fields has led to the congressional repeal of the air combat exclusion law. It has become apparent to at least the policy-makers that women have earned the right to occupy all positions in the military, including combat, based on their performance in all situations, adverse and otherwise, in over two hundred years of involvement in wars and conflicts.

### **WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES**

Canada has not had nearly as long a military history as the United Kingdom or the US, having become an independent country in 1867. Prior to 1867, Canada was a colony of the United Kingdom and thus had British troops stationed on its soil. Canada also has never declared war on another country as an aggressor; Canada joined the Boer War and the First and Second World Wars because of its ties to the United Kingdom, and sent troops to Korea and the Persian Gulf because of its ties to the United States and the rest of the international community. The only other conflict that Canada participated in was prior to Confederation, the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States, but

fought on Canadian soil. Canada, as a middle power and a perceived peaceable nation, tends to participate in more NATO and UN peacekeeping operations than actual wars (Canada is the only country in the world to have sent troops to all UN peacekeeping missions). Thus the history of women in the Canadian military is slightly less war - and conflict - oriented than the British or American history.

Laura Secord is probably one of the most famous Canadian women due to her part in the War of 1812. Secord overheard a group of American soldiers talking about an impending attack at Lundy's Lane and the post at Beaver Dam. She walked through the woods from Queenston Heights to Beaver Dam (in order to avoid American Guards) and warned of the intended attack<sup>95</sup>. This warning allowed reinforcements to be sent to the area and ultimately resulted in the British triumph at the Battle of Stoney Creek. Though Secord was not directly involved with the military, she still took it upon herself to risk capture or injury to warn British forces of an impending American attack.

Women did not become an official part of the Canadian military until the Second World War. Women served in an unofficial capacity as nurses during the Riel Rebellion of 1884 and some nurses were sent to South Africa when Canada sent troops to participate in the Boer War. The only women's unit established prior to the Second World War was the Nursing Service of the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps which was first established as a reserve corps in 1904 and admitted as part of the regular force in 1906<sup>96</sup>. However, unlike the United

Kingdom and the United States, there was no mobilization of women during the First World War, nor were any women's corps or auxiliary corps established during the First World War

Though Canadian women's participation in the war effort was limited compared to their British and American counterparts, they were nonetheless important to securing allied victory, mainly through paid labour, fundraising, and volunteer work. Prime Minister Robert Borden estimated that Canadian women raised between \$40 and \$50 million (Canadian) from 1914 to 1916 for the war effort.<sup>97</sup> Women also worked on farms, in munitions factories, railways, the steel industry, and in clerical jobs.

However, despite having the most limited female military participation of the three countries, the right to vote was the most tied to the military in Canada. The Military Voters Act of early 1917 gave the right to vote federally to women nurses participating in the war effort, with The Wartime Elections Act of late 1917 extending the federal vote " to wives, widows, mothers, sisters, and daughters of those, alive or deceased, who had served or were serving in the Canadian or British military or naval forces."<sup>98</sup>

Full female enfranchisement came in 1918 with the federal Women's Franchise Act which gave the right to vote to all women over twenty-one who were British subjects, before both Britain and the US extended the vote to women. However, among the many gains made for women, enfranchisement was the principal long-term advance. Though tens of thousands of women

worked in traditionally male occupations (e.g. 35 000 in munitions factories alone), the only permanent employment gain made by women was in clerical work where their numbers tripled between 1911 and 1921 (from 33 723 to 90 577) accounting for 42% of clerical workers<sup>99</sup>, the impact of which (as discussed in previous sections) was the creation of a pink collar ghetto. Thus though civilian women were employed in new fields during the First World War, the overall effects of their participation on their status were minimal.

The first women's corps established during the Second World War was the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force (CWAAF), later known as the Royal Canadian Air Force Women's Division, (WDs). The corps was established by an Order-in-Council on 2 July 1941 and was considered an important part of the air force from the beginning despite the initial auxiliary status<sup>100</sup>. On 13 August 1941, another Order-in-Council authorized the establishment of the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC), but CWAC did not become a part of the Canadian army until March 1942<sup>101</sup>. The last women's service was formed on 31 July 1942, the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS)<sup>102</sup>.

Canada declared war on Germany on 10 September 1939, yet did not attempt to mobilize women until almost two years into the war. Canada faced severe manpower shortages and realized that even with conscription it could not keep up with the demand for troops overseas. Military and civilian planners soon realized that women could perform clerical, administrative, and some transport jobs just as well as men, and given that women were holding traditionally male

jobs in munitions and other factories, a decision was made to utilize women in the military

Initially women filled traditional "female" positions, including typist/stenographer, clerk, cook, truck driver, and switchboard and wireless operators <sup>103</sup> By mid-1942, with manpower shortages increasing, it was decided to open more non-traditional positions to women, especially in light of the fact that the United Kingdom had been using women in AABs for some time. By the spring of 1943, CWAC members were participating with anti-aircraft units as kinetheodolite operators (who tested the accuracy of height-finders, range-finders, anti-aircraft guns, and coastal defence guns) <sup>104</sup> Like their British ATS counterparts, CWACs were not allowed to fire guns in anti-aircraft units, but were allowed to set sights and test equipment accuracy. Women also began to work as gun operations room broadcasters and plotter telephonists in 1943 <sup>105</sup> Though Canadian women did not serve in as many diverse specialties as their American and British counterparts, they were still allowed to join some non-traditional specialties beyond nurse and secretary.

There were stringent enlistment qualifications for women, even more stringent than those required of men. Women applicants had to be a British subject, in good health, have a minimum grade eight education, be between twenty-one and forty-one (later changed to nineteen and forty-five), and could be married but must be without dependent children. Women who wished to be officers had to have an university education or its equivalent <sup>106</sup>



Women who joined the Canadian Forces were subject to military discipline, (though it was modified for women, e.g. no death penalty or imprisonment), and military hours. Women drilled on the parade square, lived in barracks and ate in the mess, and were even allowed to undertake arms training, usually with rifles. However, despite being subject to many of the same rules and requirements as the servicemen, servicewomen did not enjoy the same benefits and privileges. The uniforms of women were different from that of men's, including insignia, and the fact that all women had to wear skirts, even if they were drivers in adverse weather conditions, only towards the end of the war were some women, usually WRCNS, allowed to wear trousers. Women received two-thirds the pay of their male counterparts. Eventually, women decreased the pay differential to earn approximately eighty percent of what the men earned. Women were allowed dependents' benefits, but dependents for women were classified as dependent parents or siblings, thus servicewomen's spouses and children were not given benefits.<sup>107</sup>

Women were not allowed to hold military ranks equal to that of men's. Women were not given equivalent ranks and insignia, thus emphasizing their separate and auxiliary status within the Canadian military. When the separate status of CWAC was abolished on 13 March 1942, women became part of the defence forces of Canada and were placed on active service.<sup>108</sup> Women were allowed to hold commissions, were given the same military ranks as men, and were allowed to use the same insignia. However, women, no matter what their

rank, remained junior to their male counterparts and were subject to male power of command, with women being allowed to exercise chain of command over their male counterparts under exceptional circumstances <sup>109</sup>

Women served with distinction and performed their assigned traditional and non-traditional jobs effectively and efficiently. Beyond nurses, very few women were allowed to serve overseas. The first CWACs were sent to the United Kingdom in 1942, enduring the often dangerous North Atlantic crossing. CWACs were also posted to Belgium in 1944 as part of a mobile office unit. A total of eight hundred fifty-three women served abroad (besides nurses) by spring 1944 <sup>110</sup>. By the end of the war almost fifty thousand women served in the Canadian women's services including twenty thousand four hundred ninety-seven CWACs, sixteen thousand two hundred twenty-one in the WD, six thousand six hundred sixty-five in the WRCNS, and another four thousand four hundred thirty-nine in the Nursing Services of the Army, Navy, and Air Force <sup>111</sup>. Yet despite their contribution to the war effort, the Canadian women's services were disbanded in 1946, with CWAC being the last to disband on 30 September 1946. Women did not receive benefits when they left the military and very few women were given the opportunity to remain once the war ended. Like their American and British counterparts, Canadian women were recruited to shore up military manpower shortages and were needed only for the duration, thus emphasizing the auxiliary status of women. A few women remained as cooks and secretaries, but the vast majority of women were discharged.

Like Britain and the US, Canadian women's contribution was considerable, but the overall impact as to changing identities and gender roles in the post-war society was not as significant as that which occurred after 1918. The female labour market almost doubled from 638 000 in 1939 to 1 077 000 on October 1, 1944. Part-time work in the war industry and other areas became a reality in early 1943 creating the so-called "housewives shifts" of evening hours<sup>112</sup>. However, the rise in female employment was short-lived in Canada as well, the female representation of the paid labour force rose from 24.4% in 1939 to 33.5% in 1944, but slid well below 25% after 1945, rising to 23.6% in 1954 and not reaching 33% until 1966<sup>113</sup>. This illustrates that the gains made during the Second World War were at best temporary.

Pierson succinctly sums up the impact of the war on the role and status of women:

The extraordinary demand for female labour during the war generated a rhetoric of egalitarianism that made it look as if sexual divisions of labour had been significantly modified in the direction of greater equality. In actuality the rhetoric hid the fact that those changes were more apparent than real and were, in either case, designed to be temporary. Furthermore, the sexual division between men's privileged access to paid labour in the public sphere and women's responsibility for unpaid labour in the private sphere had not been seriously challenged. Nonetheless, certain egalitarian pronouncements made it appear that the government had changed its most fundamental assumptions with regard to women's work, in fact, while government policy toward women had been modified to meet the emergency of war, patriarchal ideology had not changed. If

the rhetoric of sexual equality had any substance at all, one might have expected women's wartime gains to be consolidated in post-war plans. What occurred, however, was a use of the planning apparatus to confine women to traditional occupations more reminiscent of the pre-war period<sup>114</sup>

Thus the experience of Canadian women in the post-1945 era did not differ from that of their counterparts, for the most part they were relegated back to the home and had to wait until the 1960s for gains made from 1939 to 1945 to come to fruition

Nearly a decade later Canada became involved in the Korean conflict, and with its involvement came the renewed need for women to shore up manpower shortages. Women were allowed to enter several new support (and non-traditional) fields as a result of Canadian involvement in Korea<sup>115</sup>. After the war ended the Canadian Armed Forces decided to follow the example of the United States and the United Kingdom and allow women to be permanent members of the military, women were not automatically discharged but given the option of remaining with the military<sup>116</sup>

Women, after 1953, were allowed to join the Canadian military, albeit in limited numbers and capacities. However, women joined the actual branch of the Canadian Forces, not a women's corps. Despite being integrated into the military, women still faced many restrictions. Women were still barred from combat positions and restricted to mostly clerical and some technical positions. There existed a ceiling on the number of women who could join the Canadian

Forces (a total of fifteen hundred), married women were not allowed to enlist, with marriage being grounds for discharge, different benefits and pays for women and men, despite holding equal ranks, the initial length of engagement was shorter for women than for men, women were restricted from entering military colleges, and women were automatically discharged for pregnancy<sup>117</sup>

The discriminatory and unequal policies remained in effect until after the Royal Commission on the Status of women recommended in 1970 that all of the unequal policies be equalized, that all positions, including combat be opened to women, and that the ceiling be lifted. As a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, two-thirds of the positions in the military were opened to women, in principle, except for combat, remote regions, and sea positions<sup>118</sup>

In spite of the restrictions that still existed, women went from 1.8% of the total force strength in 1971 to 6.5% in 1979<sup>119</sup>

With the passage of the Human Rights Act and the establishment of the Human Rights Commission, the Canadian Forces again came under attack to end its discriminatory policies towards women. This is because the Human Rights Act expressly forbids discrimination on the basis of sex. The first section of the 1978 Human Rights Act states

every individual should have an equal opportunity with other individuals to make for himself or herself the life that he or she is able and wishes to have, consistent with his or her duties and obligations as a member of society, without being hindered in or prevented from doing so by discriminatory practices based on race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, age, sex or marital status, or conviction for any offense

for which pardon has been granted or by discriminatory practices based on physical handicap<sup>120</sup>

As a result of the Human Rights Act, the Canadian Forces made the following policy changes abolishing the practice of excluding married women from military service, eliminating different qualification requirements for women and men, abolishing the discharge of pregnant women and women with minor children, and opening up military colleges to women<sup>121</sup> The Canadian Forces also established trials to test women in non-traditional fields

The Canadian Forces closed one out three positions in the military to women because of combat or near-combat probability or classification Other noncombat positions had female quotas, that is a maximum number of women allowed in a speciality because of a threat of war Women were not allowed to perform noncombat duties during wartime, so there was a cap on the number of women allowed in certain fields, like military police, engineers, and weapons technicians<sup>122</sup>

Because of the pressure exerted on the Canadian military by the Human Rights Commission, the Canadian Forces carried out a trial utilizing women in non-traditional fields The SWINTER trials (Service Women In Non-Traditional Environments and Roles) were carried out between 1979 and 1985 " to determine the impact on operational effectiveness of employing servicewomen in sea, land and air near-combat units and at isolated units "<sup>123</sup> As a result of the SWINTER trials, new positions were opened to women Women could serve

aboard navy patrol boats and small training vessels, in army service battalions and field ambulance units, as air force navigators and noncombat pilots and flight engineers, in communications research, and in remote regions like Alert, North West Territory <sup>124</sup>

In 1982 Canada patriated its Constitution and added to it a Charter of Rights and Freedoms ensuring certain rights for its residents. Sections 15(a) and 28 guarantee the equality of women with respect to government agencies, laws and policies. Shortly after the Charter came in effect in 1985, the Department of National Defence convened a task force to assess the feasibility of opening all military positions to women, including combat. This Task Force was convened in part because of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee on Equality Rights that "all trades and occupations in the Canadian Armed Forces be open to women."<sup>125</sup> The government responded by establishing a Charter Task Force which made its Report in September 1986.

Generally, the Charter Task Force Report gave reasons why women should not be allowed to apply for combat positions within the Canadian military. In early 1987, it was announced by the Minister of Defence that trials of women in combat units would be undertaken to assess the impact women have on operational effectiveness. In June 1987, the Chief of Defence Staff announced the approval of the trials. In the Navy, up to twenty-five percent of a destroyer's company would be women by 1989, with the trial taking place between 1989 and 1991. The Army would integrate women into platoon sized infantry,

armour, artillery, engineer, and signals units, with trials taking place between 1989 and 1991. All restrictions on the employment of women in the air force were lifted in June 1987, with all positions, including combat, being mixed-gender positions.<sup>126</sup>

In June 1989 Canada had its first female combat aircraft pilots. Captains Deanna Brasseur and June Foster qualified as fighter pilots in December 1988 and completed their CF-18 training in June 1989,<sup>127</sup> making them the first women in Canadian history qualified to fly fighter aircraft. However, women who applied to serve in army combat units were not as fortunate. The first eight women to apply for the infantry course failed their infantry training in November 1988 and were not given the opportunity to reapply after failing the course.<sup>128</sup> The women made it through most of the course, failing the final test of a ten day field exercise, involving high stress levels, sleep deprivation, and heavy lifting. However, it was pointed out that up to thirty percent of male recruits also fail the infantry course and have to repeat it.<sup>129</sup> However, despite the first eight women recruits failing their infantry course, the Combat Related Employment for Women (CREW) test continued.

Canada's first female combat soldier, Private Heather Erxleben graduated as a fully qualified infantry soldier on 19 January 1989. She was the only woman of the twenty-one female recruits in the infantry course to successfully complete the sixteen week course.<sup>130</sup> Just a few weeks prior to Pvt Erxleben's graduation, five women successfully completed their artillery course and qualified as



"gunners" in the Canadian Forces<sup>131</sup> Thus by early 1989 Canada had its first combat ready women placed in combat units performing their assigned duties alongside men

The CREW test was never given an opportunity to be completed The Canadian Human Rights Commission ruled on 20 February 1989 that the CREW test was to be halted and that all positions within the Canadian Armed Forces, except for those aboard submarines must be open to women<sup>132</sup> The Canadian Forces has been given ten years to fully integrate the armed forces and make all positions mixed-gender The Human Rights Commission rejected the Canadian Armed Forces argument that "operational effectiveness" is a *bona fide* occupational qualification, and thus can serve as a sexual discrimination factor to exclude women from combat The government decided not to appeal the decision and agreed to disband the CREW test and begin to fully integrate the military

Since the Ruling several efforts have been made to ensure the integration of women In February 1990, the government created a seven member advisory board on women in the Canadian Forces (the Minister's Advisory Board on women in the Canadian Forces) to advise and make recommendations on the progress of the integration of women into combat units<sup>133</sup> In August 1991, three women became the first female artillery officers to complete their course, with Second Lieutenant Anne Proctor graduating at the top of her five hundred thirty-

one member class<sup>134</sup> Slowly, women are making advances in integration within the combat arms fields of the Canadian military

One hundred fifty women were also among the seventeen hundred troops sent to the Persian Gulf during the 1991 Gulf War Women were aboard the naval ship Protecteur, which was sent to the Gulf in September 1990 along with the destroyers Athabaskan and Terra Nova, at first to uphold the UN embargo against Iraq, and later participate in the war<sup>135</sup> The media did not emphasize the fact that women were sent as part of the Canadian contingency, and no government reports have surfaced thus far regarding the performance of women in the Gulf It appears that the deployment of women in non-traditional fields to combat zones is not as controversial in Canada as it is in other countries because of the integration of women into all facets of the military

Though the Canadian history of the utilization of women in the military is not as long or as complex as that of the United States or the United Kingdom, Canadian women seem to have greater career opportunities Canadian women had to wait until the Second World War before they could join women's services other than nursing units, only to see them disbanded in 1946 Women had to wait until the end of the Korean War until they could join the forces, albeit in a limited capacity and with many restrictions However, they were fully integrated from 1953, that is, there were no separate women's corps in Canada.

Despite the recommendations of the 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of women, Canadian military women had to wait until 1978 before they were

afforded some forms of equality, i.e. equal pay and benefits, however, many trades and occupations remained closed to women because of combat restrictions or quotas. Non-traditional positions and remote region postings were open to women in 1985 as a result of the SWINTER trials, with full integration of women, including combat positions being available to women in 1989 as a result of the Human Rights Commission Ruling.

Despite their slow start compared to American and British women, Canadian women technically enjoy equal opportunity with respect to the positions they can apply for in the armed forces. Canada does have fully qualified female combat jet pilots, infantry and artillery soldiers, and combat engineers. The women are performing their assigned tasks successfully and efficiently, thus illustrating that women can perform well in non-traditional combat positions and specialties.

### **ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF WOMEN IN THE MILITARY**

Now that the histories of women in the armed forces of the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States have been examined, an analysis of their utilization can be undertaken. As presented in the previous chapter, women have had a long history as combatants and warriors. Women have led troops into battle and fought as common soldiers throughout the ages. In spite of a plethora

of ancient and contemporary evidence regarding women warriors, warring is perceived as a man's job and duty This notion continues even today

The employment of women in combat units was not considered in Canada [and the United States and the United Kingdom] until recently Previously, there was a widely-held perception that women had a role in society quite different from that of men Women were seen as the bearers, not the takers, of life, and as the embodiment of peaceful rather than aggressive qualities These attitudes made the idea of female front-line troops unthinkable Also, there was never a shortage of recruits so critical that there was any need to employ women in combat <sup>136</sup>

The aforementioned statement is contained in a Canadian Department of National Defence document The military planners and policy-makers also appear to adhere to the notion discussed in Chapter Two that women are inherently pacific and are the bearers, not the takers of life They also assert that there has never been a need, at least in Canada, to use women in combat because of a steady volunteer supply of men

We can carry this notion of always having a ready supply of men for combat to the assertion that for the last two hundred fifty years women are called upon to serve their countries only when manpower shortages so dictate And then, women serve only in the capacities set out by the men at top, usually in traditional "women's" roles of nursing, and clerical, leaving the core of the military, combat, an exclusively male domain As stated previously the military is a male preserve and women serve in roles as established by the men in charge of the military

By examining the nature of the utilization of women in the military, it becomes apparent that the practices reinforce the assertion that the military is a male domain. Though women have fought as warriors throughout history, they were grudgingly accepted as nurses in the mid-nineteenth century, but not in any official capacity until the turn of the twentieth century. Even when they were called upon to serve in women's services during wars, they suffered the indignity of being used as auxiliaries that were either disbanded at the end of wars or were allowed to stay in separate women's corps in limited numbers.

It appears that women were called upon to serve in a military capacity only when manpower shortages meant that military planners had to turn to womanpower to supplement war efforts. During peacetime, women were limited in capacity until conscription ended and the need for qualified volunteers overtook the preference for male recruits. However, despite the need for qualified personnel, women were, and to a great extent still are, restricted to "acceptable" female military specialties, with combat being closed or restricted, if open to women, extremely difficult to succeed in because of the physical requirements.

The result of the constant mobilization, peripheralization, demobilization, limiting and restricting of women is the establishment of a token female force. Jeanne Holm wrote that by the mid-1960s, women had formed a token force in the US.

As their roles became more and more circumscribed, women were increasingly isolated and segregated from the military mainstream.

Although they added to the overall quality of the force, numerically they contributed little to the services' personnel requirements, even in the fields of their highest concentration. They had, for all practical purposes, become a token force<sup>137</sup>

Women continue to be limited in the types of roles they can occupy in the military, even when no actual combat exclusion policies exist. Enloe asserts that "[w]omen are being used by militaries to solve their nagging problems of manpower availability, quality, health, morale and 'readiness' "<sup>138</sup> Enloe's assertions are supported by the history of women's utilization, they were mobilized during wars to shore up manpower shortages and demobilized afterwards, were limited to "traditional" nursing and clerical positions during peacetime conscription eras with ceilings on their numbers, and were given expanded roles after the establishment of AVFs because the end of conscription meant that there was no longer a readily available pool of male resources to draw from. Women are used by the military in roles deemed acceptable for them by the men at the top of the military hierarchy and are prevented from fully entering the "core" of the military, combat

Enloe discusses a mutual interest between the military and men

This mutuality of interests has the effect of double-locking the door for women. Women - because they are *women*, not because they are nurses or wives or clerical workers - cannot qualify for entrance into the inner sanctum, combat. Furthermore, to *allow* women entrance into the essential core of the military would throw into confusion *all* men's certainty about their male identity and thus about their claim to privilege in the social order<sup>139</sup>

Placing women in the military is already an invasion on the male preserve, but to allow women in combat would completely upset the entire maleness of the military

As stated previously, governments believe that combat and war are traditional male preserves, despite historical evidence of women warriors. Thus civilian policy-makers believe that the military is a male domain. However, the military elite also believe (even more so than governments and policy-makers) that war and combat are exclusive male areas.

'War is man's work. Biological convergence on the battlefield would not only be dissatisfying in terms of what women could do, but it would be an enormous psychological distraction for the male who wants to think that he's fighting for that woman somewhere behind, not up there in the same foxhole with him. It tramples the male ego. When you get right down to it, you have to protect the manliness of war.'<sup>140</sup>

Attitudes like those expressed in the above statement are rife throughout the military and are what continue to restrict or limit women in the combat arms fields, and turn women into tokens within the military. Even Congressional subcommittees as late as the 1970s were concerned with the tokenization of women in the military.

We [subcommittee] are concerned that the Department of Defense and each of the military services are guilty of "tokenism" in the recruitment and utilization of women in the Armed Forces. We are concerned that in the atmosphere of a zero draft environment or an all-volunteer force, women could and should play a more important role. We strongly urge the Secretary of Defense and the service secretaries to

develop a program which will permit women to take their rightful place in serving in our Armed Forces<sup>141</sup>

Women will continue to be tokens in the military and especially in the combat arms positions of the armed forces because of the androcentric nature of the military institution. The restriction of women will continue to occur despite the historical evidence of capable women warriors and the contemporary findings that women in non-traditional, mixed-gender combat support units do not hinder group cohesion or operational effectiveness. Initial Gulf War reports indicate that women performed well.

Two recent studies of mixed-gender units on field exercise indicate that women do not hinder group cohesion or operational effectiveness. One study by M C Devilbiss assessed the integration of women in operational support units in a field-deployed military combat exercise from 27 March to 10 April 1982. Devilbiss found that there was no empirical evidence that women decreased personal or "buddy" relationships among men, or that combat effectiveness is compromised when women are deployed.<sup>142</sup> Combat effectiveness is assessed as to how well a unit does its job and achieves its mission.<sup>143</sup>

The results of Devilbiss's study indicate that a non-sexual bonding or "buddy" relationships were formed between the sexes, with group cohesion being the greatest amongst mixed-gender groups, as the members tended to bond with their work group rather than their sex group.<sup>144</sup> Devilbiss also found that women enhanced combat effectiveness in this study because women were critical to the



operational effectiveness of the unit as they were depended upon for their knowledge and skills<sup>145</sup> It appears that women are regarded as part of a team, irrespective of their sex. They form buddy relationships and do not hamper group cohesion or operational effectiveness.

The second study was undertaken by Charles C. Moskos in Honduras as part of a test of women on extended field exercise in 1984. Moskos states

[w]omen worked as effectively as men. Although there were a few pointed exceptions, categorical comments from males that women were shirking their work were rare. When I probed for such attitudes, the men were more likely to be defensive rather than derogatory of female work performance. Some of the female soldiers worked less effectively than most soldiers, but then so did some of the men. There was no consistent pattern by sex of better or poorer workers.

Over the course of an extended field deployment, the women were increasingly judged as individuals and not by their sex. One woman was universally regarded as the most outstanding driver of heavy vehicles over treacherous mountain roads. When strenuous labor had to be performed, such as heavy lifting, the men would help the women - a situation no more begrudged than when a stronger male would help a weaker male with similar work.<sup>146</sup>

Women did the same duties as men when it was their turn, including unloading rations and waste disposal details.<sup>147</sup> The women were there to perform a job and did so effectively and efficiently. Moskos concluded the study by stating "women soldiers, under certain conditions, do much better in nontraditional military roles than most men think."<sup>148</sup>

Two field studies, numerous defence studies and historical evidence all combine to confirm that women can perform well in a wide variety of fields in the military, including combat. The historical examples in the previous chapter of the Amazons, Boadicea, Matilda, the Rani of Jhansi, the Amazons of Dahomey, and the Soviet women combatants of the Second World War all illustrate that women have been and can be capable combatants and warriors. The historical evidence of women warriors throughout the ages, from all parts of the world, shows that women are capable of fighting wars as combat soldiers. However, as populations grew and armies came under centralized state authority, warring became a man's job and women were relegated to camp-follower status.

The history of the utilization of women in the armed forces of Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom illustrates the androcentric nature of modern military institutions. When faced with manpower shortages, women nurses were reluctantly sent to participate in the Crimean War. Even though American women participated in all facets of the War of Independence and the Civil War, nurses alone were not given official status until the beginning of the twentieth century. Even during the first half of the twentieth century women were called upon to shore up manpower shortages and were relegated to auxiliary status, serving only for the duration.

Though women performed dangerous near-combat and combat jobs (though they were not defined as combat), such as anti-aircraft battery crew-members,

spies, and saboteurs, they suffered the indignity of having their corps' disbanded. If they were allowed to retain their women's services, women were limited in numbers and capacity, performing only clerical and administrative jobs. And in the case of British women's services and the American WAC, they had separate status from the regular armed forces, bordering on auxiliary status.

The 1960s and 1970s ushered in many changes for women in the Canadian and American militaries, with many policies changing towards women to make them more equal members of the military. Ceilings were lifted, automatic discharges for pregnancy and marriage were abolished, pay and benefits were made equal to men's, and more non-traditional positions were open to women. The 1980s and the 1990s saw more changes take place. The Royal Navy announced that it was going to allow women aboard ships, serving in all capacities, the Royal Air Force decided to allow women to fly all aircraft including combat planes, basic training was slowly being integrated, and the practice of involuntary discharges for pregnant servicewomen was abolished. Canada opened up all positions in the military to women, including all of the combat arms fields. The United States deployed women in non-traditional fields to Grenada, Libya, Panama, and the Persian Gulf and now allows women fighter aircraft pilots.

Militaries are being forced either through court rulings or personnel shortages to open up combat and near-combat positions to women. Yet the historical evidence in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States indicates that

military and civilian planners view women as a reserve pool of labour who are called upon only when shortages of qualified personnel threaten combat effectiveness and deterrence

As stated in Chapter One, the advent of all-volunteer forces caused a shortage of qualified personnel. It was with the establishment of AVFs in the United Kingdom and the United States that women were given a greater number of careers to choose from and allowed to increase numerically. However, the fact that women comprise approximately six percent of Britain's total force, eleven percent of Canada's total strength, and twelve percent of the American forces indicates that women are still small minorities within the armed forces.

The armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States have expressed concerns over the lack of qualified candidates for all positions in the military, including the increasingly, technically-complex combat arms trades. However, because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women are or will be tokens within combat positions. As long as the military remains a male-dominated and male-defining institution, of which combat is the core, women will never amount to more than token numbers in combat trades, in spite of proving themselves to be capable combatants and worthy warriors throughout history.

Now that the history of the utilization of women in the armed forces of the three countries has been presented, the theories of tokenism can be examined.

and analyzed as well as a review of the literature of women in non-traditional occupation from the theory of tokenism

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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THEORIES OF TOKENISM AS EXPLANATION FOR THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE MILITARY AND OTHER MALE- DOMINATED FIELDS**

As stated in the introduction, the main hypothesis of this thesis is that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens. The military has been shown as a male-dominated institution that excludes women from many positions, particularly involved in the core of military activity, combat. However, there is now a tendency for all positions, including those in the combat arms fields, to be open to women, for example, as is the case in Canada.

Despite the opening of combat positions to women in the Canadian Forces, the military has remained overwhelmingly a male-dominated institution. The militaries of the United Kingdom and the United States also remain male-dominated institutions while continuing (at the time of writing) to close most ground combat fields and positions to women. However, once combat positions, including fighter jet pilot, infantry, artillery, heavy armour, and combat engineer are opened to women, does the military cease to any significant extent to be a male-dominated institution? What obstacles or problems are faced by the women who enter these positions, if any? Do women enlist in combat arms fields in large numbers, or are their numbers so small that they are almost insignificant with respect to total force strength?

Many of the specific answers to these questions will be examined in subsequent chapters concerning the results of the interviews conducted with policy advising personnel and recruiting staff. However, before the specifics of

the issue of women in combat arms positions can be examined, broad theoretical concerns must first be addressed. Before the issue of women in combat positions as tokens can be discussed, tokenism must be defined and explained in order to establish the parameters for analysis.

This chapter details various definitions and explanations of tokenism. While the thesis specifically examines the notion of women in combat arms positions as tokens, the theories themselves are considered to be universal and applicable to either sex or any race or minority in a given situation. Once the notion of tokenism is defined and explained, the issue of women in "non-traditional" occupations and fields as tokens is examined. This section examines women in such non-traditional fields as science, law, engineering, policing, civil service, and medicine. This section is not intended to be an all-encompassing review of the literature on women in male-dominated occupations and fields, but is designed to offer a brief overview of women in non-traditional areas.

The final section of this chapter is an examination of the literature concerning women in the military as tokens. Though very few articles have been written that specifically examine women in the military as tokens, several books mention military women as tokens or detail phenomena and experiences that describe tokenism. The final section is also designed to illustrate a lack of literature on women in non-traditional military fields as tokens. This section also demonstrates a need for research on the topic of women in combat arms



positions as tokens or potential tokens according to the definitions presented in the first section of the chapter

### DEFINITIONS AND EXPLANATIONS OF TOKENS AND TOKENISM

There are several definitions of tokenism and token that are presented in this section, including dictionary definitions. However, as dictionaries offer definitions based on common usage rather than on rigorous social-scientific understanding they are not able to provide complete discussions of token and tokenism, the academic literature must be examined. The Oxford Dictionary offers the following definitions of "token" and "tokenism"

token *n* 1 a sign, symbol, or evidence of something, *a token of our esteem* 2 a keepsake or memorial of friendship, etc 3 a voucher or coupon that can be exchanged for goods, *book token* 4 a device like a coin bought for making certain payments, *milk tokens* - adj serving as a token or pledge but often on a small scale, *token resistance*

tokenism *n* making only a token effort or granting only small concessions, especially to a minority or suppressed groups <sup>1</sup>

The meanings of token that pertain to this thesis are the first, "a sign, symbol, or evidence of something" and "serving as a token or pledge but often on a small scale." These are the most commonly used definitions of token. They are most often used when referring to a person or group of persons who are a minority in

a group or institution and often carry a negative connotation, e g "She is our token woman "

Tokenism usually has the same negative connotation as the word token, e g "Did she get the position because of tokenism or because she is the best person for the position?" With tokenism there is often a sense that the person received some benefit, reward, position, or promotion because of her or his distinguishing characteristics, e g sex, race, ethnic origin, or religion, not because of her or his qualifications This often places a negative connotation on the words "token" and "tokenism"

Though the dictionary definitions of "token" and "tokenism" are the most common, they are inadequate for the purposes of this research The dictionary definitions of token and tokenism do not fully define the words nor do they explain how tokenism occurs and what the effects and ramifications of tokenism are Thus alternative definitions of token and tokenism must be examined in order to fully understand the phenomenon of tokenism and what it means to be a "token"

Judith Long Laws, in her 1975 article on the psychology of tokenism as it relates to women in academia, defines tokenism in the following way

Tokenism may be analyzed as an institution, a form of patterned activity generated by a social system as a means of adaptation to a particular kind of pressure

Tokenism is likely to be found wherever a dominant group is under pressure to share privilege, power, or other desirable commodities with a group which is excluded Tokenism is the

means by which the dominant group advertises a promise of mobility between the dominant and excluded classes. By definition, however, tokenism involves mobility which is severely restricted in quantity, and the quality of mobility is severely restricted as well. The Token does not become assimilated into the dominant group but is destined for permanent marginality. The Token is a member of an underrepresented group who is operating on the turf of the dominant group, under license from it. The institution of tokenism has advantages both for the dominant group and for the individual who is chosen to serve as Token. These advantages obtain, however, only when the defining constraints are respected: the flow of outsiders into the dominant group must be restricted numerically, and they must not change the system they enter. Tokenism must therefore be regulated. The mechanism for the regulation of tokenism is a role partnership composed of Token and Sponsor, which together embody and enforce the limitations on participation by members of the underrepresented group in the dominant group.<sup>2</sup>

Laws, in her definition of tokenism, refers to a dominant group which controls the access to the group, while the "token" is a member of an underrepresented group that has been allowed access to the institution or organization controlled by the dominant group. The token, once accepted to the institution, usually does not become assimilated, but is marginalized, is limited in number, and must not change the institution or organization the token has been granted access to. The token is also admitted to the institution because of external pressure placed on the dominant group to allow access to excluded classes. These four components of tokenism form part of the basis for the examination of women in combat arms

positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom

The other definition of tokenism that is utilized in this research is an expanded and more detailed version of one of Laws' tenets of tokenism, numerical restriction. In her 1977 article and book on women sales managers in a large corporation, Rosabeth Moss Kanter offers a straight numerical definition of a token

Skewed groups are those in which there is a large preponderance of one type over another, up to a ratio of perhaps 85:15. The numerically dominant types also control the group and its culture in enough ways to be labelled "dominants." The few of the other type in a skewed group can appropriately be called "tokens," because they are often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals. If the absolute size of the skewed group is small, tokens can also be solitary individuals or "solos," the only of their kind present. But even if there are two tokens in a skewed group, it is difficult for them to generate an alliance that can become powerful in the group.<sup>3</sup>

Kanter also offers different numerical proportions and corresponding categorical names to complete her theory. Uniform groups have a ratio of 100:0 and are composed of one type of person or social group that is homogeneous with respect to sex, race, and ethnicity. A tilted group has a proportional ratio of 65:35 where the "dominants" of her skewed group are a "majority" while the "tokens" become a "minority." Kanter's final type is a balanced group where the ratio is between 60:40 and 50:50.<sup>4</sup>

Though Kanter details four different types, the emphasis of her book and article is on the skewed group (as is the focus of this research) Kanter gives the following explanation for her emphasis on the skewed group

The characteristics of the second type, the skewed group, provide a relevant starting point for this examination of the effects of proportion, for although this group represents an extreme instance of the phenomenon, it is one encountered by large numbers of women in groups and organizations in which numerical distributions have traditionally favored men <sup>5</sup>

Kanter's aforementioned reasoning can also be applied to the military. The military traditionally has been a male-dominated institution and is (as will be shown in subsequent chapters) considered to be one of the last bastions of manhood and men.

The definitions of token and tokenism as explained by Laws and Kanter provide the parameters for this research. As stated previously, dictionary definitions of the concepts of token and tokenism do not adequately explain the phenomenon. In order to better understand what is meant by token and tokenism, alternative interpretations must be utilized. Upon examining the literature describing tokenism and tokens with respect to women in non-traditional fields, it was found that Laws' and Kanter's works are those cited most often <sup>6</sup>. With modifications (to be presented later in this chapter) Laws' and Kanter's definitions are the ones that will be utilized to argue that women in the combat arms positions of the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens.

Now that the definitions of token and tokenism (as they will be utilized in this research) have been presented, explanations of the phenomena can be explored. In order to better understand what is meant by the concepts of token and tokenism, brief synopses of Laws' and Kanter's works must be given, starting with the article by Laws.

As stated previously, Laws' article examines the phenomenon of tokenism in academia. According to her definition, tokenism occurs wherever a dominant group is required to share power or privilege with a group that previously has been excluded. In the case of Laws' study the dominant group, male academics, is pressured to share power and privilege with women, a group that has been excluded from academia traditionally.<sup>7</sup> Laws makes the argument that in studies of social institutions and social power, tokenism is often omitted. According to Laws, tokenism is more than a phenomenon, it is an institutionalized method of dealing with pressures to include a previously excluded social group in an institution or organization.

Traditionally women have been excluded from academia and it continues to be a relatively male-dominated profession with, for example, women constituting only seventeen percent of full-time academic staff and a mere five percent of professors in British universities.<sup>8</sup> Laws argues that even though a woman academic is technically qualified and has sufficient credentials for participation in the academic profession, she is an outsider.<sup>9</sup> This is due to the fact that the token is regulated through her relationship with the sponsor.

The sponsor voluntarily acts on behalf of the dominant group to assume responsibility for the 'assimilation' of the token, thus forming a "special relationship"

It is in this relationship that role pressures are communicated most powerfully. The dyadic relationship with the Sponsor is the vehicle by which the Token's behavior is shaped, role expectations are conveyed, role performance is evaluated, and identity is confirmed. The Sponsor's role vis à vis the Token has both an internal and an external aspect. The internal aspect [is] the definitions of self and other - The external aspect of the Sponsor's role involves managing the Token's entry into and role performance within the class to which he (but not she) is a native. The Sponsor vouches for her, and also exerts social control over her performances and, to some extent, over behaviors of others in the role set towards the Token.<sup>10</sup>

Even though she is allowed to join the dominant group, by definition, she is not fully assimilated into the group.

The sponsor acts on behalf of the dominant group to socialize the token for her "specific niche."<sup>11</sup> The notion of a specific niche for the token reemphasizes the marginalization of the token, as described in Laws's definition of tokenism. The token is not a fully integrated member of the dominant group, but has a special place reserved for her by the dominant group that is apart from the group, or as with the case of Laws's study, male academics.

There are other aspects of tokenism described by Laws that help us better understand how and why tokenism occurs. Laws argues that in order for tokens to remain in the institution or organization, they must succeed in or accept the

role of token and must also be qualified to be in the profession itself<sup>12</sup> Those who fail to succeed in the token role are of two types (a) the "overly idealistic" who accept the professional role but do not take hold of the role of token, and (b) "the cynical" who recognize and subsequently reject the token role<sup>13</sup> Those who succeed in the role of token, and subsequently, academia do so with the assistance of the sponsor

Laws argues that there are several dimensions along which the relationship between the sponsor and the token interact However, these dimensions can also be viewed as the means by which those who seek entry to a closed profession (academia, the military) are kept marginal and never fully accepted as part of the institution, and are thus designated as tokens The first of these "dimensions" is exceptionalism Both the sponsor (or the dominant group) and the token are in agreement that the token is "unusually able or competent"<sup>14</sup> The exceptionalism attributed to the token articulates the notions of meritocracy and individualism which are part of the ethos of the profession<sup>15</sup>

The token is an exception (and arguably is marginalized) in two ways First she is an anomaly to the dominant group, she is "different" on the basis of her sex Second she possesses the attributes that are valued by the dominant class But the token is often reminded (covertly) that she is part of the dominant group, and hence exceptional, because she possesses the attributes of the dominant group, not because of her sex This serves to distance the token from her original



group (women) and often causes her to function as a gatekeeper for other members of the excluded group<sup>16</sup>

The token takes the role of gatekeeper by often being assigned the task of screening applicants for the dominant group. If the token rejects claims of exceptionalism by other excluded class applicants she serves two purposes: she enhances her own exceptionalism and she re-affirms the legitimacy of the prevailing system of tokenism<sup>17</sup>. When the token 'screens out' members of excluded groups the institution itself makes significant gains which helps it maintain the sex composition of the institution. The gains are (a) the institution is perceived as "sex-blind" because of the very presence of the token, and (b) any criticism for not admitting more members of excluded groups is focused on the token as gatekeeper rather than the dominant group<sup>18</sup>. Thus the presence of the token aids the institution and its dominant group members in several ways. The token's existence illustrates to the "outside world" that the institution is sex-blind as it can show that it admits women. The token also aids the institution in maintaining male-dominance by taking on the role of gatekeeper by screening out applicants from excluded groups and in turn enhances her own exceptionalism.

The second dimension of the relationship between the token and the sponsor is individualism. Individualism involves two aspects: "Protestant ethic", and the notion that outcomes are the result of the individual's efforts<sup>19</sup>. Protestant ethic involves a belief that effort on the part of the individual leads to

rewards in career accomplishments and highlights. The person must work hard in order to achieve success, if the person makes the effort then rewards will follow. Individualism also involves the notion that the person alone is responsible for her success or failure based on the results of her own efforts. A person's success or failure is a direct result of her own efforts and cannot be attributed to or blamed on extraneous factors like sex or race.<sup>20</sup>

The third dimension that perpetuates the existence of tokenism is the notion of the profession as a meritocracy. Meritocracy includes the following premises:

- (1) that membership is achieved, not ascribed,
- (2) that the group's high standards justify its exclusivity, (3) that both must be upheld by members, and consequently, (4) that excellence will be rewarded (or Talent Will Out).<sup>21</sup>

By upholding the profession as a meritocracy the dominant group can justify the exclusion of omitted groups on the grounds that they do not possess the proper qualifications to warrant inclusion rather than the fact that they are being excluded based on sex.

The fourth concept of tokenism is boundary maintenance. Boundary maintenance includes all activities which perpetuate the psychological and social distances between the dominant group and the group to which the token belongs.<sup>22</sup> The token's role of gatekeeper is one such way that distance between the two groups is maintained. The token is crucial in boundary maintenance because "[f]irst, she asserts the superiority of dominant group attributes, hence legitimating social distance between the classes. Second, her presence refutes the

accusation that faculty status is based on the accident of gender"<sup>23</sup> The dominant group establishes the tenets of boundary maintenance while the token serves to support and maintain them, all the while supporting (unknowingly) the very institution of tokenism

Taken together, exceptionalism, individualism, meritocracy, and boundary maintenance serve to perpetuate the institution of tokenism and to protect the male dominance of such institutions as academia and the military By admitting only exceptional individuals to merit based professions and utilizing such tactics as boundary maintenance, the dominant group is able to maintain its virtual (male-dominated) monopoly on such institutions as the military The very presence of women, as tokens, refutes or dispels any criticism that the institution itself is androcentric or sexist The token also serves the interests of the dominant group by acting as gatekeeper to exclude other members of her group (women) while showing publicly that the institution is sex-blind

Though Laws delves quite extensively into the relationship between the token and the sponsor, it will be given only a cursory examination as it is the definitions of token and tokenism that are the foci of this research, not the relationship According to Laws, the sponsor is a "liberal" on the sex issue, but not a "radical", he is not prejudiced against women, the token verifies that, but he does not jeopardize the sex structure of the institution by sponsoring all women who apply<sup>24</sup> The token accepts the sponsor and his assistance and forms a reciprocal relationship whereby the sponsor vouches for the token's

exceptionalism and counters any attacks against her, while the token returns this favour and defends the sponsor from attacks by excluded persons, i.e. other women.<sup>25</sup> Eventually the token accepts that she operates within the bounds of the dominant group, but has her own special niche, she is not required to become "one of the boys" to be "accepted" in the profession.<sup>26</sup> Once this is realized by the token the sponsor's work is complete as the token is operating within the bounds established for her by the dominant group.<sup>27</sup>

The token does not alter the institution nor is she fully accepted into the institution. She is destined for permanent marginality as she operates according to the rules set out for her by the dominant group which does not allow her full entrance or acceptance. Laws concludes her article by stating the following:

It will be apparent from the foregoing analysis that tokenism is an eminently conservative practice and that the roles of Token and Sponsor both support the status quo. These roles embody beliefs and expectations that perpetuate the traditional structure of the academic profession. Neither the Token nor the Sponsor can be designated "the enemy" nor held responsible for the institution of tokenism. However, in the absence of change, neither can be expected to improve the lot of women in academia or to increase the proportion of women in academia.<sup>28</sup>

Laws does not delve into what type of change is necessary and how to accomplish change but she states that a transformation of the entire social system is necessary.<sup>29</sup> Thus unless there is change to both the social system (patriarchy) and the institutions (the military, academia, or any other male-dominated organization) the phenomenon of tokenism will continue to persist.

Laws makes several points in her ground-breaking work on the institution of tokenism in the field of academia that are relevant for studying other male-dominated institutions, such as the military. Her definition of tokenism presented in the beginning of this chapter is particularly relevant, as are the dimensions of interaction between the token and the sponsor: exceptionalism, individualism, the institution as a meritocracy, and boundary maintenance.

However, the theory does have some faults and limitations. Nowhere in her article does Laws offer any practical examples of the token/sponsor relationship in academia, that is, how it is played out in reality rather than theory. This diminishes the validity of the existence of such a relationship as it is not supported in real terms. Another shortcoming of Laws' work has been mentioned; she offers no practical solution as to how to alleviate and eliminate tokenism. For her, patriarchy and the institutions must be fundamentally altered, but she does not say how. Though the lack of solutions to tokenism has no real consequences for this thesis, the inadequate token/sponsor relationship has

Because the relationship between the two is not qualified or exemplified it is difficult to determine what to look for when applying Laws' theory to other situations. This weakens her assertion that the sponsor acts as a quasi-mentor to the token to prepare her for her 'special niche' in the institution. This assertion is supported by the findings of two other studies: one on women in academia, the other on women in the Signals Corps at an American army base in Germany.

Young, MacKenzie, and Sherif's study of women in a large American university found that only 23% of their respondents had a "sponsor", either in graduate school, on the job, or in both locations, while 67% of female academics surveyed stated that they had no such personal relationship during their careers<sup>30</sup> Michael Rustad's study of "Khaki Town" found that there were very few male soldiers willing to act as a sponsor to women in the Signals Corps, thus the token/sponsor relationship was not even created in his study<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Young *et al* found that there was no direct relationship between being a token and having a sponsor, women academics were tokens without sponsors<sup>32</sup> Thus, based on the above analysis and these studies, the assertion of the weakness of the token/sponsor relationship is credible It is because of this weakness that the relationship cannot be examined in this thesis, though this does not diminish the overall importance of Laws' theory as her definitions and dimensions of tokenism can be applied to the examination of women in combat arms positions

Laws' definition of tokenism, as well as her four dimensions will be referred to continually throughout this research as it is Laws' notions of tokenism that form part of the parameters for investigation of the hypothesis of the tokenization of women in combat arms fields in the military However, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, another definition and explanation of tokenism and token combine with Laws' to form the boundaries for examination of

tokenism in this research Kanter's numerical definition of tokenism was provided at the beginning of this section and shall be examined closely

Kanter's definition of tokenism revolves around a numerical explanation, any proportion of a group that is less than approximately fifteen percent of the total can be construed as "token" and therefore subject to problems experienced by tokens This section details the problems experienced by tokens in Kanter's study of women managers in a large corporation and examines her perception of the phenomenon of tokenism Kanter offers the following rationale for utilizing a numerical definition of tokenism

Chapter 8 [of her book Men and Women of the Corporation] considers how relative numbers - social composition of groups - affect relationships between men and women (or any two kinds of people) Wherever occupational sex segregation has been in effect, as it has been in the managerial and professional ranks of corporations like Indsco, those women who do break into men's territories find themselves in the position of the very few among the very many This position as "tokens" (representatives of their category rather than independent individuals) accounts for many of the difficulties such numerically scarce people face in fitting in, gaining peer acceptance, and behaving "naturally " The existence of tokens encourages social segregation and stereotyping and may lead the person in that position to overcompensate through either overachievement or hiding successes, or to turn against people of his or her own kind Thus, numbers - proportional representation - are important not only because they *symbolize* the presence or absence of discrimination but also because they have real consequences for performance<sup>33</sup>

Kanter justifies the use of a numerical definition of tokenism based on the notion that numbers are tangible, they show either a presence or absence of members of a group, such as women, in an organization or institution. Moreover, numbers also determine how a person performs in their job, as Kanter demonstrates in the latter part of her book.

Kanter also presents justification for the use of the word "token" to mean numerically scarce

Use of the term "token" for the minority member rather than "solo," "solitary," or "lone" highlights some of the special characteristics associated with that position. Tokens are not merely deviants or people who differ from other group members along any one dimension. They are people identified by ascribed characteristics (master statuses such as sex, race, religion, ethnic group, etc.) or other characteristics that carry with them a set of assumptions about culture, status, and behavior highly salient for majority category members. They bring these "auxiliary traits," into situations in which they differ from other people not in ability to do a task or in acceptance of work norms but only in terms of these secondary and informal assumptions. The importance of these auxiliary traits is heightened if members of the majority group have a history of interacting with the token's category in ways that are quite different from the demands of task accomplishment in the present situation - as is true of men with women. Furthermore, because tokens are by definition alone or virtually alone, they are in the position of representing their ascribed category to the group, whether they chose to do so or not. They can never be just another member while their category is so rare, they will always be a hyphenated member, as in "woman-engineer" or "male-nurse" or "black-physician."



People can thus be in the token position even if they have not been placed there deliberately for display by officials of an organization. It is sufficient to be in a place where others of that category are not usually found, to be the first of one's kind to enter a new group, or to represent a very different culture and set of interactional capacities to members of the numerically dominant category. The term "token" reflects one's status as a symbol of one's kind.<sup>34</sup>

Kanter utilizes part of the commonly held definition of "token" in order to better explain why she chose the term "token" to mean numerically scarce in her skewed group typology. To Kanter the notion of tokenism is being a symbol of one's master status, i.e. sex, in an institution which has been closed traditionally to the possessors of the "master status", while also being one of an extremely small group.

Like Laws', Kanter's definition of tokenism involves small numbers of a group seeking admission to a closed or restricted organization, group, or institution. Because the numbers of those who actually enter the institution are so small, they also fail to produce any changes to the institution and thus the practice of tokenism continues to persist. Kanter also argues that even if the dominant group does not intend to put tokens at a disadvantage, the very number of tokens illustrates the negative consequences of tokenism.

While the dynamics of tokenism are likely to operate in some form whenever proportional representation in a collectivity is highly skewed, even if the dominant group does not intend to put the token at a disadvantage, two conditions can heighten and dramatize the effects, making them more visible to the analyst: (1) the token's social category (master status) is physically obvious, as

in the case of sex, and (2) the token's social type is not only rare but also new to the setting of the dominants. The latter situation may or may not be conceptually distinct from rarity, although it allows us to see the development of patterns of adjustment as well as the perception and response to tokens. Subsequent tokens have less surprise value and may be thrust into token roles with less disruption to the system.<sup>35</sup>

According to Kanter, tokenism may be easy to distinguish as the token's social category is physically obvious and they are new to the setting. This is especially true of women in combat arms positions in the military, the women can be distinguished physically by the dominant group (men) as being "not male", and their presence is new in contemporary militaries, as women have not been permitted to serve officially in combat arms positions in modern militaries. The other key point of the aforementioned paragraph is that subsequent tokens accept their position of token and cause less disruption to the established system. That is, the tokens do not change fundamentally the institution they are permitted to enter, the institution continues to function for the most part according to its status quo. The only difference to the institution is that it admits women, albeit in a restricted and regulated manner so as to keep the numbers of women to a minimum and to prevent change to the institution.

The next area of analysis in Kanter's study deals with the experiences of tokens and the phenomena that occur with being a token in a "closed" organization or institution. Kanter defines and describes what she calls "three perceptual phenomena" that are associated with the proportional rarity of tokens.

visibility, polarization, and assimilation. Each of these phenomena, in turn, is associated with a particular dynamic (which are coped with by tokens in patterns). Visibility creates performance pressures, polarization leads to the heightening of dominant culture boundaries, and assimilation leads to role encapsulation.<sup>36</sup>

Visibility, the first phenomenon, implies that tokens have a higher visibility than do dominants in an organization or institution, and thus seize a larger awareness share. This leads to a law of increasing returns for tokens: "as individuals of their type come to represent a *smaller* numerical proportion of the group, they potentially capture a *larger* share of the group members' awareness."<sup>37</sup> In other words, relatively scarce numbers of a group or "tokens" tend to "stand or stick out" in an organization because of their scarcity.

This high visibility leads to performance pressures for tokens as they are usually in the spotlight and "typically performed their jobs under public and symbolic conditions different from those of dominants."<sup>38</sup> For instance, tokens are sometimes put on display by the organization they work for, i.e. placed before the media in light of their "accomplishments", especially if they are new to the institution. This can lead to acts by tokens being used symbolically as to "how women perform" by the institution, thereby treating tokens as representatives of the larger group (women), and not as individuals.<sup>39</sup> Thus actions and capabilities of tokens are perceived to be indicative of actions and

capabilities of the entire group, e.g. if one woman fails infantry basic training, then all women are incapable of passing infantry basic training

Kanter also makes the following observation about tokens and where the visibility phenomenon derives from

The token's visibility stemmed from characteristics - attributes of a master status - that threatened to blot out other aspects of a token's performance. Although the token captured attention, it was often for her discrepant characteristics, for the auxiliary traits that gave her token status. The token does not have to work hard to have her presence noticed, but she does have to work hard to have her achievements noticed.<sup>40</sup>

As the phenomenon of visibility connotes, the token is noticed. However, she is not necessarily noticed for her achievements but usually for her ascribed trait which makes her different from the dominant group, her sex. This visibility leads to performance pressures, because of visibility, tokens have to work hard to succeed but they cannot do so well as to make the dominants look bad.<sup>41</sup> Tokens' job performance must therefore be carefully balanced.

Though the coping mechanisms of the dynamics of the phenomenon which affect tokens are not the focal point of this examination and explanation of tokenism, they are still worth noting. Thus in order to survive the performance pressures that arise out of visibility, tokens can do one of two things: overachieve or limit visibility. Some tokens overachieve by setting high aspirations and work extra hard to promote themselves, though they end up with threats of retaliation by dominants. However, most tokens follow the second

mechanism and try to limit their visibility by attempting to be socially invisible. These women try to "blend into" the institution and minimize their differentness and presence by adopting such tactics as wearing "mannish dress", avoiding social events, and remaining quiet at meetings.<sup>42</sup> By utilizing the second mechanism tokens de-emphasize their differences and their accomplishments by adopting a low profile and avoiding the limelight that tokens are often thrust into.

The second phenomenon that affects tokens is polarization or an exaggeration of differences between the token(s) and the dominants. Kanter explains polarization in the following way:

In uniform groups, members and observers may never become self-conscious about the common culture and type, which remain taken for granted and implicit. But the presence of a person or two bearing a different set of social characteristics increases the self-consciousness of the numerically dominant population and the consciousness of observers about what makes the dominants a class. They become more aware both of their commonalities and their difference from the token, and to preserve their commonality, they try to keep the token slightly outside, to offer a boundary for the dominants. There is a tendency to exaggerate the extent of the differences between tokens and dominants because, tokens are, by definition, too few in number to defeat any attempts at generalization. It is thus easier for the commonalities of dominants to be defined in contrast to the token than in tilted or balanced groups. One person can be perceptually isolated and seen as cut off from the core of the group more than many, who begin to represent too great a share of what is called the group.<sup>43</sup>

Thus in the second phenomenon, the differences between the token and the dominants are overstated in order to distance the dominants from the token. Common features between the dominants are also exaggerated to provide a stronger bond for the dominants. The contrast or perceived contrast between the token and the dominants leads to the "dynamic" of heightened boundaries between the two groups, which was also put forth by Laws in her explanation of tokenism. Boundary heightening is achieved by emphasizing and exaggerating elements shared by dominants in contrast to the token.<sup>44</sup>

Boundary heightening can take several forms and comprises of several tactics. One way dominants heighten boundaries in a male-dominated institution is by emphasizing the camaraderie of men. This is done by men telling sexually explicit jokes, business success stories laced with sexual innuendo, talking about sports or drinking adventures in front of the token women in order to assert the common bonds of men.<sup>45</sup> The men emphasize their "male culture" by discussing issues and acting in perceived traditionally male patterns and behaviour. This serves to (a) heighten the differences between the token women and the dominant group as women do not usually discuss sports, partake in drinking bouts, or tell sexually explicit jokes, and (b) solidify "common bonds" between the men.

Another way in which the dominant group perpetuates boundary heightening is through the use of interruptions as a reminder of the "differences" between the token and the dominant group. The dominant group members make tokens an

occasion for the interruption of "usual events " For example, members of the dominant group may ask tokens if they can still swear now that there are women present yet continue to act in a status quo manner <sup>46</sup>

A third way in which the dominant group can heighten boundaries is to exclude tokens from informal settings <sup>47</sup> Though tokens by their very presence in an institution are part of the "formal" setting and attend formal meetings and gatherings, they are often excluded from the more informal settings or networks, such as sporting events or after work drinks The informal settings generally exclude tokens as they are not informed of the events or the events do not appeal to them

The final way in which dominants heighten boundaries between tokens and themselves is to keep tokens on the periphery while expecting them to display group loyalty, if tokens do not display loyalty, they are condemned to even further isolation

Through loyalty tests, the group seeks reassurance that tokens will not turn against them or use any of the information gained through their viewing of the dominants' world to do harm to the group They get this assurance by asking a token to join or identify with the majority against others who represent competing membership or reference groups, in short, dominants pressure tokens to turn against members of the latter's own category If tokens collude, they make themselves psychological hostages of the majority group For token women, the price of being "one of the boys" is a willingness to turn occasionally against "the girls " <sup>48</sup>

Kanter argues that there are two loyalty tests that can be used to heighten boundaries. Tokens can allow prejudicial statements to be made about other women and allow themselves to be viewed as "exceptions" to their class, which is why they were admitted to the institution. This concept is very much like the one put forth by Laws. In fact, Kanter found some tokens at Indsco acted as gatekeepers to prohibit other women from entering the organization by using such arguments that women, particularly young women, are not worth hiring as they are likely to quit upon marriage.<sup>49</sup>

The other loyalty test involves tokens allowing themselves and their "master status" to be a source of humour for the dominant group. Tokens accept jokes about themselves and laugh at themselves in order to be "accepted" by the dominants. If tokens object to being a source of humour they are chided for not having a sense of humour.<sup>50</sup> In order to be accepted as "part of the group" tokens often allow themselves to be objects of ridicule and end up having to laugh at themselves and their category in general.

As with the phenomenon of visibility and its related dynamic, the phenomenon of polarization and its four related dynamics also entail a coping mechanism for tokens to deal with boundary heightening. Tokens respond to boundary heightening in one of two ways. They either accept the isolation of being a token and never become full-fledged members of the group or they become an "insider" and argue that they are exceptions to their social group and deny any affiliation with their master status.<sup>51</sup> However, even if a token becomes



an "insider" she is never fully accepted by the dominants as a member of the group because of her "difference" from the dominants. Thus polarization still exists for even an "insider."

The third perceptual phenomenon described by Kanter is assimilation.

Assimilation, the third perceptual tendency, involves the use of stereotypes, or familiar generalization about a person's social type. The characteristics of a token tend to be distorted to fit the generalization. Tokens are more easily stereotyped than people found in the greater proportion. If there were enough people of the token's type to let discrepant examples occur, it is eventually possible that the generalization would change to accommodate the accumulated cases. But in skewed groups, it is easier to retain the generalization and distort the perception of the token. It is also easier for tokens to find an instant identity by conforming to the preexisting stereotypes. So tokens are, ironically, both highly visible as people who are different and not yet permitted the individuality of their own, non-stereotypical characteristics.<sup>52</sup>

Assimilation, in turn, leads to role encapsulation. Role encapsulation involves two dynamics: (1) status levelling and/or (2) stereotyped role induction. The first dynamic, status levelling, involves the use of mistaken identity. Tokens are assumed to be in 'traditional' women's fields, e.g. secretaries or clerk/typists rather than managers or infants. Even if it is known that the token does not occupy a traditional position she is treated as if she were in a traditional position and is given tasks that are inappropriate to her position.<sup>53</sup>

The other dynamic of role encapsulation involves what Kanter describes as stereotyped role induction. This occurs by dominants defining special roles for

women and slotting them into generalized stereotypical roles that set tokens apart from dominants. The four stereotypical roles are "mother", "seductress", "pet", and "iron maiden". The "mother" role involves the token playing "mother" to the dominants, she is sympathetic, listens to them, offers advice, and is viewed as non-threatening by and to the institution. The "seductress" is seen as a sex object by the dominants and is one who has to be helped in her job. She is competed for by many of the men and one man might be her "protector". The "pet" is the cheerleader or the mascot of the group, she is humorous and is often fussed over by the men. The "iron maiden" is seen as a hard or tough woman, typically classified as a "feminist" and is usually abandoned by the dominants and is not offered any assistance.<sup>54</sup> According to Kanter's analysis, a token can either be a victim of mistaken identity/status levelling and/or is ascribed a stereotypical slot to occupy which determines the way that she is treated within the institution or organization.

Tokens cope with role encapsulation by accepting stereotypical roles as it is easier to accept them rather than to fight and change them. This leads to, according to Kanter, a degree of self-distortion for the tokens.<sup>55</sup> Tokens can also fight the stereotypes and try not to exhibit any of the characteristics of the stereotypes. However, this can also be difficult as the token must remain aware of her actions at all times and this can also lead to self-distortion.<sup>56</sup> Thus coping with role encapsulation is difficult for the token, no matter which strategy she chooses she faces the possibility of self-distortion.

Unlike Laws, Kanter goes into some detail as to what she believes is necessary to alleviate and eliminate the problems of tokenism. Kanter's solution is simple, increase the number of members in the token's category so there is no longer a skewed situation where many dominants and few tokens exist. Kanter argues that number balancing must be attained to eliminate tokenism, her "balanced" typology is the ideal group.<sup>57</sup> Though she suggests affirmative action programs to increase the number of members of excluded groups, Kanter, like Laws also believes that there must be changes to the social system, power systems, behaviour, and to hierarchical organizations themselves.<sup>58</sup>

However, like Laws' theory, Kanter's theory of tokenism also has its shortcomings. Her explanations of how tokenism will occur and the forms in which it will manifest itself is more detailed than Laws' but it is also more quantitative in nature, relying on arbitrary numbers for its parameters. Yet this is an artificial barrier as to what constitutes tokenism, that is does not sixteen or seventeen percent women in a male-dominated institution indicate tokenism? Kanter argues that her ratios are approximate using qualifiers like "perhaps" and "about", but they nonetheless imply arbitrariness for future research.

Kanter's solution to tokenism is also questionable, that is by simply increasing the numbers of women in male-dominated institutions, tokenism will be eliminated. However that solution is too simplistic. For instance, even if the numbers of women in combat units rose to twenty percent there is no guarantee that they will not be tokens and experience the associated phenomena, for they

may be posted singly or in pairs to all-male combat units. Increasing numbers in not enough to eliminate tokenism.

On a more theoretical level, patriarchy or androcentricity are at the heart of the military, so until they are eliminated tokenism will still occur. Kanter fails to recognize the systemic sex bias in male-dominated institutions.

Several other researchers have also found Kanter's numerical definition to be inadequate for various reasons. Yoder and Sinnott in their study of male and female amusement park concession workers tested both Laws' and Kanter's theories. Laws argued that only "double deviants", e.g. women and minorities in white male-dominated scenarios would be tokens. Kanter argued that tokenism is sex-blind and that under-representation leads to tokenism, meaning that both women and men can be tokens, dependent upon occupational setting. Yoder and Sinnott found that male "tokens" did not experience the negative perceptual phenomena, while female tokens did, leading them to conclude "that tokenism involves underrepresentation *and* a social context of deviance" <sup>59</sup>

Yoder in a later article argued that numbers were not enough and that increasing numbers was inadequate for the elimination of tokenism. Yoder stated that other factors beyond numbers contribute to tokenism: gender status, occupational inappropriateness, and intrusiveness, which Kanter's subsequent studies contain. That is, women workers (gender status), in stereotyped male occupations (gender inappropriate for women) that were opened to women for the first time (or were the first women admitted to the institution), or the first

large group of women to enter (intrusiveness)<sup>60</sup> Yoder concluded " tokenism effects [performance pressures, isolation, and role enscapsulation] are the result of being a woman, being numerically scarce, and working in an occupation normatively defined as men's work "<sup>61</sup> Tokenism goes beyond simple numerical scarcity

Finally Zimmer's article argued that there has been no evidence in any of the literature that increasing the number of women in an organization will eliminate or diminish tokenism She argues "[i]t may even be the case that increasing the number of women without addressing the sexist attitudes imbedded in male-dominated organizations, may exacerbate women's occupational problems "<sup>62</sup> Zimmer believed that tokenism must be understood in terms of sexism and how relationships in the workplace are affected by this bias She, like Yoder, also questions the solution of number increasing, as there is little evidence of this strategy producing equality for women in the workplace <sup>63</sup>

Despite these researchers lending support to the aforementioned assertion of arbitrary and inadequate numbers, Zimmer's solution is wide-spread social change and Yoder and Sinnett's lack of prescriptive remedies are as inadequate as those offered by Laws Unfortunately, Kanter, like Laws, does not offer any prescriptions for any of the changes she feels are necessary to eliminate tokenism, which is a shortcoming in her analysis It is fine to call for widespread social, behavioural, and organizational reform, but to not provide any details as

to how to even begin to undertake these actions is a deficiency found in both works on tokenism

However, despite Kanter's relatively weak remedies to eliminate tokenism and her arbitrary numbers, both her article and her book provide basic points for the analysis of tokenism and women in combat arms positions in the military. Her three perceptual tendencies of visibility, polarization, and assimilation with their respective dynamics of performance pressures, boundary heightening, and role encapsulation provide the parameters for the analysis of women in non-traditional military positions, i.e. combat arms. Kanter's work provides the definitions and details of tokenism which will be used in the analysis of women in combat arms positions, along with those by Laws. Their studies of tokenism are the seminal works on the phenomenon of tokenism as it affects women in non-traditional occupations.

Now that the concepts of tokenism, and its definitions and descriptions have been examined, a literature review of women in non-traditional fields as tokens can be undertaken.

## **WOMEN IN NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS AS TOKENS**

Though there has been a plethora of literature written on the topic of women working in non-traditional fields or occupations, very few of these writings have examined the tokenization of women in male-dominated fields. Though much of

the literature describes many of the aspects of tokenism as defined and explained by Laws and Kanter, only a few actually describe the experiences of women in male-dominated fields as being the result of tokenism, or that women in these occupations are tokens. This could be due in part to the negative connotation of the concept of tokenism. However, as shown throughout this brief literature review of women employed in male-dominated fields, these women can be considered tokens based on the definitions provided by Laws and Kanter.

However, before this can be undertaken, some general statements regarding tokenism must be presented. Laws', Kanter's and subsequent studies of tokenism have been, as Yoder pointed out, on women entering male-dominated occupations for the first time, or for the first time in significant numbers, this thesis is no different. It was also stated that male "tokens" are not subjected to the same negative consequences as female tokens, thus Kanter's theory is not as gender-neutral as she put forth in her study. Based on these findings it would be correct to assert, with regards to the military, that women in combat arms positions would be more apt to experience tokenism and its associated phenomena than minorities or homosexual men, because they are women entering an hitherto exclusively male area for the first time.

It can also be suggested that though Kanter and Laws identify tenets of tokenism, forms of tokenism can vary depending on the institutions women are entering and their cultures and ideologies, (e.g. macho cultures like the military and police may treat tokens differently than neurosurgeons). Though tokenism

can appear in male-dominated occupations, the ways in which it manifests itself and its severity and visibility may vary across occupations

As stated previously there is a vast amount of literature which details the history and experiences of women in non-traditional fields and occupations. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to delve into any great detail of the tokenization of women in male-dominated fields, it is useful to examine some of the literature on the subject, so as to examine the common features of tokenism in a number of cases as well as occupationally specific features. Thus this section entails a brief review of the literature written on women in such non-traditional occupations as engineer, civil servant, lawyer, police officer, doctor, and academic. Though this examination does not encompass all of the non-traditional fields that women are slowly beginning to be admitted to, it is varied enough to examine the phenomenon of tokenism across diverse fields.

One of the fields that women are slowly making gains in is medicine, specifically as doctors. Several studies have been undertaken which examine the historical exclusion of women in the field of medicine as well as their current increasing presence. One examination of women in health care traces the earliest origins of women's exclusion to the present day situation in the United Kingdom. Harriet Bradley's book Men's Work, Women's Work traces the history of the sexual division of labour and examines traditionally male-dominated fields and women's entry to them.



Bradley argues that in early times women were health care practitioners but the campaigns of Oxford and Cambridge to restrict untrained practitioners eventually closed the field of health care to women through the passage of various medical acts such as The Medical Act of 1512<sup>64</sup> By the nineteenth century women doctors were an anomaly within the field of health care, but the advent of nursing as a profession, as demonstrated by Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War meant that women had a place within the field of medicine even though nurses were (and still are) subservient to male doctors Bradley asserts that women's advancement within doctoring has been limited and that the profession itself is sex-segregated Women are clustered in the sub-fields of child psychology, geriatrics, mental handicaps, and anaesthetics, while comprising a mere two percent of surgeons<sup>65</sup> Overall women are only eighteen percent of the doctoring profession in the United States, seventeen percent in Canada, and twenty percent in the United Kingdom

Bradley does not present any of the difficulties faced by women in the doctoring profession, so that it is difficult to ascertain if women within medicine experience the problems associated with tokenism However, an essay in a book on women and work alludes to tokenism in the field of medicine Bourne and Wikler argue that since 1970 unprecedented numbers of women have entered medical schools in the United States, with women constituting only 9.6% of the total in 1971 to 18% in 1975 to almost 40% by 1976 However, they caution against reading too much into these numbers

Women who enter the domain of medicine, which has been male-defined, are likely to find their presence is jarring and upsetting to others. First, women are unexpected and therefore feared as unpredictable. Second, their personal "female" characteristics and qualities (which may be stereotypically imputed or actually theirs) are *incongruent* with those expected and valued for a physician.<sup>66</sup>

Though women doctors compose approximately twenty percent of the profession, their official admission to the field is a fairly recent phenomenon. The above quote indicates that women's admission to the doctoring profession has not been easy for women and that their presence has upset the status quo, or the dominant group - men. An American study of male nurses and female doctors in two hospitals confirmed the tokenization of female doctors and that male nurses, though "tokens", do not experience negative consequences, but positive benefits (confirming Yoder and Sinnett's study). Floge and Merrill went beyond numbers to test Kanter's qualitative perceptual phenomena and found that all three were present, for example, male doctors treat male nurses (by and large) as equals (socially and professionally), while female doctors associate with female nurses and are given subordinate status.<sup>67</sup> Based on this study and the above mentioned descriptions, female physicians can be construed as tokens.

The next series of non-traditional fields to be examined are discussed in a volume edited by Spencer and Podmore. The professions examined in this section include engineer, civil servant, and lawyer. The reason why Spencer and Podmore's book is singled out is because the editors' list of factors that affect

women in male-dominated professions, some of the factors fit well within Kanter's and Laws' definitions of tokenism, though Spencer and Podmore do not define them as such. Thus before an examination of women in engineering, law, and the civil service is undertaken, a presentation of the factors that affect women in non-traditional fields is warranted.

Spencer and Podmore argue that ten issues or factors operate within male-dominated professions that affect women. The first of these factors is existing stereotypes about women and their innate characteristics. The second factor is existing stereotypes about the nature of the profession, e.g. that it is physically demanding or requires aggressive people and therefore is not suited for women. The third is the sponsorship system which exists in the professions which pushes along younger people through the ranks. The fourth issue is a lack of female role models and peers on which women can rely. The next is the informal relationships in the profession from which women are often excluded. The sixth factor is the notion of professional commitment, the "all or nothing" ethos which women are deemed not to possess because of "outside" commitments such as family. The seventh issue is the unplanned nature of women's careers, e.g. because of maternity leaves. The next is the preconceived notion of what constitutes "women's work", i.e. women are better suited in "caring" jobs. The ninth factor relates to clients' expectations, clients expect to see a man turn up to meetings and the organization must acquiesce. The final issue is a fear of

competition by men in the profession of women, that is women will work for less pay than men or that women will lower the prestige of the profession<sup>68</sup>

All of the factors operate within the professions, according to Spencer and Podmore. They also argue that beyond the ten issues there also exists the marginalization of women in male-dominated professions<sup>69</sup>. The notion of marginalization is part of the concept of tokenism, the token exists on the periphery of the institution or organization and is not integrated fully into the dominant group. Other issues mentioned by Spencer and Podmore also fall within the definitions and explanations of tokenism detailed by Kanter and Laws. The use of stereotypes about women and the profession is part of tokenism. The sponsor system is central to Laws' concept of tokenism, as detailed by the analysis of the relationship between the token and sponsor. The existence of informal networks or relationships is part of both definitions. Thus, there exists overlap between the explanations of tokenism as put forth by Laws and Kanter and the issues which affect women in non-traditional fields, though neither Spencer and Podmore, nor any of the other writers in their book define women's experiences as being the result of tokenism.

Another male-dominated field is that of professional engineering. The female proportion of industrial engineers in Canada was just over twelve percent in 1981, up from a mere 3.3 percent in 1971<sup>70</sup>. In 1982 only 2.4 percent of the engineering technicians and 3.5 percent of the scientists and technologists in Britain were women<sup>71</sup>. The number of women professional engineers is quite

low and they do experience aspects of tokenism. Extreme stress faced by female engineers in a British Petroleum study was attributed (in part) to the "performance pressures" they experience as token women.<sup>72</sup> Newton states

[t]heir feelings of stress were linked directly to prejudice and discrimination and they were more likely than their male colleagues to be considering leaving the company. Contrary to popular stereotypes of women employees, their reasons for leaving were not related to family intentions, but rather to dissatisfaction with the job and pressures at work.<sup>73</sup>

Thus far all that has been examined is women in "hard" non-traditional fields, i.e. medicine, and engineering. However, it is not just women in the aforementioned male-dominated fields who experience problems such as marginalization, women in fields like law, the civil service and academia also face many of the same struggles experienced by women in technical/scientific fields. This sub-section consists of a brief examination of some of the literature concerning women lawyers, academics, and civil servants.

"Servants of the Crown" by Patricia Walters examines women in the upper echelons of the British Civil Service, the "administrative class" or "mandarins". The British civil service is seen as an equal opportunity employer as appointments are based on merit, in principle, and are free from discrimination. However, the civil service has been anything but equal for women because though the higher civil service has been open to women since 1920, married women were not employed until 1946, and equal pay with men was not granted until 1955.<sup>74</sup>

Despite the fact that currently (1987) women are thirty percent of the successful applicants to the administration trainee grade, and despite thirty years of "equal opportunity", women are only ten percent of the five thousand Assistant Secretaries and Principals and a mere twenty-one out of a total seven hundred of those in the mandarin class, or just three percent <sup>75</sup> In Canada, out of four thousand two hundred eighty-three in the Management category, women are only fourteen percent of the senior managers and ten percent of the executives <sup>76</sup>

Walters argues that the higher civil service is highly confined, with entry to the mandarin class being restricted and controlled and limited numerically. There also exists a clear hierarchy, a strong shared ethos, and a sense of occupational identity <sup>77</sup> All of these things combine to make entry for men difficult and entry for women nearly impossible. All one has to do is look at the numbers to see that there are very few women in the higher civil service. Women face problems of numerical scarcity and having to prove that they are successful, while men are deemed successful until they prove themselves failures, and marginalization <sup>78</sup> The numbers of women in the higher civil service indicate tokenism is occurring as does the notion of "proving one's self" and being marginalized in the organization. The evidence presented by Walters could lead one to hypothesize that in the civil service, the phenomenon of tokenism is occurring, particularly to women in the upper echelons.

The legal profession is another traditionally male-dominated field which has been the source of study by several writers. Women have made relatively significant gains in the field of law. In Canada, women were only 4.8 percent of all lawyers and notaries in 1971, but jumped to 15.1 percent in 1981.<sup>79</sup> In Britain women were forty percent of law students by the mid-1980s and twelve percent of the practising barristers and solicitors, up from only three percent in the 1950s.<sup>80</sup> Despite the numbers, law is still a male-dominated and male-oriented profession due to the "aggressive" tendencies of law.

Based on their interview data from lawyers, Spencer and Podmore argue that law is both "aggressive" and "masculine". Aggressive images by male barristers such as "hitting people on the head", views that the legal practice is competitive, and arguments that choosing advocacy "represents a means of channelling and disposing of aggression in a controlled setting" you can take out your aggression in cross examinations, and so on<sup>81</sup> led the writers to assert that law, and especially particular branches is an inherently masculine and aggressive profession.

Women are often pushed into "less aggressive" forms of law, which are lower status, lower paid, and less visible, such as matrimonial law.<sup>82</sup> Stereotypes and myths such as that clients do not like women lawyers, that women take jobs away from men and only end up leaving to marry and have children, and that women are not "tough" or aggressive enough to compete in law are often used to

exclude or marginalize women lawyers<sup>83</sup> Spencer and Podmore conclude their essay by asserting the following

This chapter has tried to capture the classic 'double-bind' for women working in a male-dominated and male-oriented profession and the basic incongruity between their personal identity as 'feminine' and their membership of a profession which is strongly 'masculine' Women lawyers are essentially marginal members of their profession and can find themselves in a 'no-win' situation If they attempt to conform to the dominant male norms of the profession, they will be regarded as 'unnatural' women, while if they distance themselves from professional norms they will not be accepted by the men as competent professional colleagues In the last resort, however, whatever women actually do and however they behave, they are still left with the problem that some men will persist in evaluating them only as sexual objects,<sup>84</sup>

Thus, according to Spencer and Podmore, women lawyers have a difficult time being accepted as competent colleagues by their male counterparts and often suffer problems of marginalization, much like their counterparts in other male-dominated professions

Two American studies of women in law support Kanter's theory of tokenism MacCorquodale and Jensen took a sample of male and female lawyers in Arizona where women were fifteen percent of the attorneys at the time of the research to determine if they experienced tokenism's perceptual phenomena They found that all three were present in the forms of receiving nonachievement compliments and having less credibility (heightened visibility), sexist jokes and remarks from their male colleagues and superiors (polarization), and



patronization, familiarity, and being asked if they were lawyers (stereotyping)<sup>85</sup>

Based on this, the authors concluded that tokenism is present in the legal profession

Spangler *et al's* study also confirms the presence of tokenism in law schools where female law students are a small minority, or a skewed group type. They empirically tested Kanter's skewed group and tilted group assumptions and found that her hypotheses were supported in their research

[W]omen and men in the skewed sex ratio group differ in performance to a greater extent than women and men in the tilted group. Our test suggests strongly that the dynamics of tokenism are operating in law schools and that, as Kanter argues, they operate to the detriment of women where they have low proportional representation in the student population.<sup>86</sup>

Thus they found in the school where women were 20% of the students, they experienced tokenism, while where women were 33% of the students, tokenism was not as prevalent, confirming Kanter's hypothesis

Women in academia have also been the subject of numerous studies, including Laws'. However, it would be remiss to focus only on Laws' and ignore other studies on women academics. In Canada, women were almost twenty-five percent of university teachers in 1981, up from under seventeen percent in 1971.<sup>87</sup> In the United Kingdom, academia is still a male-dominated profession. What is even more revealing than the small number of women academics is the fact that in the UK while only fifteen percent of men remain at the lecturer level to the end of their career, forty-eight percent of women do.<sup>88</sup>

Despite the fact that women constitute almost twenty percent of academic staff in Britain, they are virtually unrepresented in the upper echelons of academia, particularly at the levels of reader, professor, and head of department. According to John McAuley's study of women academics, within an institution examined in the mid-1980s, there was only one female head of department out of thirty-five departments, one hundred seventy male principal lecturers and only thirteen female, and only eighty-seven female senior lecturers out of a total of four hundred thirty-two<sup>89</sup>

McAuley asserts that even within academia women are perceived to be less committed to their careers because of family responsibilities, despite the lack of hard evidence to prove this assertion, e.g. lost time, absenteeism<sup>90</sup>. In this sense, women academics suffer from the same stereotypical myths that affect other women in male-dominated professions which results in their marginalization. McAuley concludes his article by arguing the following:

Although all members of the institution had to demonstrate at least a degree of competency - however that is to be defined - in order to legitimate their continuing participation, women, because of their minority situation, typically felt that they had to make their presentation of self rather more 'effortful'<sup>91</sup>

Thus, as in other professions, women academics have to "prove themselves" competent despite having to possess some form of competence in order to be admitted to the profession in the first place. This illustrates the biased nature of

male-dominated professions and indicates a potential for or actual incidence of marginalization or perhaps even tokenism

As discussed previously, Young *et al's* study of female academics confirmed the existence of tokenism, but it also indicated "non-token women" and those who fell into a "mixed cluster" group. Non-token women were those who did not believe meritocracy was in place and reported incidents of sex discrimination. They did not accept the "token" role and were still in academia, leading the researchers to conclude that though token women do exist in academia, non-token and mixed token women also exist<sup>92</sup>. This indicates only partial support for Laws' theory in having to accept the token role in order to succeed.

Closer in kind to the military, Malcolm Young in his book on policing in Britain asserts that women police officers in Britain are often a "token gesture", mainly because of the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 which forced police departments to open up positions to women<sup>93</sup>.

Young argues that the policing profession is a "primarily masculine domain" where women are not considered equals.

The police organization I have described can be defined as forming a primarily masculine domain, where metaphors of hunting and warfare predominate. Categories of prestige, power, and status are allocated to tough, manful acts of crime-fighting and thief-taking. Tensions experienced in these battles and conflicts with antagonists both inside and external to the organization have created a rigidified and defensively aggressive world, with a culture style

in which superior male logic discards or denigrates factors identified as inferior or threatening to it

These values, create cultural attitudes amongst policemen which stress drinking as a test of manliness, lend importance to physical courage, and see glamour in violence. All these amount to a 'cult of masculinity' used as a 'prestige structure', in the course of which women are denigrated, given low status, condescended to, and denied social value.<sup>94</sup>

Young actually gets at the heart of the issue of the marginalization of women police officers. He discusses the 'cult of masculinity' which peripheralizes and devalues women and asserts that tokenism is rampant in the police force.<sup>95</sup> The numbers of women in police departments support Young's accusation of tokenism, as does the history of their integration.

The first woman police officer given power of arrest was Policewoman Smith of Grantham in 1915, her job being responsible for morality patrol of women, this pattern of policewomen's work continued until the 1970s.

Until the 1970s, policewomen's work was dictated by such restrictions and their marginality confirmed by their exclusion from mainstream areas of policing. Invariably they were in specialist 'women's' departments dealing with women and children, sexual offences, and missing persons. Always they worked shorter shifts than the men, were paid less, had their own establishments within each force, and their own rank structures. Occasionally the equivalent of the 'token black' managed to struggle to middle management rank or into an area not usually

considered suitable or 'natural' for women, but the situation had changed little from the 1920s<sup>96</sup>

In fact little change occurred in police departments until the equal pay and equal employment legislation of the 1970s. The Equal Pay Act of 1971 gave women police officers equal pay to men, in 1973 equal promotion opportunities came into effect when the same rank structure for women and men evolved out of integration, and equal employment opportunities arose out of the Sex Discrimination Act, despite police departments asking for exemptions, quotas, and restrictions<sup>97</sup>

As for numbers, gains have been made by women, in 1960 women formed 3.16 percent of all British police forces, 7.27 percent in 1977, and just below 10 percent by 1980<sup>98</sup>. After the discovery of the illegal policy of a ten percent ceiling on women in 1987, numbers have risen to 12.9% by 1991. (This compares to approximately six percent in Canada.) It was not until 1987 that there were the first female instructors at the Metropolitan Police training centre. Young also makes the following criticism of the policing profession:

Such strident attempts to impose the continuation of a restricted role on women ignores the research evidence which has consistently shown that women are equally adapt as men at most police tasks. However, it is necessary to continue to deny this if the men are to support the deeply imbued ideology of gender hierarchy, which requires women to be persuaded into the traditional roles of wife and mother, caring for children, the elderly, and their own spouses. If they *are* to be allowed into the male world then it must be on male terms, and they must be only ever allocated a tiny place on the periphery while undertaking a parallel role to their preferred

domestic situation, and denied the accepted feminine traits while doing this (Emphasis added)<sup>99</sup>

What Young describes in the above paragraph and elsewhere in his chapter on policewomen is the phenomenon of tokenism, he has even referred to women as tokens, especially in the middle and high ranks. The notion of women being "allocated a tiny place on the periphery" of police forces expresses numerical restriction and marginalization, or tenets of tokenism according to Laws and Kanter.

Ott's study of policewomen and male nurses in the Netherlands confirmed the findings of Fløge and Merrill, and Yoder and Sinnett that men do not experience negative consequences if in a token situation, whereas women do. Women in 1985 were less than five percent of the patrol officers, while male nurses in hospitals reached twenty percent. Ott found that proportion is important, but it is not sex-neutral, as token policewomen experience disadvantages compared to policewomen in tilted groups, while male nurses in the skewed group did not experience disadvantages.<sup>100</sup> This confirms the tokenization of policewomen in skewed groups.

Two further studies of tokenism require a brief examination in order to present a full literature review. Izraeli's empirical study of women in union workers' committees in Israel confirms Kanter's theory regarding the presence of tokenism and perceptual phenomena in skewed groups while illustrating they are not as pronounced in balanced groups.<sup>101</sup> Swerdlow's study of rapid transit

operators in the US also identifies aspects of tokenism, like boundary heightening, polarization, and role encapsulation, though she does not identify them as such. This also confirms tokenism in another male-dominated field where women were only four percent of the workers by 1986 (with the occupation only being opened to women in 1976) <sup>102</sup>

Despite some of the authors not analyzing women lawyers, civil servants, engineers, academics, doctors, and police officers in terms of the phenomenon of tokenism, they still describe problems and experiences that are peculiar to tokens. Marginalization, role encapsulation, boundary maintenance, meritocracy, performance pressures, and restricted numbers have all been mentioned in their studies of women in male-dominated fields. Marginalization has already been discussed as existing in almost all of the occupations examined. Role encapsulation is described by both Spencer and Podmore in their analysis of women lawyers and Bradley in her examination of women doctors. Both professions tend to slot women into 'acceptable' sub-fields that are seen as a natural extension of their gender ascribed capabilities, i.e. women lawyers in matrimonial law, and women doctors in geriatrics or child psychology.

Boundary maintenance is described by Young in his analysis of the police force, drinking escapades and policing as warfare were cited as 'masculine' and could be used to ensure the separation of men and women into the categories of dominants and tokens. The notion of the profession as a meritocracy is described by Walters in her analysis of the British civil service, people achieve positions in

high grades because they are capable while the very existence of the merit system within the civil service means that it is not discriminatory. The notion of performance pressures is mentioned by McAuley, Walters, and Spencer and Podmore. All three describe how women academics, civil servants, and lawyers have to 'prove themselves' competent and capable in their profession, while their male colleagues are assumed to be competent until they make mistakes.

All of the women in male-dominated fields examined in this section suffer from the phenomenon of restricted numbers. Though some of the numbers climb as high as twenty-five percent, most of the numbers of women employed in male-dominated fields are approximately ten to twenty percent. These percentages indicate that tokenism could be prevalent in various male-dominated fields. If these numbers are combined with the fact that all of the authors describe varying aspects of tokenism, there is a strong case for hypothesizing that women in many, if not all, male-dominated fields experience the phenomenon of tokenism and the dimensions and factors associated with it.

Many of the authors have not classified women in male-dominated fields as tokens. This constitutes a shortcoming in much of the existing literature on women and work. The theories of tokenism have been developed since the mid-1970s and have been used to analyze women in academia, medicine, law, law enforcement and management (all male-dominated fields). There are rationales for using these theories in all of these cases.



According to Laws' definition, tokenism is an institutionalized way of dealing with pressures to include previously excluded groups in an organization. Various pieces of legislation, like the British Sex Discrimination Act, the 1976 European Community Directive (Directive 76/207), the European Equal Employment legislation, the Canadian Human Rights Act, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the 1964 American Civil Rights Act, and amendments to the Constitution of the United States all ensure or should ensure (to a relative degree) sexual equality in the workplace. Young's chapter shows that the opening up of positions and in fact the integration of policewomen itself was in direct response to the pressures of the Sex Discrimination Act. Police forces tried to exempt themselves from legislation or to implement quotas or restricted numbers on women entering the police force, indicating tokenism could be present.

It is beyond the scope of this research to analyze whether women in all male-dominated fields are tokens (as defined by Laws and Kanter) through applying theory to practice. This section is intended to examine the broad field of women in non-traditional employment fields and examine the literature to determine if the phenomenon of tokenism is either mentioned or present. A review of the literature has indicated that women lawyers, engineers, doctors, civil servants, police officers, and academics have not always been analyzed in terms of Kanter's and Laws' definitions of tokenism yet experience aspects of tokenism like marginalization, restricted numbers, performance pressures, role

encapsulation, and boundary heightening Based on studies of women tokens in these fields, and the findings of other studies not using tokenism one can conclude that (a) the women experience problems related to tokenism, and (b) that there is a need for further research in applying the theories of tokenism to the experiences of women in male-dominated fields

### **WOMEN IN THE MILITARY AS TOKENS**

Now that an examination of the literature on women in civilian male-dominated fields as tokens has been completed, an examination of the literature on women in the military as tokens can be undertaken There is only one article to date that analyzes the utilization of women in the military in terms of tokenism "The Price of a Token" by Yoder, Adams, and Prince examines the first groups of women admitted to the United States Military Academy at West Point using the definitions of tokenism put forth by both Laws and Kanter

The authors assert that both definitions of tokenism are valid with respect to explaining and analysing the first four groups of women accepted to West Point The positions were previously all male, women were admitted by Congressional decree, and attending West Point is advantageous to an army career<sup>103</sup> These facts directly correspond to Laws' definition positions are closed to a group and

are opened up under pressure and there is a notion of having to share power and privilege. The numbers of women were low as well, fulfilling Kanter's definition: one hundred nineteen women to one thousand three hundred sixty-six men, or eight percent.<sup>104</sup>

However, it is not just the numbers that lead Yoder *et al* to classify women cadets at West Point as tokens; it is also due to the fact that women at West Point experienced the perceptual phenomena associated with tokenism described by Kanter: visibility, polarization, and assimilation. Visibility occurred because of the constant media coverage and publicity surrounding the first female entry and graduation classes at West Point. The performance pressures associated with visibility were felt by the female cadets in order to succeed.<sup>105</sup> Polarization also occurred due to women avoiding the informal social networks in order to avoid the appearance of dating. This led to the marginalization of the female cadets.<sup>106</sup>

Assimilation occurred because of the events on the obstacle course. Cadets have to scale an eight-foot wall, when it was found that women could not complete this without the assistance of a lift being nailed to one side of the wall, role encapsulation ensued through the perpetuation of stereotypes of female physical weakness.<sup>107</sup> Women were also assigned stereotypically female extra duties like party committee or human relations duties, which also serve to encapsulate perceived traditional female roles.<sup>108</sup> Women cadets at West Point were subject to all three perceptual phenomena associated with Kanter's

explanation of tokenism, leading Yoder *et al* to conclude the women were tokens

Yoder *et al* conclude their article by asserting "[a]lthough there are many negative consequences of tokenism, it frequently is the first step in opening doors for outgroup members. Sexism and tokenism have not been eradicated totally from West Point. Traditionally, the U S Military Academy has been a bastion of the macho image"<sup>109</sup> The situation is slowly improving at West Point as the numbers of women entering the academy increase, just as Kanter suggested. But the full problem of tokenism has yet to dissipate. Yoder reiterates her findings in subsequent work, remaining pessimistic about the elimination of tokenism at West Point well into the late 1980s<sup>110</sup>

The articles by Yoder (*et al*) are the only direct application of Kanter's and Laws' theories of tokenism applied to a study of women in the military thus far. However, other books mention or allude to the notion of women in the military as tokens, much like the research on women in male-dominated fields examined in the previous section. The remaining part of this section entails an examination of the literature on women in the military which mentions phenomena or experiences that could be attributed to tokenism.

In their historical analysis of women in the American Armed Services, Binkin and Bach point out that until 1967 women never went above one and a half percent of the total force strength and filled traditional female roles in health care and administration.<sup>111</sup> This is due to the fact that a quota was placed on the total

proportion of women allowed in the services between the 1940s and the 1970s<sup>112</sup> This amounts to numerical restriction, which is part of Laws' definition of tokenism. The fact that the percentage of women is still only twelve percent lends credence to Kanter's notion that tokenism occurs whenever the proportion of a group type (i.e. women) is less than fifteen percent. The small numbers of women in the American military indicates that tokenism can be in effect.

Schneider and Schneider in their book on contemporary women in the American military found that "[women's] minority status combines with the 'combat exclusion policy' to deny women full citizenship in the military world."<sup>113</sup> Though nowhere in the book do the authors refer to military women as tokens, the fact that they assert that women are minorities in the forces and that they do not have full citizenship indicates that tokenism could be present. Tokens are not full members of a group, they are not assimilated but kept on the periphery. To assert that women are a minority and are not full "citizens" of a group or institution indicates tokenism.

Holm's book also examines the history of women in the American military. She recognizes the tokenization of women in the military, using a commonly held definition rather than one of those put forth by either Kanter or Laws. She also describes phenomena that can be attributed to tokenism. She asserts in her preface that women have increased from a "token" one percent of the total force strength to eight and one half percent (in the early 1980s)<sup>114</sup> Holm also mentions the ceiling or quota placed on the total number of women allowed in

the forces described by Binkin and Bach which lends further credence to the notion of tokenism based on numerical restriction

As presented in the previous chapter Holm makes the argument that by the mid-1960s, women had formed a token force

As their roles became more and more circumscribed, women were increasingly isolated and segregated from the military mainstream. Although they added to the overall quality of the force, numerically they contributed little to the services' personnel requirements, even in the fields of their highest concentration. They had, for all practical purposes, become a token force.<sup>115</sup>

Holm's assertion was reiterated in the American Congress in the 1970s with the following findings of the Armed Forces Personnel subcommittee

We are concerned that the Department of Defense and each of the military services are guilty of "tokenism" in the recruitment and utilization of women in the Armed Forces. We are concerned that in the atmosphere of a zero draft environment or an all-volunteer force, women could and should play a more important role. We strongly urge the Secretary of Defense and the service secretaries to develop a program which will permit women to take their rightful place in serving in our Armed Forces.<sup>116</sup>

Holm discusses numerical restriction and isolation in her assertion of tokenism. Though she was not referring to the definitions established by either Laws and/or Kanter, she nonetheless honed in on aspects of their definitions.

Holm also discussed tokenism with respect to positions within the Air Force when flying positions were first opened to women in the 1970s. Thirty percent of pilot positions and eighteen percent of navigator positions were available to

women. However, there was a numerical restriction of only one hundred fifty positions available to women, which was denounced as tokenism<sup>117</sup>. The allegation of tokenism is given further credence in light of the subsequent lowering of the "goals" for women to one hundred twenty-five positions by 1980 and only seventy-five positions per year by 1981<sup>118</sup>. Such blatant numerical restriction has led people like Holm to accuse the military of tokenism. According to the definitions provided by Laws and Kanter, and the evidence provided by Holm, the United States military can be accused of tokenism, in the form of limiting the numbers of women allowed to enter positions, particularly non-traditional ones such as flying.

Holm is not the only person to accuse the American military of restricting the numbers of women allowed to enter certain fields, and subsequently tokenism. Judith Hicks Stiehm points out that the setting of "goals" for women, that is the **maximum** number of women allowed in various fields, specialties, units, and total force strength, has as its ultimate goal numerical restriction. "Thus, the setting of goals for women's accessions is wholly conventional, it long preceded the concept of 'affirmative action' and has had as its principal purpose restricting (not increasing) the number of women"<sup>119</sup>. Though Stiehm does not call the practice of goal setting tokenism, its intent of numerical restriction is part of tokenism.

Numerical restriction is not the only aspect of tokenism that is described in the literature on women in the military. Kate Muir in her book on women in the

armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States points out the concept of visibility, associated with Kanter's definition of tokenism Muir asserts that the "gold fish-bowl" syndrome affected the Canadian women serving aboard the ship Protecteur during the Gulf War of 1991

Along with either degrading or preferential treatment because of their sex, the women on the Protecteur also described suffering from the 'gold fish-bowl' syndrome throughout their careers Because there were so few of them and they were breaking into traditionally male areas, they were carefully observed by everyone - sailors, officers, the press and the public<sup>120</sup>

The women sailors serving aboard the Protecteur were the first women allowed at sea who "went to war" Muir describes limited numbers, only thirty-five women aboard ship with two hundred sixty men, or just around ten percent<sup>121</sup>, women serving in traditionally male positions, and visibility which took the form of the 'gold fish-bowl' syndrome or constant scrutiny All of these phenomena or occurrences are part of tokenism Yet despite describing aspects of tokenism, Muir fails to classify the women aboard the Protecteur as tokens

Rustad in his study presented in the first section did not specifically conclude that tokenism was present though he did describe many of its perceptual phenomena. He found that the "sponsor" role did not exist because many men refused to take on this part He also found evidence of boundary heightening or polarization through the presence of pornographic material placed in work areas by servicemen and by making women aware that the men did not want them in



'their army'<sup>122</sup> Rustad did not conclude that the women were tokens, but he did detail aspects of tokenism in his study

The final book on women in the military to be examined with respect to tokenism is Christine Williams' comparative study of women serving in the United States Marine Corps (USMC) and male nurses. Williams points out that "95.6 percent of all marines are men, and 97.3% of all nurses are women."<sup>123</sup> Therefore only 4.4 percent of all marines are women, and only 2.7 percent of nurses are men. The numbers alone indicate that tokenism could be present in the USMC with respect to women, but practices, policies, and experiences also indicate that tokenism is present.

Williams asserts that women in non-traditional fields are pressured to "prove themselves" and women marines are no exception.<sup>124</sup> The notion of "proving one's self" is part of tokenism, women in non-traditional fields have to go to lengths to establish that they are capable of performing the job, simply because they are women, men are assumed competent until they fail. Male marines also insist that women are not capable of being full members of the Marine Corps.<sup>125</sup> This illustrates another facet of tokenism, marginalization. Women are not 'capable' as Marines and are destined for permanent marginality.

But unlike men in nursing, men in the military can deny women full active participation and segregate them into certain specialties because they monopolize positions of authority and set official policy. Thus, in the Marine Corps women are excluded from participating in certain occupational specialties, they are segregated in basic training, and they are subject to all sorts of

rules about personal conduct and bearing that are not applied to men <sup>126</sup>

The combat exclusion policy serves to marginalize women marines as they are not fully assimilated into the Corps

Williams also asserts that women have to accept the policies made by men in order to stay in the Corps

Of course, there is another reason for women's adoption of official military policies. They have no alternatives if they want to stay in the Marine Corps, where men have all the power. Promotion and advancement are contingent upon following orders that filter through a set hierarchy of command <sup>127</sup>

As asserted by Laws, tokens cannot alter the system they enter into and this is the case for women marines, they must accept the policies made by the men at the top and not change the institution. This notion serves to reinforce the idea that tokenism is prevalent in the USMC

Williams also points out the use of stereotypes which are used to either exclude or marginalize women

Similarly, women have been kept out of the military not because they are psychologically unsuited to perform instrumental, nonaffective tasks, but rather because the men in decision-making positions believe that women are "too emotional" or that their presence in the military would threaten the "manliness" of the organization <sup>128</sup>

The use of stereotypes, such as women being "too emotional" to be Marines is what Kanter describes as assimilation

Not only does Williams describe several aspects of tokenism (assimilation, marginalization, and visibility), she also directly refers to Kanter's work and the problems associated with being a token<sup>129</sup> Yet Williams does not delve into Kanter's work in any detail despite describing many of the aspects of tokenism throughout her examination of women marines Nor does she actually classify women marines as "tokens" or assert that tokenism is present in the USMC which is a shortcoming in her work

Like the literature on women in male-dominated professions, the literature on women in the military, with the exception of Yoder *et al*, describes and details the concept of tokenism but does not classify the occurrences as being the result of tokenism The authors either refer to tokenism directly (Holm) or describe aspects of tokenism, but do not analyze the utilization of women in the military in term of tokenism as defined by Laws or Kanter

The literature on women in the military provides evidence to suggest that tokenism is present in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States The numbers and percentages of women in the forces are below the fifteen percent established by Kanter Women are six percent of the British forces, eleven percent of the Canadian forces, and twelve percent of the American forces, indicating that tokenism could be present

The literature also describes various aspects and phenomena of tokenism within the context of the utilization and history of women in the military This provides a basis for further examination into the issue of the tokenization of

women in non-traditional fields in the armed forces of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom, especially in light of the fact that the vast majority of the literature alludes to the institutional phenomena of tokenism in the military but does not analyze the experiences of women in these terms. While it cannot be concluded that women in combat and near combat positions in the militaries of these countries are tokens based on the literature written thus far (except for women at West Point), it can be asserted that the tokenization of women is probable and that the utilization of women in non-traditional military specialties can be analyzed in terms of tokenism, which is the purpose of this research. The literature provides a starting point for research into tokenism and women in the military as much of it refers to aspects of tokenism though not concluding that it is present.

## CONCLUSIONS

While many studies have been conducted in the areas of women in male-dominated fields in general and in the military in particular, very few have been undertaken which analyze women in these fields as tokens. This chapter has examined dictionary definitions of "token" and "tokenism" and explained why they are inadequate. Attention was then focused on the definitions of token and tokenism provided by Laws and Kanter who developed these theories to explain the experiences of women academics and women sales managers respectively.

The definition provided by Laws describes tokenism as an institutionalized way of adapting to pressure to include an excluded group from an organization. For Laws, tokenism includes the notion of power sharing pressures, which is dealt with by numerically restricting the excluded or token group and permanent marginality of the token class. Laws asserts that the token group operates under license from the dominant group and must not change the system or organization they enter. Laws argues that there are four shared dimensions of interaction between the token and her sponsor: exceptionalism, individualism, the profession as a meritocracy, and boundary maintenance. All of these dimensions serve to ensure that the token remains a token and is never fully accepted or assimilated into the larger dominant group.

Kanter's definition of tokenism is fairly straightforward given its numerical emphasis. For Kanter, tokenism occurs in a "skewed group type" where there is a ratio of approximately eighty-five percent dominant class or type to fifteen percent token class or type. Kanter argues that members of the underrepresented group are classified as tokens because they are usually treated as representatives or symbols of their group or category rather than individuals. Like Laws, Kanter offers "dimensions" or "perceptual phenomena" that occur when tokenism is present: visibility, polarization, and assimilation. All of the perceptual phenomena lead to problems for the token: visibility leads to performance pressures, polarization leads to dominant culture boundary heightening, and assimilation leads to role enscapulation.

Though the definitions and explanations developed by Laws and Kanter were used by their creators to examine women in male-dominated fields, little of the existing literature on women in non-traditional occupations has analyzed the experiences of women in terms of tokenism. A review of the literature on women in male-dominated professions found that only two essays in one book actually referred to only Kanter's article. Spencer and Podmore's essay on women lawyers, and Newton's essay on women engineers. Though these authors refer to Kanter's work on tokenism, none of them analyze women in these fields in terms of tokenism. However, several articles have analyzed women in male-dominated fields in terms of tokenism (and males in female-dominated occupations) and have confirmed many of Laws' and Kanter's assertions. However, the literature also found weaknesses in the universality of Kanter's theory (e.g. negative consequences for men), in the strict numerical interpretation, and in Laws' sponsor/token relationship.

Studies on women doctors, civil servants, academics, police officers, lawyers, and engineers all mention aspects of tokenism (such as restricted numbers, role encapsulation, boundary maintenance, meritocracy, marginalization, and/or visibility) but do not always classify women in these fields as tokens. While Young mentions policewomen as being tokens, he uses the common definition of token and tokenism rather than theories provided by Laws and Kanter and verified by Ott. Though there is ample justification for analyzing women in male-dominated fields in terms of tokenism, very few authors have done so.

Whether this is due to the obscurity of the articles or definitions, or the reluctance to use the term "token", which is perceived as derogatory, is not known. Yet the existence of the perceptual phenomena, dimensions, and components of the definitions in the studies of women in non-traditional fields could lead one to hypothesize about the presence of tokenism.

The final section of this chapter entailed a literature review of women in the military in terms of tokenism. Thus far only one article analyzes women in the military as tokens. Yoder *et al's* article on the first classes of women admitted to West Point concludes that tokenism, as defined by both Laws and Kanter, was present and experienced by women cadets. Other works either mention tokenism with respect to women in the services (but do not utilize either of the definitions) or describe aspects of tokenism such as visibility, assimilation, and/ or numerical restriction.

However, like the issue of women in male-dominated fields, there is justification for the hypothesis that women in the militaries of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, particularly in such "non-traditional" fields as combat arms, are tokens. The literature describes and alludes to aspects of tokenism as they relate to women in the forces. What is now necessary is a scholarly study of the notion of tokenism as it applies to women in the military, and in this thesis as it applies to women in combat arms fields. One study has already confirmed tokenism in the US army by the practices and experiences, giving credence to the theories' validity and applicability to the military. Given

that Kanter's and Laws' theories of tokenism are valid with respect to the study of women at West Point, their applicability can and will be examined in this research to investigate the hypothesis that women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom are or will be tokens due to the androcentric nature of the military institution

Because of the weaknesses of the two tokenism theories pointed out in the literature, minor alterations for this thesis's purposes will be made. First of all, the two theories will be combined and analyzed together (much like what was done in Yoder *et al's* study) given their overlapping aspects of numerical restriction and boundary heightening/maintenance and polarization. Therefore the defining characteristics or parameters of tokenism will be drawn from both Laws' and Kanter's theories. Secondly, it will be the qualitative aspects of tokenism that will be sought to determine if women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens, rather than the quantitative aspects or relationships. As the token/sponsor relationship was not detectable in other studies and given the arbitrariness of Kanter's fifteen percent definition, these aspects will be downplayed, though will still be looked for, particularly the numbers.

It is the existence of the perceptual phenomena and the dimensions of tokenism that will be examined and detailed in this thesis to explore the tokenization of women in combat trades. Thus the presence of exceptionalism, individualism, the profession as a meritocracy, boundary



maintenance/polarization, visibility, and assimilation will be sought in the interviews and the defence documents

Now that the definitions of token and tokenism that will be used in this research have been examined and explained and literature reviews of women in male-dominated professions and women in the military as tokens have been provided, analysis of the data collected during the interviews can be undertaken. However, before the analysis can be presented, the methodology utilized in this thesis must be presented along with an examination and explanation of the research questionnaires and its respondents

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## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE METHODOLOGY, THE QUESTIONNAIRES, THE INTERVIEWS AND THE RESPONDENTS**

Now that the theories of tokenism have been presented and examined, attention can be focused on the information gathered through interviews with recruiting staff and policy-making and advising personnel. This chapter details the methods and the methodology utilized in gathering research to support the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in the ground combat arms positions of the three countries are or will be tokens.

The discussion of the methodology begins with an explanation of why and how tokenism was chosen as the main theory being investigated in the thesis. Following this is a detailed presentation of the fieldwork and questionnaire development process, including problems experienced in the process and the evolution of the questionnaire. After the evolution of the fieldwork process is presented, an analysis of the final interview questionnaires and their relation to the theory of tokenism is given. The final section of the methodology section details the interviewees, the locations and dates of interviews, the need for confidentiality, and problems experienced in the interview process.

## WHY TOKENISM?

As discussed in the previous chapter, tokenism is a phenomenon experienced by members of a particular group, e.g. women, who are admitted to an organization or institution from which they had been previously excluded. As

stated in previous chapters, women have traditionally been excluded from the modern military and particularly from combat arms trades and positions like infantry, artillery, and heavy armour. But what happens to women when they are finally admitted to combat arms trades, are they fully assimilated like any other member of the armed forces placed in a combat unit or are they marginalized and kept on the periphery, not being fully accepted? Are the experiences of women in combat arms trades simply attributable to marginalization or do they indicate something more systemic and institutionalized like tokenism?

It was known by the researcher prior to embarking on this thesis that the numbers of women in the combat arms trades of the Canadian Armed Forces was very small, mainly due to the relatively low enlistment rate for women (compared to men) and the relatively high failure rate of women in combat arms basic training (as compared to men). At the time this research was initially started, women were restricted by both law and policy from entering direct combat positions in the American Armed Services, were beginning to be trained aboard warships in the Royal Navy, were barred from flying combat aircraft in the Royal Air Force, and were still in separate corps set apart from the British Army, Navy and Air Force. Since October 1991, air combat restrictions have been lifted in both the United Kingdom and the United States, allowing women to fly combat aircraft, the United States Secretary of Defense Les Aspin has asked Congress to repeal the ban on women aboard warships (Public Law 10 U S C 6015), and the WRAC, WRNS and the WRAF have been disbanded and

women are now being integrated into many of the positions in the British Army, Navy and Air Force, except land combat

However, despite all the changes and relatively widespread opening up of positions to women in the armed forces, including many direct combat and combat support positions, women constitute only minuscule numbers in combat arms trades. This is the case even in Canada where all combat positions (except those aboard submarines) have been open to women since February 1989. Two questions came to mind: why are the numbers of women in combat arms positions so small, and how can this phenomenon of numerically small female representation be classified, if at all?

The first classification that came to mind was tokenism, that is to say that women in combat arms trades are merely tokens or representative symbols of their sex in "non-traditional" military positions. However, you cannot label female jet pilots, warship personnel, infanteers, and artillery personnel tokens based strictly on their numerically small presence or by using the commonly held definitions of tokenism with all of its negative connotations. To label women combatants as tokens, without further justification is to diminish their accomplishments in becoming combat soldiers, and to play into the popular impression of these women without recognizing the fact that they have broken into the male stronghold of the military - its very core - combat.

Though the numbers of women in combat arms positions are small (as is their total force strength), can they be classified as tokens? Without examining the

actual numbers of women by obtaining breakdowns in military occupations or specialties based on sex an assertion of tokenism, even a hypothetical one, cannot be made

Once the initial numbers of women in combat arms positions in Canada were examined, the numbers were found to be small enough to hypothesize that women could be tokens in the combat arms trades of the Canadian Forces. It was also possible to hypothesize that if the American and the British militaries opened up combat arms trades to women that they too would be tokens, based on the Canadian experience. However, the commonly held perception of tokenism was not an adequate basis for investigation, as pointed out in the previous chapter, alternate, more encompassing definitions and explanations were needed.

Yoder *et al's* article on the first class of women at West Point provided the impetus for the analysis of women in combat arms trades as tokens. The article by Laws, and the book and article by Kanter were the seminal works on the theory of tokenism. Since their theories had been applied to a study on the first groups of women admitted to the male bastion at West Point and verified as existing at the Academy, it was decided to test their theories on another group of "trail-blazing" women, the first women admitted to combat arms trades and units.

Thus the second question posed several pages previously of what can the phenomenon of numerically small female representation in combat arms trades

be classified as being for this thesis's investigation is tokenism, as defined by both Laws and Kanter. The first question asking why are the numbers of women in combat arms positions so small can be answered by the second question regarding the categorization of women in combat arms positions. If women in combat arms positions can be confirmed as being tokens, then their small numbers can be attributed (at least in part) to tokenism. As stated in the preceding chapter part of Laws' definition involves the numerical restriction of tokens, that is keeping their numbers to a minimum within the institution or organization. Therefore, the small numbers of women in ground combat arms positions could be explained by tokenism.

Both of the questions that arose out of the initial research investigation can be answered by the use of tokenism as the central theory for investigation. Thus it was decided to utilize the theory of tokenism in the investigation of the use of women in ground combat positions in the three countries armed forces.

### **FIELDWORK AND QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS**

Now that the reasons and rationale for using the notion of tokenism as the main theory for investigation in this research have been explained, attention can be focused on the development of the fieldwork and questionnaire processes. This includes a presentation of the original research proposal, explanations of

the changes made to the research, a discussion of the problems experienced in the process, and the evolution of the questionnaires to their final form

When I first embarked on this research project I wanted to examine the utilization of women in combat arms positions in several NATO countries, and Israel. The original NATO countries included Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway. Germany, Italy, Greece, and Spain were not included in the original proposal as laws and policies of those four countries either prohibit women completely or restrict women in the armed forces to medical positions. Denmark and France were excluded as they had just started to integrate women in combat and combat support positions within their armed forces, but no details were available regarding the integration process. Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Canada had started to place women in combat and combat support units within their militaries and had no visible barriers or restrictions in place regarding the integration of women. The United Kingdom had recently announced the opening of positions at sea aboard all classifications of ships and was releasing information (albeit scant) regarding the integration process. The United States was chosen as it has the highest proportion of women in its armed forces amongst NATO countries, and was studying the possibility of opening up air force combat positions to women.<sup>1</sup>

After some consideration, it was decided to exclude Israel, the Netherlands, Norway, and Belgium and focus exclusively on Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Israel was excluded because though it conscripts women,

it also excludes women by law from entering combat arms positions. In fact, Israeli female soldiers are often removed from combat areas when fighting breaks out, even if they are in administrative positions or on patrol. Norway, Belgium, and the Netherlands were removed from the study for two reasons. The primary reason for excluding these three countries is that they conscript young adult men, thereby decreasing the need for women in combat positions.<sup>2</sup>

There are practical difficulties in comparing countries which rely on conscription to staff their armed forces and those which utilize an AVF. The concept of equality in the armed forces is circumvented in countries which conscript men but not women. Though military policies allow women to enter combat positions in the aforementioned countries, there is no personnel need for them to do so as male conscripts fill the posts. Thus it is difficult to compare and contrast the utilization of women when military personnel policies differ greatly in terms of how the armed forces are maintained.

As discussed in Chapter One, there is no pressing personnel need to open combat positions to women if the military is staffed by male conscripts as these positions can be and are filled by conscripts. Generally the need for women in combat positions arises in an all-volunteer force scenario, especially if there is a shortage of qualified male volunteers. Britain, for example, cited naval recruiting problems as the main reason for opening positions aboard warships to women in 1990.<sup>3</sup> One of the ways to alleviate recruiting shortfalls in combat trades is to open these positions to women, according to politicians and policy-makers.



The second reason for not including the Netherlands, Norway, and Belgium in the study is a language barrier. Though most policy-makers in the Netherlands and Belgium speak English, all government documents would be in the native languages, none of which this researcher can read, except for French. Thus based on language restrictions and the desire to avoid the difficulties associated with studying countries which utilize conscription of men compared to those which rely on AVFs, the decision was made to do a comparative study of women in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

These three countries are compatible for comparative study for several reasons. First they are all English speaking countries making it easier for the researcher to conduct interviews and access documents. Second, they all have all-volunteer forces, with no conscription. Though the United States requires all men to register for the draft upon their eighteenth birthday in case of a large-scale war, conscription has not been used in the United States since the Vietnam War. Third, all three countries are members of NATO. Fourth, all of the countries are at different stages of integrating women into their armed forces making for an interesting comparison and the possibility to hypothesize about future integration of women, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom, where total integration of women has not yet occurred.

It must also be emphasized that all three countries share a common military history and cooperation in military matters. Since the turn of the century there have been a number of common military efforts. The First and Second World

Wars, the Korean War, and most recently the Gulf War have seen the participation of Canada, Britain, and the US working together (with other forces) They have also cooperated to a lesser degree in UN missions in Bosnia and Somalia This, combined with NATO membership, illustrates the bond the three countries share which makes them suitable for comparative military study

Though there are several compelling reasons for studying the three countries, there are also several drawbacks that must be considered First, there is a greater likelihood of British and American soldiers being placed in offensive or aggressive combat situations than there is for Canadian soldiers Canada, as a nation, has never attacked another country of its own volition, and becomes involved in wars and conflicts within an international setting Though Canada participated in both world wars, the Korean War, and the Gulf War, it has never independently attacked another country Canada tends to send a large block of its troops on peacekeeping missions, usually with the United Nations, and only becomes involved in aggressive conflicts at the request of other countries, mainly the United Kingdom and the United States

The British involvement in the Falklands and the Persian Gulf, and the American invasions and conflicts in Vietnam, Grenada, Panama, and the Persian Gulf illustrate the more bellicose stance adopted by Britain and the United States Despite the fact that Britain and the United States tend to become more involved in aggressive military action than Canada, the three countries still make for a worthwhile comparison All three countries participated in the Gulf War of

1991 All three countries currently have contingents of peacekeeping troops with the United Nations in Bosnia, though many of the details of female troop involvement are still classified information. Thus, despite the variations between the three countries, there are enough valid reasons that outweigh any differences between the countries to make a comparative study of women in combat arms positions viable.

Now that the reasons for choosing Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States as the countries for examination have been discussed, the next stage in the research developmental process can be presented. Again, as with the changes made to the actual countries to be studied, there has been an alteration made to the actual types of combat positions women occupy or can occupy from the original proposal. In the original research outline, all branches and sections of the military were going to be studied. Thus the navy, air force, army, and marine corps were all going to be analyzed with respect to the placement of women in combat positions. Positions such as warship bridge officer and boatswain, combat aircraft pilot, army infanteer, combat engineer, heavy armour, and artillery personnel were going to be studied from the perspective of the tokenization of women in these trades. However, several problems and considerations arose that persuaded me to focus mainly on ground combat or army positions.

First, the Marine Corps of the US and the Marines section of the British Navy were removed from the study as there is no Canadian equivalent. After

researching and writing the chapter on inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression, it was decided to focus mainly on ground combat positions. Though combat aircraft pilots and warship personnel will also be examined in this research, the main focal point of this thesis will be on women on the ground. Though it is extremely difficult both mentally and physically to be an air or naval combatant, it is arguably even more demanding physically and mentally to be a ground combat soldier. The physical requirements to become a ground combat soldier are often more stringent than other branches of the services because of the very nature of ground warfare, which often involves carrying heavy weaponry and backpacks over long distances, as demonstrated by British soldiers in the Falklands. The role of the ground combat soldier tends therefore to be seen as a limiting case for female participation in the military.

The army or land element is also the largest component of the three nations' armed services. There are more people employed in the British Army, the United States Army, and the Land Forces Command (LFC) of the Canadian Forces than in the naval or air elements, even during the current drawdowns. The army is also the largest employer of women in both the United States and Canada, with the RAF employing the most women in the British services with the army being the second largest employer.<sup>4</sup> Despite the RAF being the largest employer of servicewomen it is still viable to compare women in the land element as it is not the service that employs the most women that is of interest, but the service

which has the most restrictions on the utilization of women in the military, which in all three countries was and still is the army

The British Army and the USA are the two services which continue to close or restrict women's access to combat positions. All positions in the Royal Navy and the RAF are completely open to women (except for submarines for reasons of privacy). This includes all direct combat and combat related positions. In the United States, on 29 April 1993, Secretary Aspin agreed with Congress's 1991 decision to repeal the ban which prevented women from flying combat aircraft. He also asked Congress to repeal the naval warship ban. However, neither the United States nor the United Kingdom have been willing thus far to end the policies which prevent women from occupying positions in ground combat units. Both countries are "studying" the possibility of opening some ground combat positions to women but have yet to take definitive action.

As stated previously, ground and naval combat positions were opened to Canadian women as a result of the Ruling of 1989. Based on the facts that ground combat units are still closed to women in the United States and the United Kingdom and were the ones that the Canadian Forces had (and still do have) the greatest difficulty in finding women to fill positions in, the decision was made to focus mainly on these types of units to determine if women would be tokens.

Once the decision was made to focus mainly on the integration of women in ground combat units the process of designing the fieldwork began. At first I

wanted to determine if combat effectiveness and group cohesion is negatively affected by the integration of women into non-traditional units, including combat. Many of the documents and studies concerning the integration of women into combat and/or combat support units argued that women should be excluded from these types of units because of their **potential** negative effect on group cohesion and combat effectiveness.<sup>5</sup>

The Canadian Forces tried to argue that combat effectiveness is a *bona fide* occupational qualification under the Canadian Human Rights Act and could therefore be used to justify the closure of combat units to women.<sup>6</sup> And more recently, since this research has been undertaken, The Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, Report to the President also used reasons of combat effectiveness and group cohesion to justify their (albeit slim) majority decision to continue to close combat positions to women.<sup>7</sup>

I wanted to determine first hand if combat effectiveness and group cohesion were negatively affected by the integration of women into non-traditional units. I thought that if effectiveness and cohesion were not negatively affected by the integration of women and the arguments were still being used as a rationale for excluding women, then tokenism could be occurring or could occur once units were opened to women. I sent letters to army headquarters explaining who I was and exactly what I wanted to do and that the study was for academic research purposes. I proposed to observe mixed-gender units, preferable those which had women in non-traditional positions, either on field exercise or during training. I

sought permission to observe the units in action and to interview the participants after the exercise or training was complete to determine their views on women's effect on cohesion and effectiveness. I also wanted to interview headquarters personnel, including those in policy-making or advising positions to ascertain their views on women's effect on cohesion and effectiveness and to see if they believed women in combat positions would be or are tokens.

The request to observe and interview women in combat or non-traditional units arose out of an informal meeting with the former WRAC Director, Brigadier Gael Ramsey. Upon hearing my thesis topic she invited me to observe mixed-sex basic training units during the trials of 1992-1993. When the time came to facilitate the research Ramsey had left her post to take up command of the training base at Guildford and Brigadier Roulstone had replaced her.

The responses I received to the requests varied between the three countries. The British turned down my request outright, stating that I could interview only two people in the Directorate Women (Army) as my research was of a "personal nature". The Americans did not even respond to the request, though a follow-up letter was sent several months after the original request was sent in case the first letter was lost. The request was passed between several army departments and bases including Fort Sheridan, Illinois to the Headquarters, United States Army Recruiting Command at Fort Knox, Kentucky, to the Department of the Army, Office of the Chief of Public Affairs at the Pentagon, to the United States Army Training Center at Fort Jackson, South Carolina where it has not been heard of.

since winter 1993. As I had only three years to complete the research and write up the results, a decision was made not to wait any longer for a response from the American army.

The Canadian experience proved to be the most exasperating, particularly since I am a Canadian. I sent my request to my contact at the Department of National Defence Headquarters who then passed it on to another department for approval. The Directorate of Personnel Psychology and Sociology (DPPS) had to approve the research design, methodology, and questionnaire. They requested detailed outlines of my research, copies of the questionnaire, and wanted written approval from the "Board of Ethics" at the university which approved my study of human subjects. I informed them there was no "board" in existence, but I would forward a letter attesting to the validity of my research. After not receiving acknowledgement of the requested documentation, a letter was written to public affairs. They informed me that I required "technical approval" from DPPS and "executive approval" from the head of land forces command. A letter was sent to land forces command, with a follow-up being sent later, and they too have not been heard from since late 1992.

DPPS felt that the explanation of my research was inadequate and wanted still more information before they would approve my request to observe a mixed-gender field exercise. A decision was made in late 1992 to abandon the idea of observing a field or training exercise for the following reasons. The British denied permission to observe either a mixed-gender field exercise or mixed-



gender basic training trials. The Americans and the Canadians did not respond to the requests and I could not afford to wait for them to make their decisions.<sup>8</sup> It was at this point that I decided to alter the focus of my research, though I still wanted to explore the hypothesis that women in combat arms positions are or would be tantamount to tokens, I would have to go about it in a different way. I still planned to interview headquarters personnel, but their responses to the questions would have to provide most of the evidence necessary to confirm the hypothesis.

Thus rather than interviewing and observing women (and men) in non-traditional units, interviews with military policy makers and advisers would be used to supplement and expand upon information gleaned from defence documents and other written evidence of the tokenization of women in combat arms positions. The alteration to the original research plan to substitute policy advisers for the actual women was seen as acceptable given that the perceptions of the people in defence headquarters are important to the corroboration of the written evidence of tokenism. Policy makers and advisers could confirm the limited nature of women's participation in combat positions by referring directly to tokenism or indirectly through a description or detailing of the perceptual phenomena, dimensions, or tenets of tokenism based on the experiences of women given to or observed by them. Because they are responsible for personnel policy or for women in the military, they are people who can give insights into the status of women in combat arms positions.

I also decided at this point to interview recruiting personnel in the three countries, in select cities, to ascertain their views on women in combat arms trades, the affect of women in these trades on cohesion and effectiveness, and on the issue of the tokenization of women. I wanted to interview recruiting personnel as they are often the first military person a potential recruit contacts and they are also the ones who recommend if a person is admitted to the military and advise potential recruits as to which trades are available and suitable for them. If recruiting personnel feel that women are unsuited for combat positions and/or are detrimental to operational effectiveness and group cohesion, they might be reluctant to recruit women for combat arms trades though women may be eligible and suitable for these positions.

After it was decided who to interview in order to investigate the hypothesis of the tokenization of women in combat arms positions, the questionnaire to be administered during the interviews had to be devised. There were several questionnaires all asking basically the same questions, but varying slightly in wording as they are sex-specific. There was also slight variance between the questionnaires as one was designed for recruiters, one for headquarters and policy-making and advising personnel, and one was designed for personnel who are not necessarily in recruiting or policy-making. The third questionnaire was originally designed to be administered to personnel observed during field exercise or training, but proved to be useful when interviewing retired military women. Once the questionnaires were deemed suitable to aid investigation of the

hypothesis of the tokenization of women in combat arms positions, the administering process could begin

### **ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES AND THEIR RELEVANCE TO TOKENISM**

Though the actual questionnaires are provided in appendices at the end of this thesis, the questions must be explained as to how they elucidate the theory of tokenism as the practice governing the use of women in combat positions. There is considerable overlap between the three questionnaires, particularly in the questions on effectiveness, cohesion, and tokenism, any questions specific to a particular questionnaire will be pointed out as such.

The questionnaires formulated for this research are composed of mainly open-ended questions. If a "yes/no" answer is required in the first part of a question, the second part asks for elaboration. It was decided to use open-ended questions in order to provide answers and explanations necessary to confirm the tokenization of women. Because I was restricted to interviewing headquarters and recruiting personnel only, a qualitative research approach was taken. By utilizing a qualitative research methodology rather than a quantitative research approach, more in-depth questioning could be undertaken which also allows for elaboration and anecdotal evidence to be given by the interviewees.

It is not the goal of this thesis to provide a statistically significant verification of the hypothesis by interviewing a large number of people to determine if

tokenism was, is, or could be present. Instead, the aim of this research is to investigate the hypothesis of the tokenization of women in combat arms trades by ascertaining what policy-makers, advisers, and recruiting personnel think of the notion of women in combat, their impact on effectiveness and cohesion, and the possibility of tokenism. The ability of the questions to elucidate the concept of tokenism will be discussed as the questionnaire itself is examined.

The first few questions in each of the questionnaires are designed to ascertain general information about the interviewees themselves and about general policies, either recruitment policies and practices (for the recruiters), or the results of mixed-gender field exercises which utilized women in combat or other non-traditional fields (for headquarters personnel). Once the introductory and general policy questions were posed, attention was then focused on specific areas like combat effectiveness, group cohesion, and tokenism.

Headquarters personnel were not only asked for the results of mixed-gender field exercises, but were asked to provide details as to how women's participation officially affected group cohesion and combat effectiveness. As stated previously, women's effect on combat effectiveness and group cohesion have often been cited as the rationale for barring women from combat arms trades. I wanted to determine if there was actual proof, as demonstrated in the field, of this occurring. All interviewees were asked if they personally had ever been in a mixed-gender unit, on field exercise or in a combat situation in mixed-gender company. If they had been, they were asked how either themselves (if

women) or women (if men) affected combat effectiveness or the ability of the unit to achieve its mission<sup>9</sup>

Interviewees were also asked several questions on the impact of women on the combat effectiveness and group cohesion of direct combat units. Though these were posed as hypothetical questions for all respondents they were designed to elicit responses that would give the researcher an indication of military personnel's perceptions of the impact of women in combat units on effectiveness and cohesion. If military personnel, particularly policy advisers and recruiters, believe women have a negative impact on cohesion and effectiveness (without having factual evidence to verify their assertions) they might be reluctant to either recruit women or push for policy changes that would open positions to women. These attitudes could lead to the tokenization of women in combat arms positions, particularly if they are held by recruiters.

Two other questions were posed to all interviewees regarding the general notion of women in combat arms positions. One was a general attitude question of whether or not combat units should be open to women, the other asked if women are properly trained, are they qualified for combat physically, mentally, and emotionally. These two questions were designed to determine general feelings and attitudes of the respondents towards the issue of women in combat arms positions. If policy-makers, advisers and recruiters have deeply rooted feelings about women in combat, this could contribute to the tokenization of women. For instance, if a recruiter is personally against the utilization of women

in combat positions, she/he might advise potential female recruits against entering combat arms positions, despite the recruit having the qualifications and the desire to do so, possibly leading to only a token number of women being recruited for combat positions. Also if military personnel do not believe women possess the necessary qualifications, particularly physical requirements to enter into combat arms positions, those who do make it through selection and training could still be tokens as the demands of combat positions may be more than the average woman is capable of attaining, leaving only 'exceptional' women to fill these positions whose numbers are minimal.

The next question had to do with the issues described in Chapter One on theories of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression. As discussed in that chapter, there is a commonly held belief that war (making and fighting) is a male-only obligation, occupation, or duty. This theory has been espoused by many people including military decision-makers.<sup>10</sup> This question was placed in the questionnaire to determine if policy-makers, advisers, and recruiters adhere to or believe in the notion that war is a male-only duty and that women have no place or role in war or armed conflict, beyond traditional roles such as clerical and medical. If military personnel adhere to the notion that war is for men only to fight, then the tokenization of women in combat arms positions could ensue (as could the continued prohibition of women in ground combat specialties). This notion is held despite the plethora of historical and contemporary evidence.

of women warriors and combatants world-wide presented in Chapters Two and Three

The next two questions asked of all respondents dealt with the possible induction of more women into the military as a result of opening combat positions to women, and if the introduction of women into combat positions would change the nature of war. The first question was designed to determine if opening combat occupations to women would make the military more attractive to women, open up more possibilities for women, or act as a deterrent. If the opening of combat positions to women could lead to the induction of more women into the military, then the tokenization of women, particularly in combat units but also in the military as a whole, could be minimized or not even occur. However, it could have an opposite effect, deterring women from choosing the military (and combat occupations) as a career, thereby increasing the possibility of tokenism.

The second question relates to the ideas espoused by pacifist feminists (e.g. Cynthia Enloe) as discussed in the third chapter of this thesis, that women could 'soften' the military and its ethos from within by bringing "feminine" attributes of passivity and nurturance to the military. This question was devised to determine if women in combat positions would act like men in combat positions, if combat would remain the same, or if they would alter the nature of war and combat somehow. This question did not have so much to do with tokenism as it had to do with the adherence to notions of female pacifism and male aggression.

Some of the questions specific to individual respondents included asking British interviewees their opinions on the disbanding of WRAC in 1992 and the subsequent integration of women into the British Army. Other questions which were specific to headquarters personnel included general policy questions. It was asked if there was a demand for women in combat arms positions because of personnel shortages. If there is a pressing need for qualified combat soldiers because of shortages and qualified women are not being recruited, then discrimination can be occurring, as well as the phenomenon of tokenism being present (particularly if the numbers of women are small). It was also asked of headquarters personnel what policy measures were being taken to ensure the integration of women into all aspects of the military. This question was asked to determine if policy advisers in the three countries were sincere in their integration processes or were merely making overtures to appease women which they have no intention of fully carrying out. If the militaries are not recognizing the needs of women, that is taking into account that women have children and require time off to recover from labour and delivery, women are the sex usually responsible for childcare, and that women menstruate and can suffer from premenstrual syndrome (PMS), and provide for these needs, they can be accused of not being fully cognizant of the requirements of women and are not attempting to fully integrate women. This lack of full understanding and integration can result in tokenism, as women are marginalized and on the periphery. Thus this question was designed to determine at a headquarters level what measures were



being taken to ensure women are not tokens, but are being totally integrated into the military

Several questions are specific to the British headquarters personnel. As this researcher has not previously conducted research in Britain, there were broader issues that had to be addressed in order to provide a better understanding of the British military, and particularly, the British Army. Thus basic questions regarding which positions are open and closed to women, and the reasons why, had to be posed. Also questions regarding the progress of gender-integrated basic training for officers and enlisted personnel were asked to gauge the development of the integration of women. These questions also provide insight into the potential for the tokenization of British army women as they have only been integrated since mid-1992. I wanted to know if they were being treated as equal members of the army or if they were still considered 'separate' and part of WRAC and experiencing difficulties in integrating. Again, lack of integration indicates tokenism, thus the necessity for the questions.

The last question of the questionnaire is common for all interviewees and asks about tokenism directly. Rather than suggesting outright that women in combat arms positions are or would be tokens, a more diplomatic approach was utilized. The question was couched in terms of what "some people say." "Some people say that the opening of combat positions to women is merely paying lip service to equal employment opportunities and/or personnel requirements, and subsequently women in combat arms specialties are merely tokens. What do you

think of this assertion, is it probable, likely, true?" Since the hypothesis of the tokenization of women had yet to be explored, it was decided to utilize a broad statement, followed by a question of what the respondents thought of the assertion. The use of 'equal employment opportunities and/or personnel requirements' stems from the reasons why all three countries opened combat arms positions to women. Canada was forced by a Human Rights Commission Ruling on equality to open all positions to women, Britain opened up the Navy and the Air Force to women because of dwindling qualified human resources, the United States opened positions to women because of the Congressional repeal of the law prohibiting women from flying combat aircraft based on reasons of equality, antiquated laws, and in recognition of women's contributions during the Gulf War.

If policy-makers, advisers, and recruiters believe that women in combat arms positions are or would be tokens, they would be providing evidence which would aid in supporting of the hypothesis. Tokenism was not defined for the purposes of the questionnaire, it was left up to the interviewee to decide what was meant by "token". The perception of "token" was left to the discretion of the respondents in order to ensure objectivity on the part of the researcher by not prompting the respondents as to the definitions and parameters being utilized in this research with regards to token and tokenism. It was felt that the possible designation of women as "tokens" in combat arms positions only once in the question without further explanation or reference would allow the respondent to

answer on her/his own beliefs as to the validity of the assertion, and therefore the plausibility of the hypothesis being examined in this research

Now that the questionnaire utilized in this research to elucidate the confirmation of the hypothesis that women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens has been discussed, the ability of the questions to support the hypothesis should be clear. Not all of the questions are directly related to tokenism, some were designed to provide answers to general background questions regarding official policies, reports of studies on mixed-gender unit combat effectiveness and group cohesion during field exercise, training or combat situations, and interviewees' personal feelings and attitudes towards the issue of women in combat positions and their impact on cohesion and effectiveness. Many of the questions were designed to indirectly allude to the presence of tokenism, e.g. the notion of war as a male-only obligation and integration policies. However, it was the last question directly asserting the tokenization (actual or probable) of women in combat arms positions which is the most valuable for investigating and supporting the hypothesis, as it refers directly to the phenomenon of tokenism by asking if women in combat arms positions are tokens. All other questions provide background and additional evidence to support the hypothesis as the following chapters on the results of the research and its application to the theory of tokenism will show.

## **THE INTERVIEWS: LOCATIONS, RESPONDENTS, PROBLEMS**

This section includes a presentation of the interview process, the locations of the interviews, the interviewees, and problems experienced during the interview process. Interviews with headquarters personnel, recruiters, and retired military women were facilitated by way of introductory letters sent to the respondents by the researcher. Initial letters were sent to the Directorate Women (Army) in London, England, to the Directorate of Recruiting and Selections (DRS), Ottawa, Canada, and to the Soldier Policy Branch, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel (Army) in Washington, D C. An additional letter was sent to the Director, DACOWITS and Military Women Matters (Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services) also in Washington, D C. These letters introduced the researcher and the research topic and requested interviews with people working in the offices who have knowledge of the utilization of women in the military.

All of the people contacted agreed to be interviewed, with some offering addresses and telephone numbers of additional potential interviewees. The Canadian Forces again required verification from DPPS that the research topic had been approved by them before any interviews could take place with policy advisers. After several letters and telephone calls to a Lieutenant Commander in DPPS and his boss, a Colonel, progress was finally made and interviews were granted with two policy advisers in DRS by late January 1993.

Further contacts were made at the Directorate Personnel Policy and Conditions of Service (DPCS) in Ottawa, with the Director agreeing to one interview with a female staff member. The person in DCPS provided the address of Canada's first female general officer, retired Brigadier General Sheila Hellstrom, who also sits on the Minister's Advisory Board on Women in the Canadian Forces (MABWCF).

The American initial respondents also forwarded names and addresses of further contacts and went so far as to set up interviews for me and to invite me to a DACOWITS Executive Committee meeting which all of the people I was to interview would be attending. The British Director of Public Affairs (Army) decided for me that only two women could be interviewed, the Director Women (Army) and the first staff officer with the Directorate. Thus all the interviews with policy advisers and makers were ready to take place.

Letters were also sent to recruiting centres and offices in a city in each country requesting interviews with recruiting personnel. The letters again identified the nature of the research topic and the researcher. Because of guarantees of confidentiality, the precise locations of the interviews with recruiting personnel cannot be released. Though permission to conduct interviews was granted by either zone headquarters or centre commanding officers, confidentiality and anonymity had to be ensured. Thus only broad locations can be given: in Canada, the province of Ontario, in the United States, the state of Pennsylvania, and in the United Kingdom, in northern England. The identities of the respondents in

the recruiting centres also cannot be given, however, ranks and the sex of the interviewees will be provided. This guarantee of anonymity had to be provided by the researcher to most of the interviewees, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom in order to conduct the interviews.

Once letters were sent and responses received, dates and venues for interviews could be established. The first set of interviews were held in Washington, D C at the Pentagon between 8 and 10 February 1993. During that time I attended a DACOWITS Executive Committee meeting during which discussions about the increased utilization of women in the armed services were held. Five formal interviews were conducted with women associated with DACOWITS including liaison officers and the Chair of DACOWITS, Ms Ellen Murdoch. Women from all four services were interviewed: Captain Paula Bogdewic, United States Marine Corps (USMC), Lieutenant Commander Donna Looney, United States Navy (USN), Major Donna Fachetti, United States Air Force (USAF), and Major Angela Manos, USA. Interviews with most of the military women and Ms Murdoch were set up by Lieutenant Donna Joyal, USN, Plans and Communications Office for the DACOWITS office.

Access to unclassified documents and reports including the complete proceedings and submissions to the Presidential Commission was provided by the office of the Soldier Policy Branch, DAPE-HR-S. Working in this office for two days also allowed me the opportunity to informally interview two men, Major Touw, the Chaplain, and Lieutenant Colonel Hay, the office commanding

officer. Time restrictions did not permit the opportunity to administer the complete questionnaire to these men.

Informal discussions about the issue of women in combat arms positions and the possibility of the tokenization of women in these positions were held while attending the DACOWITS semi-annual conference in Falls Church, Virginia from 18 to 21 April 1993. Opinions of military personnel on these issues will be mentioned as the need arises, and will be noted as such. Most of the people's names were not and could not be recorded as they were offering personal viewpoints which often contradict official policy. They requested that comments not be attributed to them personally for fear of repercussions, including the hampering of promotions, thus their requests will be respected in the forthcoming chapters.

Formal full-length interviews with Canadian policy advisers were held in Ottawa, Canada on 23 and 24 February 1994. Interviews were conducted with Major Max Mosher, DRS, Mr. Gene Flewelling, Policy and Evaluation, DRS, and Major Robin Bradley, DPCS. An informal interview was held with Chief Warrant Officer (CWO) Jim Hickson, DPCS as he walked in half-way through an interview and offered his opinion and insight into the issues as a senior Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) who has knowledge of both the SWINTER and CREW trials. A formal interview was also held with retired Brigadier General Sheila Hellstrom on 23 February 1993. It was General Hellstrom who provided the contact with her British counterpart, retired Brigadier Shirley Nield.

Interviews with recruiting personnel in Canada and the United States were also held in late winter and early spring 1993. For reasons previously stated only general locations of recruiting centres and cloaked identities can be provided in order to protect the anonymity of the respondents. Interviews were held at an Army recruiting station in the state of Pennsylvania on 31 March 1993, one formal interview with a male sergeant first class, and an informal interview with a male captain. No females were interviewed at this station as no women are posted there. Two formal interviews were held at a recruiting centre in the province of Ontario on 6 April 1993, as well as an informal interview. The formal interviews were conducted with a female Captain of the air element, and a male maritime Lieutenant. The informal interview was conducted with a male Sergeant with LFC.

The British interviews were conducted in the late spring and early autumn of 1993. At the British Army Headquarters, Brigadier Jane Roulstone, Director of Women (Army) and the first staff officer, Lieutenant Colonel Sue Donovan were interviewed 27 May 1993. Retired Brigadier Shirley Nield was interviewed in the Midlands on 27 September 1993. All three women were administered complete questionnaires and given full-length interviews.

The army recruiting office chosen in northern England yielded two formal interviews on 24 May 1993. A male Lieutenant Colonel and a female Sergeant were interviewed. An explanatory note about the locations and selection of recruiting stations should be mentioned here. The locations of the recruiting



offices were chosen on the basis of comparability between the three cities. The three cities chosen have approximately the same populations, 350,000 inhabitants. They also have basically the same socio-economic traits, mainly working-class, with relatively high unemployment rates. The recruiting staff themselves are from various locations of their respective countries, none of the recruiters interviewed being natives of the cities they are currently posted in. This is the nature of military postings: personnel are moved all over the country to where they are needed, or by request for a particular posting.

As stated above, the people interviewed varied greatly in background. Almost all of the women interviewed are from "traditional" female military occupations, such as administration, logistics, and clerical. The exceptions are Manos, an officer with the military police, and Bradley, one of the first females in Canada trained to be a non-combat pilot. All of the men interviewed formally and informally are from operational backgrounds (except for Major Touw, the chaplain), meaning they are from combat units, including infantry, artillery, army air corps, and maritime surface and sub-surface positions. Thus many of the men interviewed were able to provide insight into what it means to be in a combat arms position and the difficulties and hardships involved.

The interviews physically took place in most people's offices, either at headquarters or at recruiting stations which provided privacy and the opportunity for interviewees to respond candidly to the questions. Some interviews took place in rather unconventional places because the people do not have offices or

the discussions took place informally. Some interviews took place in cafes, as they were the most accessible places to meet. Many of the informal discussions which arose at the DACOWITS conference took place in meeting rooms, hallways, and the bar as these were the locations where the opportunity to talk to various persons presented itself.

The formal interviews lasted between one and three hours depending on how much anecdotal evidence the interviewees provided to support or illustrate their responses. Three of the formal interviews conducted at the Canadian headquarters were tape-recorded and the responses to the questions were also written down. All other interviews were not tape-recorded as the locations were not conducive to recording or because of the discomfort of the respondents to being recorded. In the rest of the formal interviews and all of the informal interviews (except the one with CWO Hickson), the responses to the questions were written down, practically verbatim in order to ensure accuracy. The interviews which were recorded were transcribed and added to the responses written down during the course of the interview. The questions were asked in the exact order in which they appear and in the exact way that they were written in the questionnaires to ensure uniformity across the interviews and to guard against the possibility of altering the context of the questions which could have an effect on the responses. Every possible measure to ensure uniformity and exactness was taken when asking the questions and writing down the responses.

Many of the respondents provided not only verbal answers to the questions but anecdotal evidence based on personal experience to illustrate their responses. As stated previously, the staff at the Soldier Policy Branch provided access to unclassified and declassified documents and reports concerning the utilization of army women. Many of the other respondents, both at headquarters and recruiting offices, provided additional written documents on various subjects such as positions currently closed to women, physical testing requirements for combat arms basic training and reports on women in non-traditional occupations. All respondents were candid and comfortable with the questionnaire and the interviewer once the topic and why their contribution was important were explained to them. Many provided more than what was asked of them during the administration of the questionnaire. However, this does not mean that the interview and the research processes were not without problems of varying degrees, which shall now be discussed.

Some of the difficulties in receiving permission to conduct the research and to obtain interviews have already been discussed, particularly in the Canadian case. The process was fraught with stumbling blocks in the form of bureaucratic requirements. It was difficult to obtain permission to interview even policy-makers and advisers who are usually put before the media to answer questions regarding the military because of official rules and regulations regarding social research and military personnel. After much wrangling, permission was granted but not to the wide extent that was originally asked for. The British would not

allow high-ranking male policy-makers or rank and file women who were among the first currently undergoing trials in mixed-gender enlisted personnel basic training to be interviewed

The Canadians would not allow women currently placed in combat arms positions to be interviewed for reasons which were never explained to me. The Americans have yet to respond to the request to interview enlisted women in non-traditional (but not combat) occupations and trades. This inability to interview the women themselves in non-traditional, ground-breaking and/or combat positions posed the biggest stumbling block to the research.

In order to determine if women in combat arms positions are or could be experiencing tokenism as a result of their small numbers and the androcentric nature of the military, the optimal people to interview are the women themselves as they are the ones affected by tokenism. That was realized at the outset of this research and various attempts were made to interview these women, first by asking to observe women on field exercise or in basic training and second by asking if women could simply be interviewed wherever they may be posted. As explained previously in this chapter, permission for both requests was either denied, ignored, or so wound up in bureaucratic requirements that it would take months if not years to satisfy all the requirements and go through all the required channels. As permission was denied in the United Kingdom it was decided to abandon the original ideas of observing and interviewing ordinary servicewomen and to turn to people who are more readily available to interview,

policy advisers and makers. The headquarters personnel are drawn from the larger military population and are appointed to a three to five year posting in policy making and advising.

It should be stressed at this stage that the respondents are fairly representative of the attitudes found in the military towards women in general, and women in combat arms positions, specifically. The responses of the policy advisers/headquarters personnel, the recruiters, and the retired female brigadier generals are relatively representative of people in those categories in the military, that is it can be argued that they 'speak' for the majority of military people. Although the interviewees do not constitute a statistically representative sample of any one group of military personnel, they are selected from a sufficient range of policy advisers and headquarters personnel, recruiters and retired female general officers to provide insights into a spectrum of military opinion. In this sense the individuals interviewed here can be said to speak for the military. Thus, these interviews provide an insight as to the overall attitude of the military, despite not being quantitatively significant.

At first glance it might seem as if the decision to interview policy-makers and advisers on the role and status of women in combat units rather than the actual women themselves is inadequate for the investigation of the hypothesis. However, the people who were interviewed at the headquarters level are the people responsible for issues pertaining to service women including their present and future roles and status. They are knowledgeable of the kinds problems

women are facing in being integrated into the military. Because of the hierarchical and bureaucratic nature of the military (described in Chapter One) issues, such as sexual harassment and tokenism experienced by servicewomen are reported to the policy advisers, the people who were interviewed. They, in turn, relayed the information and experiences of women in non-traditional fields during the research interviews. Thus the information obtained by interviewing policy advisers can be said to offer insight into the question of the tokenization of servicewomen.

However, although I was therefore required to rely on evidence gathered by interviewing policy-makers, advisers, recruiters and retired female general officers rather than interviews with servicewomen, this does not change my ability to investigate the hypothesis that women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens. Confirmation could come from alternate sources as explained in first section. It was also decided not to rely strictly on evidence gathered through the interviews but to utilize written reports and documents of field studies, trials, observations, reports and recommendations regarding the placement of women in non-traditional occupations, including combat arms, combat support, and combat service support positions. These documents are important as they detail the experiences of women in non-traditional fields, including combat. Some, like the MABWCF's Annual Report, provide anecdotal statements by women in combat units and detail their experiences, while others present the results of field studies and include both qualitative and quantitative data gathered during trials.

on women in non-traditional occupations and during actual conflicts (e.g. Panama and the Gulf War)

Several reports and documents were gathered during the visit to the Pentagon which detail the American army experience. Reports were requested from various branches and departments of both the Canadian Forces and the American Armed services which deal with personnel studies in social and behavioural sciences. Much research and analysis has been conducted on women in the military, particularly on their integration into non-traditional occupations like combat and combat support and their impact on effectiveness and cohesion. These studies and reports were turned to in order to supplement and support the evidence gathered in the interview process. Several documents, including reports on the Canadian SWINTER trials, the CREW trial and the MABWCF's annual reports detail and describe the experiences of women in non-traditional fields and attempt to offer explanations and analyses.

These documents are important as they aid in the investigation and subsequent supporting of the hypothesis of the tokenization of women as will be detailed in the following chapters. Unfortunately, because of the closed nature of the British military, access to written documentation has been denied. Thus, only Canadian and American reports will be utilized to supplement and back up the findings of this research. Therefore, although the original research plans had to be altered, interviews with policy-makers, advisers, recruiters, and retired personnel along

with official defence documents provide the evidence necessary to explore the hypothesis

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the background, the methodology, the questionnaires, the respondents, and associated problems in this research on the tokenization of women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The reasons for choosing tokenism as the main theory utilized in this research have been thoroughly examined and a detailed presentation of the fieldwork and questionnaire developmental process has been given. This included the changes made to the original research proposal from one of an observant procedure to one of questionnaires being administered through interviews because of the difficulties in obtaining permission to observe field exercises and/or basic training. The development of the questionnaires was also presented in the second section of this chapter.

Following the presentation of the evolution of the fieldwork and questionnaires processes came the discussion and analysis of the various questionnaires. This included a breakdown of the significance of each question, why they were included in the questionnaire, and how they relate to tokenism. Also presented in this section was a discussion of the ability of various questions



to elucidate the phenomenon of tokenism with respect to the utilization of women in combat arms positions

The last section of this chapter examined the interviews and the interviewees. The dates and locations of the interviews were presented as were the identities of most of the respondents, with the need for the anonymity of other respondents (recruiting personnel) also being presented. There were seventeen formal interviews held, twelve with headquarters or retired personnel and five with recruiters. There were also five informal interviews, three with headquarters staff and two with recruiters, and approximately twelve informal discussions with military personnel attending the DACOWITS conference on the issues of women in combat and the tokenization of military women in combat arms fields. Problems experienced in the course of the interview process were also discussed, including the need to use defence documents and reports to support the findings of the research because of the denied and ignored requests to interview women in combat or non-traditional positions. Despite this alteration it was argued that tokenism and women in combat arms positions can still be researched by interviewing headquarters and recruiting personnel, as well as researching reports of studies on the integration of women into non-traditional positions.

Now that the methodology and background of this research have been discussed and examined, attention can be focused on the actual findings of the interviews. The next chapter details the results of the research conducted between February and September 1993 via formal interviews with headquarters,

retired, and recruiting personnel, as well as informal interviews and discussions held with other military women and men. When the results of the interviews, along with supplemental information provided by defence reports and documents are applied to the theories as defined and described by Kanter and Laws, the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in ground combat arms positions in the armed Forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens can be supported.

## ENDNOTES

1 Canada, Department of National Defence, Annexes to Charter Task Force Final Report, volume II, Annex J to Part 3 (Ottawa September 1986)

2 Since embarking in this research, Belgium and the Netherlands have announced that they will no longer rely on conscription to staff their militaries, instead they will turn to all-volunteer forces like Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. However, these announcements came too late in the research process to include Belgium and the Netherlands in the study as they will not complete the change to all-volunteer forces until the end of 1994 or later

3 Kitchener, Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 6 February 1990

4 United States, Congress, The Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces. Report to the President, Appendix C (Washington, D C United States Government Printing Offices, 1992), p C-31

5 See Canada Department of National Defence, Charter Task Force Final Report (Ottawa September 1986), United States, Department of Defense, Report Task Force on Women in the Military (Washington, D C , September 1988)

6 Canada, Canadian Human Rights Commission, Decision of the Tribunal in the Case Between Isabelle Gauthier, Joseph G. Houlden, Marie-Claire Gauthier, Georgina Ann Brown and the Canadian Armed Forces (Ottawa 20 February 1989), p 1

7 United States, Report to the President, pp 24-29

8 As of writing this chapter in September 1993, I still have not heard from either Land Forces Command in St Húbert, Quebec, Canada or the United States Army Training Center in Fort Jackson, South Carolina, despite the first letters being sent in July 1992 and follow-ups being sent in October 1992

9 Operational effectiveness has several related meanings. It can be used as the Canadian Forces have defined as " combat readiness and preparedness", or as the ability of the unit, squadron, company to meet its assigned goal or mission. Canada, Decision, p 40

10 Evidence of this belief being held will also be examined in the application chapter where the results of the interviews and government documents examining the utilization of women in non-traditional military occupations will be presented and analyzed

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS AND RESPONSES OF THE INTERVIEWEES**

Now that the theoretical and historical background and the methodology utilized in this research have been examined, the results of the interviews and the responses to the questionnaires as they relate to the hypothesis of the tokenization of women in combat arms positions can be presented. This chapter examines the results of the research questionnaires and interviews and includes overall generalizations and specifics of the total group interviewed as well as a breakdown of the responses by country (Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States), and by 'occupational category' (policy advisers/headquarters personnel, recruiters, and retired brigadier generals). The details of the responses will be provided on a case study or person-by-person basis with generalizations following, beginning with the interviews conducted in the United States. This chapter provides the background and the impetus for the supporting of the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution women within the combat arms positions of the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens.

## **RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS**

Lieutenant Commander Donna Looney (USN) was the first person to be interviewed. She is a naval surface worker officer assigned to sea duty where she has held her commission for eleven years, after performing four years of active enlisted and four years of reserve enlisted duty. She was deployed to the Persian

Gulf in June 1991 and served aboard The Stark. Looney does not mind gender-integration as she is already integrated and is part of the Navy. Looney found that based on her experiences in the Gulf that as long as women do their jobs as professionals, women make no difference in combat situations. As to women's impact on cohesion and effectiveness in combat units, Looney is not sure of their effect, though she did add that as long as women are assigned to jobs according to their skills, there should be no problems with combat effectiveness in mixed-sex units. She did not believe that war was the preserve of men, but had no opinion as to whether or not combat units should be open to women. She did state that if the law changed, she would go to where she was given orders to serve, including into combat.<sup>1</sup>

In response to the last question on tokenism, Looney stated that tokenism was possible for women in combat arms positions, but she did not elaborate on her answer. However, her parting words at the end of the interview proved to be more revealing than her response to the tokenism question. She stated "I'd rather stay in a non-combat MOS [Military Occupational Specialty] at sea and be an equal to men than go into a combat position and be treated as second class."<sup>2</sup> From her statement it can be concluded that Looney believes that if women go into combat positions they will not be treated as equals as she believes they are in non-combat positions. They will instead end up by being treated as inferiors or "second class", indicating non-acceptance and peripheralization of the women by the men, which is what happens to tokens. The next person to be interviewed

was Captain Paula Bogdewic, USMC, who has been a financial manager officer for twelve years. She, like Looney, was assigned to the Persian Gulf where she was posted in January 1991, one hundred miles from the front in Al-Jubail. Like Looney, Bogdewic has always been in mixed-sex units and prefers working with men even when it means being the only woman in the unit. Bogdewic has been in mixed-sex units on field exercise during basic training and in the Gulf War and stated that women are part of the Marines unit and have no discernible effect on effectiveness. However, she does believe that because of the lesser physical capabilities of women, they could compromise both cohesion and effectiveness in direct combat units. And though Bogdewic believes that war is not the preserve of men, she does not think that combat units should be open to women.<sup>3</sup>

Because of women's physical abilities, Bogdewic believes that realistically very few women would complete basic training. Even though Bogdewic herself runs ten miles a day and 'works out' with weights, she does not even believe herself to be physically capable of entering a combat position. She also believes that the number of women would decrease if combat units were opened to them. In response to the final question, Bogdewic, unlike Looney, is certain that women in combat units would be tokens because so many women would fail basic training.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast to Looney and Bogdewic, Major Donna Fachetti, USAF, is more positive in her attitude towards women in combat positions. Fachetti has spent

fifteen years in the Air Force as an administrative personnel officer and though she has no combat or field exercise experience, she has always been in gender-integrated units or offices and has not experienced any problems. Fachetti does not believe that war is the preserve of men, though she commented that wars are caused by men. She believes that combat units should be open to women and does not believe that group cohesion or combat effectiveness would be affected by the integration of women as women are trained to be in these positions. She believes that the number of women in the USAF would increase once combat positions are opened because the glass ceiling imposed on women by the ban would be lifted.<sup>5</sup>

However, in contrast to Looney and Bogdewic, Fachetti stated women would not be tokens in combat arms positions and gave the following explanation: "Once combat positions are open to women and once women are proven capable there is no reason to 'cap' the number of women in combat positions. The only number restriction is the number of women qualified to be combat pilots."<sup>6</sup> Fachetti utilized a commonly-held definition of tokenism when giving her explanation, in that she believed that tokenism means an official and visible quota on the maximum number of women allowed to enter combat positions.

The final military headquarters person to be formally interviewed was Major Angela Manos, USA, with fourteen years in the military policy, three years as an enlisted person and eleven years as an officer. Manos, like all of the others, has always been in gender-integrated units and has been on both field exercise and in



combat situations during which she has been the commanding officer of military police units during demonstrations and protests at bases. She has never experienced any problems in any of the situations or placements. However, despite her combat experience, Manos was unsure if combat units should be open to women.<sup>7</sup>

Manos stated that she does not accept the "bonding" argument for keeping women out of ground combat positions, nor does she accept "popular culture" reasons, she believes "societal attitude" does not accept women in combat roles. For Manos, pregnancy and childcare are primary reasons why women cannot or should not enter combat positions. Pregnant women cannot be deployed, if a woman in a combat unit is pregnant the unit strength is diminished and there could be an effect on combat effectiveness. Manos also believes that family issues are a factor in the decision whether to open combat positions to women. As women are the primary care-givers for children, this will prevent them from entering combat units. Manos argues that unless family changes and traditions are broken, women will not be in combat positions.<sup>8</sup>

Manos in her response to the women in combat question also put forth the argument that women would have "difficulty in adjusting to largely male units", and would in essence be "ground-breakers" and possibly experience the problem of tokenism, particularly within the enlisted ranks in ground combat positions.<sup>9</sup> Hence, Manos brought up the tokenism issue prior to the question being asked, with regards to her explanation of why she is unsure if combat units should be

open to women Manos concluded her response to this question by stating the army can attempt to place women in combat, but the planners must look at the military as a whole and the entire organization to determine the effects, if any, of women in combat units Manos believes that women as individuals can go into combat units, but women as a group - "possibly not "<sup>10</sup>

Manos was also unsure of the effect of women on group cohesion in that the question cannot be answered for her until men see women being injured and killed in large numbers Manos, like Fachetti believed women would have no impact on performance or combat effectiveness in combat units Manos believes if the integration of women into combat units is planned for and is phased in " there will be no effect, positive or negative, on combat effectiveness "<sup>11</sup> She argued "If you want to be in a combat arms position and you put in an application for it and qualify for the position, there should be no impact [on effectiveness] "<sup>12</sup> However, Manos stated that women would have no effect on effectiveness if integration is done properly and women are trained for the job

Manos, like Bogdewic, believes that the number of women in the USA would decrease if combat units were open to them Manos argued women might not " put up with aspects of fighting Women can survive in combat, but is it worth putting up with the rest of infantry life, such as digging trenches, boredom, etc

"<sup>13</sup> Based on this assumption Manos believes less women will enter the army if combat units are open

Again, like Bogdewic, Manos agreed that women in ground combat positions would be tantamount to tokens. She stated that tokenism is an issue in the army, they examine the numbers of women carefully and constantly utilize the Canadian example of Private Heather Erxleben, the only enlisted female infanteer, who experienced many of the problems associated with tokenism. The U S Army looks at the problems the Canadian infanteer faced and cite her loneliness, isolation, and living under constant scrutiny as reasons for keeping ground combat positions closed to American women as they fear the same problems, associated with tokenism, will arise. Manos also stated that in any area where tokens tend to fail (military or civilian) it is not because of their abilities, but because of the stress of being a token, such as living life in a "fishbowl" and the general unacceptance of the token by the majority<sup>14</sup> (tenets of Kanter's definition of tokenism, as well as Laws')

The civilian chairwoman of DACOWITS, Ms Ellen Murdoch was also interviewed in Washington, D C. As a civilian with no military experience, some of the questions do not apply to Murdoch. She offered the official positions of DACOWITS. DACOWITS endorses the opening of all positions in airforce and navy to women, including those flying combat aircraft and aboard warships. They are also lobbying for combat flying positions within the army and the marines to be open to women. As for ground combat positions, DACOWITS endorses the opening of field artillery positions to women, commissioned positions in air defence artillery to be opened, and opening combat engineer

positions to women at the brigade level and above DACOWITS has no official position on other ground combat positions, e.g. armour and infantry, because its focus has been on the ship and aircraft exclusion laws, though unofficially, there are DACOWITS members who are questioning ground combat exclusion policies<sup>15</sup> Thus, because of their focus lying historically elsewhere, DACOWITS has no official position on the infantry and armour exclusion, though it is lobbying for the repeal of the exclusion policy in field artillery and combat engineer positions

Like Fachetti, Murdoch believes that women would have no effect on cohesion or effectiveness in combat units as long as they are qualified to fill the positions (much like Manos's response to the effectiveness question) Murdoch feels that the number of women in the military would increase when combat units are open to women only if it becomes legal to draft women and place them there, but this requires Congressional legislation

Finally, Murdoch, like Manos believes that women in ground combat positions would be tokens as in Kanter's theory of fifteen percent of a group or less constitutes tokenism (It must be noted that Murdoch, like other respondents offered Kanter's theory, either through direct reference to Kanter, by referring to her fifteen percent theory, and by physically producing her article upon being asked the tokenism question (Hay and Roulstone whose responses will be examined later in the chapter) She also stated that aboard ships and in the USAF

the issue of tokenism would have to be resolved to ensure problems associated with tokenism are not exacerbated<sup>16</sup>

The final formal American interview was with a male recruiting Sergeant First Class who has been an enlisted USA member for fifteen years. His current MOS is a Senior Recruiting and Retention Non-Commissioned Officer and Station Commander, while his usual MOS is an infantry footman. The Sergeant has only been integrated in the recruiting office and has not been on field exercise or in a combat situation with women. He did state that he did not mind being in an integrated unit.

The Sergeant was the only respondent who stated that war was not the preserve of men or women, but that politicians should fight wars as they are the ones who start them. He also believed that combat units should be open to women on a volunteer basis, that is women should not be forced into combat units. He stated that the effect of women in combat units on group cohesion depends on whether women and men are together from basic training, if they are there will be no effect. However, like Bogdewic, the Sergeant believes women could have a negative effect on effectiveness. He argued that women could affect performance in artillery and armour units because of the weights involved. For instance, if a person is an eight inch gun artilleryman, the gun weighs 213 pounds and each eight inch shell weighs fifty pounds, which is a strain for men (including the Sergeant), so it would be very hard for women to perform well. Also tank shell loader and combat engineer positions would be difficult for

women because of the weights. But in artillery, air defence and infantry women "stand a better chance at performing well. It is stamina more than strength that counts."<sup>17</sup> Thus the Sergeant, like Bogdewic, that believes the physical capabilities of women could hamper women's abilities to perform well in some, but not all, combat units.

Like many of the others, the Sergeant believes the total number of women in the military would not increase if combat units are opened to women, but he does not believe, like Manos and Bogdewic, that their numbers would decrease. Finally, the recruiting sergeant said yes women would be tokens in combat arms positions and offered the following (paraphrased) explanation. The military is often a "guinea pig base or testing pad for new ideas." Planners are willing to do with the military what they are not willing to do with society, e.g. "gays" and women now, and what previously happened with blacks prior to racial integration through an Executive Order issued by President Truman. The Sergeant argued that the integration of women will not happen on its own, the military will either integrate women by having a token force or will integrate women to say that it will not work to have women in combat.<sup>18</sup> In essence, women will be sent into combat units predestined to fail in order to tell critics "We told you so - women are not meant to be in combat positions." Or alternately, women will be admitted in token numbers, representing a "token" commitment by the military to sexual equality.

The Canadian respondents were more cohesive in their responses compared to their American counterparts, which can be partially attributed to the experience of five years of full integration. The responses given by members of the Canadian military begin with the results of the interview with Major Max Mosher of LFC.

Mosher has been commissioned for twenty-seven years with his current Military Occupational Category (MOC) being a personnel selection officer, but he spent five years in heavy armour. He has only been integrated with women in the office and has never been on a mixed-sex field exercise. Mosher believes that war is not the preserve of men and he has no doubts about women in combat units, as long as they are trained to be there. However, like some of the American respondents, like Bogdewic, Manos, and the Sergeant, Mosher has some doubts about women's effect on cohesion and effectiveness, though he is the only Canadian respondent to do so. Mosher stated that based on the results of the SWINTER trials, he believed that women could have a negative impact on both cohesion and effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units, though he admits that this is the only basis for his answer and that the SWINTER trials were flawed<sup>19</sup>

Mosher, like Fachetti, believes that the total number of women in the military will increase with combat positions being open because more combat support positions will be open to them and these are the ones they will enter. And in response to the final question, Mosher stated that tokenism is not as prevalent

now in the Canadian Forces (CF) as it was previously. The CF had no imperative in the past to actively recruit women and did select "token" women. There was been a switch in attitude towards women in the CF because younger people are going into leadership positions who are accustomed to being integrated with women. Thus tokenism as a phenomenon affecting women is becoming less so now. Mosher stated there is an honest desire to "get in with the job" of gender-integration, but "blocks" are created which hamper integration. For instance, in 1993, the CF is not recruiting at all in combat arms and this "block" is not rectifying the situation of numbers of women being so low in the combat arms fields as to be insignificant. Mosher concluded by saying there are not quotas for women in any positions, quotas caused problems for women in the first place (e.g. SWINTER and CREW), the CF recruits the best person for the position. Thus tokenism is less prevalent now than it was previously in the CF.<sup>20</sup>

Mr Eugene Flewelling was the next person to be interviewed, who is now a civilian with the Directorate of Recruiting and Selection, but spent thirty years as a regular force commissioned pilot. Flewelling, like Mosher, has never been on a mixed-sex field exercise or been integrated operationally, but has been integrated in the office. Flewelling stated "War is not the preserve of men any more, it is a societal duty."<sup>21</sup> Flewelling, like Mosher agreed that combat units should be open to women, stating, "Yes, combat units should be open to women provided that the standards [for entry and training] are not changed. The current



standards are legitimate standards for combat positions in the Canadian Forces They have held up to scrutiny by outside agencies to be deemed legitimate standards "<sup>22</sup>

However, Flewelling differs from Mosher in that he believes that because women are part of 'the team', they will have no effect on either effectiveness or cohesion in combat units But he agrees with Mosher on the concept of tokenism within the CF Flewelling stated that tokenism is true only in combat positions as there are large numbers of women in most MOCs, well over fifteen percent of the total in combat support units such as aircraft hanger crews to over fifty percent in communications Flewelling stated that because of the small numbers of women in the combat arms fields they tend to live life in a fishbowl and are subject to constant scrutiny (one of Kanter's perceptual phenomena) The small numbers are a direct result of very few women being able to meet the physical standards However, Flewelling believes that the words "token" and "tokenism" are derogatory to the women being so labelled <sup>23</sup>

Retired Brigadier General Sheila Hellstrom spent thirty-four years as a commissioned officer in the air element as an administrator, and two years in the reserves as a flight cadet Hellstrom has always been in gender-integrated units and at times was the only non-medical woman on the base when she was stationed in West Germany, with her female company consisting of a lone nurse Hellstrom has also been on NATO field exercises in Europe as the commanding officer in charge of decontamination units <sup>24</sup>

Hellstrom was also an observer with the SWINTER trials in Europe, observing gender-integration testing in service battalions and field ambulance units. She stated that "women were forced to put up with a lot during SWINTER but performed their jobs well. The problems were with command, not with the women."<sup>25</sup> As an observer Hellstrom noticed that the command, or the men in charge of the SWINTER trials in Europe were making it difficult for women, and for gender-integration to be successful, showing that the women are not the problem in integration, but the men, particularly those who make the decisions. Some of the Canadian respondents reported problems with gender-integration, particularly in Combat Support (CS) and Combat Service Support (CSS) units in the mid-1980s.

Like her former male colleagues, Hellstrom believes that war is not the preserve of men and that combat units should be open to women, if the women are qualified for the positions. Hellstrom also stated that "there is no evidence to indicate that operational effectiveness is affected with women being integrated - either positive or negative." She also believes women have no effect - positive or negative - on group cohesion in any integrated units.<sup>26</sup>

Hellstrom, like Mosher believes that the total number of women would increase when combat positions are open to women because support positions in combat units are open. Finally, Hellstrom unequivocally stated, "Tokenism is the case for women in combat arms positions."<sup>27</sup> She believes that there will be so few women in these positions that the ones there will be tokens.

Major Robin Bradley was the last person to be formally interviewed at defence headquarters. She has been commissioned for twelve years and has been in military intelligence and was one of the first women trained as a pilot to fly Hercules transport planes. Bradley has always been in mixed-sex units, though like Hellstrom, at times she was in a situation of "lot of men and 'you'", and was one of only three women in her basic training. Bradley has also been on numerous NATO exercises and had no problems during exercises.<sup>28</sup>

Bradley does not believe that war is the preserve of men and does agree that combat positions should be open to women. However, she is like her American counterpart Manos in being split in her answer to the effectiveness and cohesion questions. Bradley stated that based on her experiences women would not affect effectiveness in combat units. But, Bradley also stated that cohesion in combat units depends on the woman or women in the unit, and the unit itself. That is, if men in the unit do not want the women there, cohesion can suffer, as it also can if the female(s) is (are) not a "team player". Bradley asserted that the small numbers of women and/or a person with "an attitude" (man or woman) will affect the unit and its cohesion.<sup>29</sup> Unlike the others, Bradley does not believe that the total number of women would increase with combat positions being open to women as she has not seen any increase in the numbers.

In contrast to the other respondents, with regards to the tokenism question, Bradley stated that tokenism is not occurring within the CF with regards to women in combat positions. Bradley asserted that no one has been forced into

combat positions, all of the women who are in combat units are there because they chose to be. Therefore tokenism is not happening as there is no such thing as a "token woman infanteer" <sup>30</sup>

Bradley went on to discuss the notion of "critical mass", a policy concept which until recently guided the CF's integration of women. Approximately forty percent of a group is considered to be "critical mass". With the critical mass concept, if there are too few of a group, e.g. women, the group does not support 'the system', the military, if there are too many of a group, they become a visible minority. Therefore there has to be a balance of 'groups' within the system, and this balance is "critical mass". During the initial integration of women, the CF had to have critical mass as it is important to achieve a balance. However, the inability to achieve critical mass, particularly within ground combat positions (that is approximately forty percent of a combat unit had to be women), led to critical mass being abandoned as a policy at LFC with regards to the integration of women in combat and CS units and positions <sup>31</sup>

What Bradley described as critical mass sounds very much like Kanter's balanced group typology. It appears that LFC and the CF were trying to avoid the problems experienced during the SWINTER trials of small numbers of women and difficulties attributed to tokenism, as defined by Kanter, by mandating that critical mass must be achieved in mixed-gender combat and CS units whereby as close to forty percent as possible of a unit had to be from the target group, women. Once the CF and LFC found that achieving critical mass

was difficult, they abandoned it as a policy, thereby creating (or re-creating) a skewed group typology and having token women in combat (This will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter )

The results of the last two Canadian interviews held with the recruiters will be presented separately, though they were conducted together. The female recruiting officer has been with the Air Command as a logistics and finance officer for six years. She has always been in mixed-sex units and does not mind being integrated. She has also been on exercises and has not experienced any difficulties, though she stated that during her basic training it was commented by a male on the course that " some men treated the women like shit!" pointing out that some, but not all men felt the presence of women was an invasion of their "bastion" and treated the women poorly by making their lives difficult<sup>32</sup>

The Captain, like all of the other Canadian respondents, believes that war is not the preserve of men and that combat units should be open to women. However, the Captain (like her male counterpart) gave a very distinctive answer to the effectiveness and cohesion questions. She stated that there would be an initial drop in both in the newly formed mixed-sex combat units, the novelty of which would quickly wear off, and effectiveness and cohesion would return to the same level as single-sex units. The Captain stated that "the myth of men's natural instinct to protect women" would cause effectiveness to initially drop, but once the men were used to the women it will rise again<sup>33</sup>

The Captain, like Mosher and Hellstrom, stated that the opening of combat units to women will increase their total numbers in the CF as more jobs will be open to them in support capacities. In response to the final question, the Captain's response was much like Mosher's. She stated that tokenism is less prevalent in 1993 than it was during the CREW trials. She said during CREW the CF was taking women from other MOCs to go into combat positions in order to get sufficient numbers to conduct the tests. Now the CF is getting women who want to do combat jobs into combat units. "The military is not creating token positions for women, we simply recruit the best candidates"<sup>34</sup>. Thus tokenism does occur within the CF, but is not as prevalent as it was during the CREW trials.

The male Maritime Command Lieutenant interviewed has spent eight years as a MARS officer (Maritime Surface and Sub-Surface), and three years as an enlisted member in both the regular and reserve forces. Unlike his female counterpart he has not always been in mixed-sex units as his MOC was opened to women in 1989. He has been on mixed-sex exercise and women were not much of an issue, with the integration working out well. He argued that there were both women and men who did not perform well. Like the other Canadian respondents, the Lieutenant believes that war is not the preserve of men and that combat units should be open to women as they are just as effective as men.

His response to the effectiveness and cohesion questions echoed his female counterpart's in that he too believes that there would be an initial drop in both

and after the novelty wears off, both will rise again. The Lieutenant argued that men would be preoccupied with the fact that their unit members are 'women' instead of 'soldiers'. He also stated that the initial decrease in cohesion in mixed-sex units is not unlike when new male members are added to an existing unit, but everything comes together and cohesion returns to 'normal'.<sup>35</sup>

The Lieutenant, like the Captain, also believes that opening combat positions to women will lead to an increase in their CF representation because more jobs are open to them. However, he is more like Bradley with regards to the tokenism question. He argued that "no matter what the military does there will always be people who cry tokenism. There is no difference between women and men in recruiting, we give the job to the best artilleryman, (sic) whether it is male or female. The CF is just not attracting women which in turn creates the low ratio of women to men. The CF must overcome the ignorance of society to show that positions are available to women. Right now we are not getting fifty-two percent of applicants as women."<sup>36</sup> The Lieutenant admits that the CF is not getting significant numbers of women applying for combat positions, but tokenism, according to him, is not occurring.

The responses of the British interviewees are not as cohesive in nature as the Canadians', resembling more the Americans' responses in that they are often divided, reflecting the uncertainty regarding the issue of women in combat positions. The presentation of the results will follow the same format as the others, beginning with headquarters personnel and ending with the recruiters.

The first British interview to be presented is that with Brigadier Jane Roulstone, the current Director Women (Army), who has held her commission for twenty-seven years with her previous occupation being a general duties officer. She felt that the disbanding of the WRAC was inevitable and allows women to prove what they can do in wider fields. Apart from her basic training, Roulstone has always been in integrated units and was even the commanding officer of a Royal Signals Squadron. She has also been on and commanded units in field exercise and has never experienced any problems in integrated units<sup>37</sup>

Roulstone does not believe that war is the preserve of men, but she is unsure about whether or not combat units should be open to women. She stated "It is not a simple answer. The policy should be that people are put in the best place to best contribute to the army. So few women can make it through the system in combat arms trades that the women are going to be token women because of the physical demands and the pressures. There is also the privacy and decency argument. British law protects men's rights as well as women's with respect to privacy and decency. There are the physical demands of the armour corps as there is less technology in armour. Privacy is also a concern in tank crews - there can be all-female tank crews but a female commanding officer is on her own. Women are also much too sensible to be infantry soldiers - it is not a transferable skill to be a trained killer. Most soldiers do not have a desire to be an infantry soldier, they want a skill that they can use as civilians. Why be an infantry



soldier when you can be better paid and acquire better skills in another cap badge?"<sup>38</sup>

Roulstone did say that she has no problems with women firing guns in the artillery, provided that they are strong enough to do the job. She also argued that she has no difficulty in accepting women killing "the enemy" who they are standing face-to-face with if they are in the infantry. However, she believes that "by nature women are less aggressive than men."<sup>39</sup> Thus as discussed in Chapter Two, Roulstone adheres to the belief that women are less aggressive than men (though not necessarily pacific), which is an argument utilized by opponents of women in combat positions. Though that belief has yet to be verified in reality, particularly in light of the long history of women warriors and combatants, people still adhere to it.

Roulstone is also unsure about women's effect on effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units. Roulstone stated that combat effectiveness is the "primary concern" of the army.<sup>40</sup> She, like the Sergeant, believes that physical testing was necessary to ensure women are capable of performing tasks in combat arms units, which would ensure combat effectiveness. However, possessing physical capacity is not sufficient because of the anticipated small numbers of women there will be a situation whereby women will be tokens and could disrupt the established "understandings" of the combat units, which could impair effectiveness. However, Roulstone believes that women would have a negative

effect on group cohesion in combat units because the men will protect the women and women are less "clubbable" than men

In response to the final two questions, Roulstone is unsure if opening ground combat units to women will lead to more women in the Army. However, she was more clear in her response to the tokenism question. Roulstone stated that the tokenism categorization is justifiable, particularly if the army simply opens all positions to women without examining if women can succeed physically and make it through the system. Roulstone stated "the odd token woman in combat arms trades is not in the army's interest"<sup>41</sup> Roulstone believes tokenism would happen if policy changes are not carefully studied, and this is not good for the army.

Roulstone at the close of the interview asked if I had heard of Rosabeth Moss Kanter and her theory of tokenism as an excerpt of her book, the chapter on tokenism and skewed groups had just arrived for her to read. She is studying the issue of tokenism and its effect on women in the army, that is are or would women in some fields be tokens and experience the perceptual phenomena associated with tokenism. I find it interesting that the British Army is researching the phenomenon of tokenism yet it does not wish to disclose exactly what it is researching about tokenism and for which positions it applies.

Lieutenant Colonel Sue Donovan was interviewed next and has been a mainstream general list officer for twenty-one years. She, like Roulstone felt that the disbanding of the WRAC was inevitable and happened because women

proved their own worth. She has always been in mixed-sex units, except for basic training and has been on field exercise and found no problems in either

Donovan does not believe that war is the preserve of men and unlike her superior, believes that combat units should be open to women, if they have the abilities, echoing the sentiments of many of the Canadian respondents. She, however, was unsure about the effect of women on effectiveness in combat units because of physical capabilities, but did add that if the women are qualified there will be no effect. Donovan was also like Bradley in her response to the cohesion question in that she believes that the impact of women on cohesion in mixed-sex combat units depends on the reactions of men and how the men treat the women.<sup>42</sup>

Donovan was not sure if opening combat units to women would increase their numbers, but she did state that there is a current target to increase women to ten percent of the total army. Donovan also differed from Roulstone on the tokenism questions by stating that women in combat positions would not be tokens. "It is easy to perceive it as tokenism. However, women have demonstrated that they are just as capable as their male counterparts, the Gulf War proved that. It is short-sighted to say that it is tokenism."<sup>43</sup> Donovan, like other Canadian and American respondents used the commonly-held interpretation of tokenism to explain her position. However, her superior, Brigadier Roulstone, like some of the American respondents believed women would be tokens, as defined by Kanter

Retired Brigadier Shirley Nield was the last female officer interviewed. She retired in 1990 after thirty-three years in the WRAC serving as its Director and as a personnel selection officer, the latter which she left to devise systems for selection and training. Nield was "sad" about the disbanding of the WRAC because it was in the regimental system and "was devoted to the employment, integration and excellences of women" <sup>44</sup>

Nield, like her counterparts, does not believe that war is the preserve of men. And she, like Donovan, said that combat units should be open to women, but she questions whether combat units are ready for women. "If combat units are not ready for women then no they should not be opened because if they are not ready women will fail because the men want them to. Then the men can say that they were right all along that combat units should not be open to women" <sup>45</sup>

Nield does not question women's abilities to enter combat positions, she argues that women have the aggressive instinct to be effective in combat, she does question the sincerity and the desire of men to open combat units to women. They may open combat arms positions to women just to see the women fail and retort "We told you so. Women do not belong in ground combat units." But Nield does believe that women are able to perform in combat units and should be afforded a sincere opportunity to do so.

Nield stated that she was unsure of what effect women in combat units would have on combat effectiveness. "Women can contribute positively to combat effectiveness, but given the situation I don't know. It depends on the will of the

hierarchy of combat units. If the will is for women not to succeed, then they will program the women to fail. It depends on the attitudes towards women. As for small fighting units, I'm not sure if mixed units of one woman and seven men will work. The dynamics of the group will not work. However, single sex combat units would work, for instance an all-female tank crew."<sup>46</sup>

Nield again questions the sincerity of the men towards mixed-sex combat units, she does not doubt the ability of women, but she is doubtful of the attitudes of men. It is the male attitudes towards the women which will determine if women succeed in combat units. It also determines if women affect effectiveness in the units. However, Nield is unsure if women will be allowed to make a positive impact on effectiveness, hence her "not sure" answer.

Nield is also unsure of the effect of women on cohesion in combat units. She believes the question cannot be answered until we know why men join the army. The army, and combat in particular, is seen to be the quintessential masculine area, the masculine proving ground. Having women in combat units creates psychological problems for men who join the army to prove they are "men." Nield argued that there is something to the notion of "male bonding" as it causes men to do things not thought possible. This could be transformed if women are introduced to combat positions.<sup>47</sup> Thus for Nield more research in the area of group cohesion is necessary before a definitive answer can be given.

Though Nield is also unsure if the number of women would increase if combat units were opened to women, she is sure that women would be tokens in

these units, replying "Absolutely true", to the question Nield argues that by placing women in combat units the military is getting control of women. The military is truly an "equal opportunity" employer by having women in combat positions. She states that it will be token women in combat particularly if policy changes to open combat arms fields to women are legally or politically based. "Political and legal equality forces women into untenable situations where women fail, because they are designed to make women fail."<sup>48</sup>

Nield also argues that women in combat positions will be made to feel uncomfortable and unwanted in the unit, especially if they are "lone" women. They will also be harassed by the men. Nield's assertion of tokenism in combat arms fields is based on the current knowledge of women being placed in units short of junior officers, including artillery, armour, and cavalry units. These women served as assistant adjuncts and were generally the posted as the sole woman in the unit. They were subsequently harassed, made to feel unwanted, uncomfortable and incapable of performing tasks.<sup>49</sup> Based on these women's experiences Nield believes women assigned as combat soldiers to ground combat units will experience the same problems and will be tokens. The experiences of these women illustrates both Kanter's and Laws' theories of tokenism occurring to non-combatant women assigned to British combat units. One could surmise that the same fate would befall the lone female infanteer.

A male recruiting Lieutenant Colonel with twenty-one years enlisted and twenty-one years officer experience in the Royal Signals Corps was also

interviewed. He has been in gender integrated units and does not mind the experience and has been on exercises where women have had a negative effect. He said there were some difficulties initially with mixed-gender units on exercise in that women had a detrimental effect on combat effectiveness. However, this was not the fault of the women themselves, but were self-imposed by the military through administration problems and separate facilities for women (toilets and showers),<sup>50</sup> which illustrated women's 'differentness' and ascribed a separate status to women. Since the initial difficulties, problems with mixed-sex units on field exercise have dissipated.

Like the British women interviewed, the Lieutenant Colonel does not believe that war is the preserve of men, but he was on his own regarding women in ground combat positions. The Lieutenant Colonel stated that neither he nor the army are currently ready for women in combat positions because of three reasons. There are basic physical differences, women are on average generally physically weaker than men. There will also be an awkwardness between women and men stationed in close quarters, particularly in tank crews, which raises issues of privacy and hygiene. The third issue is pregnancy, which means replacing women on active duty once it is disclosed that they are pregnant, the right of pregnant women to leave the service entirely, and being given lighter duties or transferred to a desk job. This creates logistical problems and staffing difficulties in all units, and could hamper effectiveness in combat units if there is

no ready replacement for a pregnant woman<sup>51</sup> According to the Colonel all of these issues govern why combat units should remain closed to women

The Colonel was like Bogdewic and the US recruiter in his response that women in combat units would negatively affect effectiveness because women are generally weaker than men He argued that " combat effectiveness would be hampered by the introduction of women to combat units That is not to say that in twenty years time when values change and physical attributes of women change that this would be the case Under harsh battle conditions survival of females is questionable There are females who could do it - but en masse - no, most women could not perform combat jobs<sup>52</sup> However, unlike others, he does not believe that women would have a negative effect on cohesion in combat units as gender composition, in his view, does not influence group cohesion

In response to the final questions, the Lieutenant Colonel, like the recruiters in Canada, believes that the number of women in the military will increase if ground combat units are open to women, because more jobs will be available to them However, he does not believe that tokenism will occur in direct combat units as the integration process is so carefully thought out that the Army would not let it happen<sup>53</sup>

The final formal interview results to be presented in this section are from the interview with a female recruiting Sergeant with fifteen enlisted service as a career recruiter She saw advantages and disadvantages with the disbanding of the WRAC in that there was a loss of a distinctive identity, but new jobs are



opened up to women. She, like the other women, has always been in integrated units (except for basic training), and has been on field exercise and served in Northern Ireland. She experienced no problems in any of these situations.<sup>54</sup>

Like the vast majority of respondents she does not believe war to be the preserve of men, she sees it as the duty of both women and men. She, unlike her male counterpart, believes that combat units should be open to women. The Sergeant, like the Lieutenant Colonel, believes that women in combat units would have no effect on group cohesion. She also does not believe effectiveness in combat units would be affected by the integration of women. She believes as long as women are physically qualified for the position, based on the ability to pass a physical assessment then effectiveness will not be impaired.<sup>55</sup>

The Sergeant's responses to the final two questions are virtually identical to those given by the Lieutenant Colonel. She believes that opening combat positions to women would lead to more women in the army because of expanded job opportunities. Finally, she does not believe that tokenism will occur because much thought goes into army decisions regarding integration and it simply cannot happen.<sup>56</sup>

Now that the person-by-person responses to the interview questionnaires have been presented, some overall generalizations, and generalizations based on country and occupational category (headquarters/policy advisers personnel, recruiting personnel, and retired female brigadier generals) can be undertaken

## **RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS· OVERALL GENERALIZATIONS**

The answers to the questionnaires administered to policy advisers, recruiting personnel, and retired brigadiers yielded both expected and some surprising results, particularly in response to the question on tokenism. Not all of the responses to the various questions will be discussed as some of them asked for general background information in order for the researcher to better understand the mechanisms of recruiting and other policies. From the responses that will be utilized in this research, the following broad generalizations can be made:

In response to the question regarding gender-integrated units or assignments, all of the respondents have worked in a gender-integrated environment, with the exception of the civilian DACOWITS chair, Murdoch, to whom gender-integrated unit and exercise questions do not apply. All of the women interviewed have always been in mixed-gender situations and units. Some of the men interviewed have only been in mixed-gender situations in the office, not in the field as they are or were in operational or combat units which were or still are closed to women. For example, the American recruiting Sergeant has only been in a gender-integrated environment as a recruiter, and both Mosher and Flewelling have only been gender-integrated in their office or headquarters positions, never in the field. All of the respondents also stated that they did not mind gender-integrated units, quite possibly because they have all experienced

mixed-sex assignments, whether in the field or in the office. Thus all of the interviewees have experienced varying forms of gender-integration.

In response to the question regarding experience with gender-integrated field exercise or combat situations, not all of the interviewees had experienced gender-integration in those situations. Again it was mainly the men, Flewelling, Mosher, and the American Sergeant who have not been on field exercise or in a combat situation with women. Only one woman, Fachetti, has not been on field exercise or in combat. All of the other women and men have either been in an actual combat situation, e.g. the 1991 Gulf War, or on field exercise in mixed-sex units. The respondents who have been in combat or on exercise said that the women performed well and that there were both men and women who did not perform up to standard, not just women. Thus their views were that on exercise or in combat, women perform their duties to required standards.

This view calls into question the assumption that women are detrimental to combat effectiveness and/or group cohesion. If respondents who have been on mixed-sex exercise or in combat situations find that women perform their duties adequately, thereby aiding the unit to achieve its assigned mission (one of the definitions of combat effectiveness), then the argument that women negatively affect combat effectiveness (and group cohesion) as a rationale for excluding women from combat units can be questioned (as will be discussed further in the next chapter).

The third question concerned the notion of women in combat, that is, should combat units be open to women. There were a variety of answers to this question, with most respondents saying "yes" (twelve out of eighteen). Two of the respondents, Manos and Roulstone were not sure if combat units should be open to women for reasons of privacy, physical capability, and the societal attitude towards women as mothers and care-givers. Bogdewic, the British recruiting Lieutenant Colonel, (and the Canadian recruiting Sergeant informally interviewed) did not believe that combat units should be open to women for various reasons such as the natural inclination of men to protect women and the effect that this has on effectiveness, the physical abilities of women and their ability to meet existing requirements and standards, and the notion that the (British) army is not ready to accept women in combat positions. Only Looney had no opinion towards the issue of women in combat. The overall majority of respondents believe that combat positions and units should be open to women, indicating a general acceptance of women in non-traditional military occupations, even amongst those men who were or still are in operational fields.

The question concerning women's impact on operational effectiveness and group cohesion in combat units indicates a split amongst the respondents as well as uncertainty in these areas. Several respondents believe that women would or do have a (negative) impact on effectiveness and cohesion, slightly more respondents feel women have no impact on these areas, while others are not sure or gave a "depends" response. The two Canadian recruiting officers stated that

women would have an initial negative impact or "drop" on both cohesion and effectiveness, but after a short period of time, both effectiveness and cohesion would return to the normal level <sup>57</sup>

Of the other fifteen respondents to the question of women's effect on effectiveness, four believe that women would affect combat effectiveness, seven believe that women have no impact, and four respondents are not sure of the impact. The responses to the question on women's impact on group cohesion in combat units was also divided in a similar manner. Of the fifteen remaining respondents, three felt women could have a negative impact on cohesion, six said women would have no effect, and three were not sure. Three respondents argued that the effect of women on group cohesion depends on a variety of factors such as the reaction of men to the women, the women in the unit, the unit itself, if there is equal treatment between women and men, and if women and men are together from the beginning, e.g. from initial basic training onwards.

For many of the respondents, particularly the American and the British, the impact of women in combat units on cohesion and effectiveness is entirely hypothetical as these countries do not yet have women in ground combat positions. However, many of them drew upon their personal experiences to answer the questions. The variations in the responses means that no clear-cut answer can be given with respect to women's impact on cohesion and effectiveness, but as the answer "no" impact was given more often than "yes", "not sure", or "depends", then it can be generalized that most army policy

advisers and recruiters believe that women would not or do not have an effect on cohesion or effectiveness

The next question to be discussed is the notion of war being the preserve of men or a male-only obligation or duty. Out of a total of sixteen people asked this question, fifteen answered that war was not the preserve of men but a responsibility of both women and men. No one answered that war was the preserve of men, but the American Sergeant argued that it was neither men nor women's duty to fight wars but political leaders as they are the ones responsible for starting wars. Thus the vast majority of respondents believe that war is not the preserve of men, but the duty to fight wars belongs to both women and men. This is a striking indication of the shift in military thinking.

The next question dealt with whether the number of women in the military would increase if combat positions were open to women. Out of the fifteen responses given to the question, nine people stated that the total number of women would increase if combat units were open to women, three stated that the number would not increase (two of whom argued that the numbers would decrease), and three respondents were unsure whether the total numbers would increase. Of the nine people who said the numbers would increase, six of them argued that it would be because there are increased opportunities and career choices for women. For instance there are non-combat positions available in combat units, which have been or still are closed to women because of proximity to the front line of combat or because a clerk in a combat unit may be posted to

the front as a combatant if personnel needs dictate. With combat units open to women, women can fill "traditional" occupations (e.g. clerk, typist, supply) in a combat unit as these units are not longer closed to women, thereby increasing opportunities and career choices.

Technically, if combat units are open to women, there is a possibility of increasing the total number of women in the military. However, that is not to say that it will happen. According to Bradley, despite the fact that combat units and positions have been open to women for five years, there has been no numerical verification of the total number of women in the Canadian Forces increasing. As stated in the interviews this could be due to several factors, including the lack of knowledge (as pointed out by the recruiters) that combat positions are open to women, and/or an overall decrease in the total number of people being recruited because of the current draw-down or down-sizing of the militaries of all three countries (as explained by Mosher and Flewelling). However, the overall percentage of women has increased since combat positions were opened to women, rising from 8% in 1989 to 10.9% in 1993, (though no one has attributed this increase to the opening of combat positions to women).

The last question asked of all respondents dealt with the notion of the tokenization of women in combat arms positions in the armed forces, the hypothesis of this research. Out of the eighteen respondents to the question, eleven interviewees stated "yes" women are or would be tokens in combat arms fields. Six respondents said "no", tokenism would not nor could not happen in

combat arms trades. Only Looney stated that tokenism is possible. The surprising aspect of the responses to the tokenism question was not that not everyone agrees with the allegation of tokenism (that was expected by the researcher), but by the responses of some of the interviewees who agreed that women in combat arms positions would be tokens. Several of the respondents pointed to Kanter's theory on tokenism as the guiding explanation for their affirmative response. Lieutenant Colonel Hay (who was informally interviewed in Washington, D C) and Roulstone physically produced photocopies of Kanter's work on skewed group typologies and said that this was cause for concern with regards to women in combat arms positions. Murdoch and Manos verbally referred to Kanter's theory on tokenism and its components, e.g. tokens being less than fifteen percent of a total group or living life in a "fishbowl" syndrome.<sup>58</sup> It should be mentioned at this point that at no time during the interviews were Kanter's or Laws' theories mentioned to the respondents. Thus the interviewees had no knowledge that these particular theories of tokenism were being utilized in this research, they physically or verbally referred to these theories of their own volition and were not prompted to do so by the researcher.

All four of the respondents who referred to Kanter's theory of tokenism stated that the results of a skewed group scenario and its associated perceptual phenomena were cause for concern with respect to women in combat arms positions. Because the numbers of women who would actually complete combat arms basic training and be placed in combat units would be so small (so as to fit



Kanter's definition of less than fifteen percent of a group), women in combat arms positions would be tokens and would experience the problems described by Kanter such as visibility, polarization, and assimilation Hay stated outright that Kanter's theory of tokenism and its associated problems (for women to be accepted and be integrated) is one of the main reasons why combat arms positions are closed to women <sup>59</sup> In the United Kingdom Kanter's theory is being studied as the possibility of opening up more "non-traditional" fields to women within the British Army is being considered Canada is the only country where respondents did not directly refer to either Laws or Kanter, though many of the respondents believe that women in combat arms positions are or would be tokens

Of the six respondents who answered negatively to the tokenism question, four of the respondents answered the question by referring to the commonly-held interpretations and meanings of tokenism, and in particular to the negative connotations that the words 'token' and 'tokenism' imply The two British recruiters argued that the tokenization of women in combat arms positions could not happen because integration is seriously planned so that tokenism cannot occur

The other four interviewees who utilized commonly-held definitions of tokenism to arrive at a "no" answer to the tokenism question gave several explanations to illustrate their responses For instance, Bradley argued that tokenism could not happen to women in combat arms positions in the CF because

no one is forced into positions, therefore there is no "token woman infanteer" <sup>60</sup>  
Donovan said that it is easy to call the integration of women into combat positions tokenism, but the women are just as capable as the men, therefore tokenism cannot happen. Fachetti stated that there would not be the tokenization of women in the USAF as there will be no "cap" or quota on the number of women in combat positions. The last of the "no" respondents, the Canadian recruiting Lieutenant, argued that people are apt to "cry tokenism", but the CF has a policy of the 'best person' being recruited for a position - the CF is just not getting the numbers of women.

Thus, many of the respondents who answered "no" to the tokenism question felt that tokenism meant that unqualified women would enter combat positions, possibly to show society, legislators, or critics that there are women in combat fields. All of the respondents who answered "no" to tokenism utilized the commonly-held definition of tokenism - being a symbol of one's kind - in formulating their responses. However, as stated previously, no prompting as to which theory or meaning of tokenism was given by the researcher in order to ensure objectivity and to ensure that the respondents answered the questions honestly and did not try to give a response which they perceived or knew I was looking for.

The initial results of the research gathered through the interviews with policy advising, recruiting, and retired personnel indicate that they believe that the tokenization of women in combat arms positions is occurring or would occur.

Eleven out of eighteen respondents believe that women in combat arms positions are or would be tokens. One person said that tokenism is possible if combat positions were open to women in the United States. Though it cannot yet be concluded that women in combat arms positions are tokens, the initial results indicate that the majority of the respondents believe that tokenism will occur. However, before any concrete conclusions can be made, generalizations according to country and occupation must be presented to determine patterns in the responses.

### **RESULTS ACCORDING TO COUNTRY: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

The first of the specific group responses to be examined is according to country, beginning with the country where interviews were first conducted, the United States. A total of six formal interviews and two informal interviews were held with various personnel in the US. However, the results of informal discussions held at the DACOWITS Conference in Falls Church, Virginia will also be mentioned as need necessitates in order to illustrate and support the results of the formal research process.

All of the women interviewed had always been in integrated units, whether in the office or in the field, only the male Sergeant had not served with women, except in the recruiting office and at Advanced NCO School. And all of the women, except Fachetti, had been on field exercise or in combat.

Based on the interviews conducted most military personnel do not mind gender-integrated units, even those who are rarely integrated. The American recruiter argued that times are changing and women want equality. If they want to be in combat units they should be allowed to do so, after all in the army women and men earn the same pay based on rank and number of years in service, so maybe women should be exposed to the same risks as men.<sup>61</sup> This indicates a general acceptance of the changing role of women in the military and a leaning towards the acceptance of women in combat positions.

The notion of the gender-integration of women leads into the responses to the next question, should combat units be open to women. In the United States there were varied responses to the question both in the formal interviews and the informal discussions. Of the responses to formal interviews, three respondents said combat positions should be open to women (Fachetti, Murdoch, and the Sergeant), Manos was unsure, Looney had no opinion, and Bogdewic was against the notion of women in combat fields. During informal interviews, Major Touw supports the idea of women in combat arms positions, he believes that women should have the opportunity to choose the type of military career they want, including combat arms fields.<sup>62</sup>

Informal discussions with younger service personnel at the DACOWITS Conference also indicated a general acceptance of women in combat positions. Discussions with female USN and USAF pilots, and with a male artillery officer (a recent graduate of West Point) all yielded positive acceptance of women in all

combat positions, including those aboard warships, combat aircraft, and ground combat positions<sup>63</sup>

Several young female USN pilots took the conference keynote speaker General Merrill McPeak (Air Force Chief of Staff) to task on his speech (which also presented his personal view) that flying combat positions should remain closed to women. The women are qualified pilots and feel career stagnation would result if combat positions remain closed to women, they also want to fly combat aircraft. McPeak responded that "it was a mistake" to open even non-combat flying positions to women in the first place<sup>64</sup>

Though the aforementioned women were not formally interviewed, they publicly and privately (in informal discussions) stated that they wanted to fly combat aircraft but lacked the opportunity as the combat ban had not yet been lifted. Three weeks after the conference, Secretary of Defence Aspin lifted the ban prohibiting women from flying combat aircraft in all of the services, thereby allowing women the same opportunity as men to fly combat aircraft.

Based on the findings of this research, the majority of American military respondents agree with opening combat positions to women, only one person is totally against opening them to women, with one person stating that she is not sure about women in combat units. An informal interview with Lt Col Hay yielded a surprising response to the women in combat question when he stated "I'm not sure why anyone would want to go into the infantry - man or woman." Hay did state that as a former infantryman who served in Vietnam, he questions

why "anyone would want to dig trenches, roll around in mud, and experience boredom at times "<sup>65</sup> Thus based on Hay's experience as a combatant during a war, he questions the desire of either sex to enter combat positions Without sounding too judgemental, it is very easy for someone who is allowed to choose (because of his sex), and has indeed chosen a combat speciality, to question why anyone else would want to enter a combat arms trade without addressing the real issue Some men, like Hay do (or did) want to enter combat arms positions, thus if some women also want to enter combat trades (and experience the above mentioned boredom and rolling around in mud) they should be afforded the same opportunity provided that they are able to meet *bona fide* requirements Based on the results of formal and informal discussions and interviews, a majority of American service personnel feel that combat positions should be open to women, particularly younger personnel Only one person disagreed with opening (Marine) combat units to women, one person had no opinion, while one person was unsure

The answers to the group cohesion and combat effectiveness questions proved to be more divided with there being great variance in the responses However, the response of women in combat units having "no effect" on effectiveness was given by one-half of the respondents, (Murdoch, Fachetti, and Manos), while it was given by one-third of the respondents to the cohesion question, (Murdoch and Fachetti) One-third (Looney and Manos) answered they were unsure of women's effect on cohesion, while Looney responded that she was unsure of

women's effect on effectiveness The Sergeant stated women's impact on cohesion was dependent on whether or not women and men were together in combat units from basic training onwards, if they were then there would be no effect on effectiveness<sup>66</sup> Only Bogdewic argued that women could have a negative impact on cohesion, and Bogdewic and the Sergeant stated that women could have a negative effect on effectiveness

The split in opinions amongst the respondents on the questions of women's effect on group cohesion and performance effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units reflects the relative lack of information and the existence of misinformation on the subjects, with many of the respondents unaware of studies on cohesion and effectiveness The last studies of women's effect on cohesion and effectiveness were conducted in the MAXWAC test and the REFWAC test carried out during 1977, the latter during the NATO REFORGER exercise These tests examined varying proportions of women in CS and CSS units As discussed in some detail in Chapter Three, the results of these exercises showed that women had no discernable effect on cohesion or effectiveness in CS and CSS units<sup>67</sup>

The initial reports of the Gulf War also indicate that women in newly opened non-traditional positions had no negative effect on cohesion or effectiveness The written data based on observations and reports of service personnel has yet to verify the widely-held assumption that women have a negative impact on cohesion and/or effectiveness Even the Presidential Commission findings could

not offer concrete evidence that women would negatively affect cohesion and/or effectiveness, yet Commissioners offered the rationale that in ground and flying combat positions women could impair effectiveness and/or cohesion, therefore positions should be closed to them<sup>68</sup> The Report stated "[t]he overwhelming importance of small unit cohesion to ground military success, and the **unknown but probably negative effect** that the presence of women would have in those units were of critical concern to most commissioners"<sup>69</sup> (emphasis added) The uncertainties of women's impact on cohesion and effectiveness in combat units, particularly ground and aircraft units, should be carefully noted Fewer Commissioners had this concern and uncertainty with regards to naval combatant vessels where women's impact is just as unknown, yet the repeal of the naval ban was nonetheless urged by the Commission

The Presidential Commission is referred to in order to illustrate uncertainties and misinformation, the Report conveniently omitted the MAXWAC and REFWAC test results which proved women have no negative impact on cohesion or effectiveness, though these tests were entered as evidence as was discovered when reading the volumes of submissions made to the Commission These uncertainties are reflected in the variety of responses given during the interviews, and the general lack of knowledge of the studies reflected in the interviews

Like the majority of the other respondents, Manos believes if women are qualified to fill combat positions they will have no effect on performance



effectiveness. The studies of women in CS and CSS units and the reports of the Gulf War support the responses of those who assert women, if qualified, have no effect on effectiveness. Those who said women in combat units would negatively affect combat effectiveness used the assumption that women are physically unqualified to perform duties in combat units. They also used women as a general group rather than individuals, arguing women, on the whole, are not physically capable of performing duties in combat units. They do not realize that women, on the whole, do not join the military, neither do men. Therefore there are women who are capable and willing to enter combat units. These women would not impair effectiveness as they would be qualified to enter combat positions, according to the standards set by the male policy-makers.

The responses to the remaining questions were not as fragmented as the cohesion and effectiveness answers. When asked if war was the preserve of men, four of the respondents, Fachetti, Bogdewic, Looney, and Manos said that it is not the preserve of men but the obligation of all. Fachetti added that although war is not the preserve of men or a male-only duty or obligation, most wars are caused or started by men because they are the ones in power.<sup>70</sup> Only the recruiting Sergeant offered a different answer from the rest of the respondents. Thus for most of the American respondents, war is not the preserve of men, but an obligation or duty of all. Bogdewic also believes in mandatory service for youths, either civilian or military, for patriotic reasons, youths should do something for their country.<sup>71</sup>

In response to the question if more women would enter the military if combat positions were open to women, the American opinion was split two people said yes, three people said no, and one could not answer the question Both Murdoch and Fachetti said that the numbers would increase Looney was unable to answer the question stating that was something only naval headquarters could answer Manos and Bogdewic stated that the numbers of women would actually decrease if combat positions were open to women (There has not been any numerical indication of this because of the current down-sizing ) The Sergeant gave a straight "no" answer to the question with no elaboration

Finally, the responses to the tokenism question can be examined and analyzed Out of the seven people formally asked this question, five people responded "yes women would be tokens in combat arms positions," one person said "no", and one person said that tokenism was possible Informal discussions at the DACOWITS conference also yielded an overall majority of military personnel spoken to believing women in combat positions would be tokens As stated previously it was not the responses themselves that were surprising but the supporting evidence given by many respondents who referred directly to Kanter's theory of tokenism

Though Fachetti said tokenism would not occur, and Looney said it was possible, the rest of the respondents, both in the formal and informal interviews and in informal discussions all believe that women in combat positions would be tokens Informal discussions with personnel at the DACOWITS Conference

found that many service personnel believe tokenism would happen. A female Colonel with the USAF agreed tokenism would happen as many of the men in decision-making positions do not want to allow women into combat positions. If the military is forced to open combat positions to women (by Congress or the Secretary of Defense) it will be difficult for women to be accepted and for them to "fit in", they will, in essence, be tokens. Her opinion was echoed by a former member of DACOWITS who also believed that the men at the top do not want to share power and will prevent women from being fully accepted into combat positions. Again women in combat positions would be tokens.

An instructor at West Point, a male Colonel, stated that tokenism, as defined and explained by Kanter, is still a problem at West Point. He stated that West Point has made changes but cannot get the numbers of women to be more than twelve to thirteen percent, falling into Kanter's skewed group typology and experiencing the problems associated with tokenism. The Colonel did not elaborate on the problems but said tokenism as defined by Kanter is still an issue at West Point and would be an issue/problem for women in ground combat arms positions. He also pointed out that people (himself included) do not like the words "token" and "tokenism" as they are derogatory for the women being described as such. He stated that he wished someone would devise a less derogatory word or phrase to describe and define the phenomena to make it less demeaning for the group involved, i.e. women.<sup>72</sup>

The formal interviews also yielded the majority of respondents agreeing that women in combat arms positions would be tokens. The Sergeant, Bogdewic, Manos, Murdoch, and Hay all agreed that women in combat positions would be tokens. The informal interview with Hay came about after my second day at his office going through various documents on women in combat. Hay asked what exactly my research on women in combat was examining, I replied women in combat arms positions and if women in these positions would be tokens. Hay promptly pulled out a copy of Kanter's diagram on group types according to proportional representation from her article and queried if I was aware of Kanter's work on tokenism. I replied that I had heard of her work without disclosing that her theory is one of the two theories being used in this research. Hay said that numbers and tokenism are issues that the army is constantly considering with regards to women in non-traditional and combat positions. He asserted that even if some women did qualify for combat units, they would be tokens and suffer problems associated with tokenism. He unequivocally stated the problems detailed in Kanter's study of tokenism is one of the main reasons why the army does not open combat positions to women because they are afraid that the women would suffer the phenomena associated with being tokens.<sup>73</sup>

Hay's response to the tokenism issue was echoed by Murdoch and Manos, who as discussed in the previous section, referred to Kanter's definition and aspects of perceptual phenomena. Manos, Hay, Murdoch, and the Colonel from West Point, all believe that women in combat positions, particularly ground

combat positions, would be tokens, using the definition and explanation developed by Kanter. If policy advisers in the US military, and in particular (for this research's purposes) the Army, believe that women in ground combat fields would be tokens, and the problems associated with tokenism are cause for concern with regards to the increased utilization of women (e.g. opening combat positions), then there is strong support for the hypothesis that women in ground combat arms positions are or will be tokens. The very fact that the USA utilizes Kanter's theory and openly admits it to the researcher lends credence to the validity of the hypothesis. However, before any definitive conclusions can be made, further examination into the Canadian and British examples must be made.

#### **RESPONSES ACCORDING TO COUNTRY: CANADA**

Like the respondents in the United States, the Canadian responses to the questions on cohesion and effectiveness are divided, with responses to the other questions following relatively the same differentiations as the American responses.

Four of the six respondents in Canada had been on field exercise in mixed-sex units: the recruiting Lieutenant and Captain, Bradley, and Hellstrom. The other two men interviewed, Flewelling and Mosher had not been on field exercise or in combat situations with women. Likewise, with respect to the gender-

integration question, Flewelling and Mosher have only been in mixed-gender situations in the office, not operationally, like their male counterpart in the United States, the Sergeant Hellstrom, Bradley, the Captain, and the Lieutenant have all been in integrated situations most of the time. In Hellstrom's case, and to a lesser extent Bradley, they were in situations where they were the only women in a unit. As discussed in the first section, most of the Canadian respondents stated that there were no problems experienced in mixed-gender situations or in gender-integrated field exercise.

The Canadians were virtually unanimous in their response to the opening of combat units to women. The six formal interviewees all said combat positions should be open to women. It is realized that in Canada this is moot question as combat positions have been open to women for five years, yet a recruiting Sergeant informally interviewed said that combat positions should not be open to women (he is in heavy armour). However, the other six respondents all agree that combat positions should be open to women.

Unlike the American respondents, the Canadian interviewees are virtually united in their opinion that combat positions should be open to women. While half of the American respondents said yes, the other half were divided. The reason for this is that in Canada women can be in combat positions, while there is a debate in the United States over whether women should be allowed in combat units. For Canadian military personnel women in all military positions, including infantry, artillery, and heavy armour is an inevitability because of the

decision of a legal challenge to combat exclusion policies In the United States the discussion of women in ground combat positions still exists in all circles, including recruiting and policy advising, and as shown in this research, is divided

However, like the America interviewees, the Canadian respondents were split on the questions of women's effect on cohesion and effectiveness in combat units The two recruiters asserted for both questions there will be problems in the beginning, but then there will be no effect on either cohesion or effectiveness Hellstrom and Flewelling stated that women have no effect on either Mosher stated the women will affect both, based on the results of the SWINTER trials Bradley argued that women do not affect effectiveness, but the effect on cohesion "depends" The recruiting Sergeant also stated the effect on both "depends" Thus the interviews show that there were two "yes, then nos" for both, two "depends" for cohesion and one "depends" for effectiveness, one "yes" for each, two "nos" for cohesion and three "nos" for effectiveness The results of the Canadian interviews are just as divided as the American results However, it can be generalized that a greater proportion of respondents believe that women have no effect on effectiveness while the decision is split on the cohesion issue, much like the results of the American interviews

Though a greater proportion of respondents said women had no effect on effectiveness than any of the other responses, the split in the answers to that question and the even greater variance in the cohesion question indicates general

lack of knowledge or information on the issues, much like the American experience. Written data about the impact of women in CS and CSS units exists, but it is dated (in the American case), and flawed (in the Canadian case). The results of the Gulf War show that cohesion and effectiveness were not impaired by the presence of women in non-traditional positions and units, yet personnel are reluctant to commit themselves to a "yes" or "no" answer on the issue. This is perhaps because it would take a war or armed conflict to test cohesion and effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units and no one wants a war. Wars, according to many, are also no place for experiments, e.g. mixed-sex combat units. It is difficult to simulate wars and exercises are poor substitutes for the "real thing." Thus it is difficult to determine if and when any definitive answers can be given to the question of women's effect on cohesion and effectiveness in combat units.

The Canadian respondents, like their American counterparts, were united in their response that war is not the preserve of men or a male-only obligation or duty. Mosher, Bradley, and the two recruiting officers gave a straight "no" answer to the question. Flewelling believes war is a societal issue. Hellstrom also agreed that war is not the preserve of men, but she stated that rape as an instrument of war (as exemplified in Bosnia) is male-only. She also stated that war often " translates into a power trip for men "<sup>74</sup> For Hellstrom, like Flewelling, fighting wars is a societal obligation. However, for her, war often means an ego-enhancing power trip whereby men can assert dominance over



others, and in the case of rape as an instrument of war, over women in particular. The Canadians, like the Americans, believe that war is not the preserve of men, but is a duty or obligation for both women and men.

The Canadian response to the question of whether there would be more women in the military with combat units being open to women yielded different responses from those of the Americans. No one in Canada said "no", or that the numbers of women would decrease. Four respondents said the numbers would go up, Bradley was unsure, and Flewelling did not answer the question as Mosher had responded to the question earlier. Bradley said she was unsure as she had not seen any increase in the statistics, though she is mindful of the current down-sizing of the CF. She personally believed that the opening of combat positions to women would lead to an increase in female attrition, but the numbers of women in the CF do not support her assumption, thus she is unsure.<sup>75</sup>

The other respondents believe that the number of women has increased or will increase, mainly in the area of CS. Because the ban on women in combat units has been lifted, women can enter combat units in a support capacity which they were unable to do prior to 1989. There are more choices available to women with combat positions being open to them. As well women can fill "traditional" positions in combat units, e.g. clerical and administrative, thereby giving women increased opportunities. Hellstrom also pointed out that the percentage of women in the CF is increasing despite a reduction in the total force strength.

This trend indicates that opening combat units to women has increased opportunities and percentages of women. Thus unlike the American respondents many of the Canadian respondents believe that opening combat positions to women has increased the number of women in the CF as well as their opportunities and choices.

There was also a split in the opinion of the Canadian respondents with respect to the tokenism question, much like the split in the American responses. Four of the respondents stated that women in combat positions are tokens, while two asserted that tokenism is not happening. Both the Lieutenant and Bradley stated that tokenism is not occurring, while Mosher and the recruiting Captain argued that it is less prevalent now than it was during the SWINTER and CREW trials. However, both Hellstrom and Flewelling agree that tokenism is still present in CF. Hellstrom stated outright that "tokenism is the case for women in combat arms positions"<sup>76</sup>. She stated that it is very lonely for the women as they are so few in number in combat arms positions and there is no guarantee women are posted to the same unit, and therefore cannot form a support system. Kanter described isolation and the inability to form support networks as part of her explanation of tokenism. Hellstrom also asserted that women were "worn down" after infantry training often because of the physical rigors of Battle School combined with the "mind games" and harassment they were subjected to by the men. For those who might assert that the women who failed Battle School were not suited for the military, those who stayed in the CF (most of the recruits) are

"superb soldiers" in their current MOCs Hellstrom asserted that though the infantry (and other ground combat) training course is physically challenging for all recruits, it was made mentally hard for the women <sup>77</sup>

In order for women to be accepted by the military institution they often have to be "one of the boys", particularly in combat arms positions. If the woman is good and performs her job she is accepted by the men. Women have to adapt to the military ways and be flexible in order to be accepted and survive and this is especially true in combat fields <sup>78</sup>. Hellstrom describes many of the phenomena associated with tokenism in her explanation of women in combat arms fields as tokens. The isolation, the small numbers, the scrutiny, the having to prove oneself, and the adaptation to the institutions's existing norms are all tenets of tokenism.

The results of the Canadian interviews show that two people believe that women in combat arms positions are tokens, two people believe tokenism is present, but not to extent that it was several years ago, and two people do not believe women in combat arms fields are tantamount to tokens. Though a greater proportion of American respondents believe that women in combat arms positions would be tantamount to tokens than Canadian respondents (5.2 versus 4.2), the Canadian respondents indicate tokenism is occurring through their descriptions and explanations of the experiences of the female combat soldiers. It can be concluded that based on the interviews, Canadian military personnel,

like American military personnel believe women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens

### **RESPONSES ACCORDING TO COUNTRY: THE UNITED KINGDOM**

Unlike the Canadian and American respondents, all five of the British interviewees have been gender-integrated both in the office and in field exercise. None of the respondents in the U.K. minds being gender-integrated. The four female respondents have been integrated in all aspects of their military careers, except for basic training, much like their American female counterparts, the British only having recently (April 1992) integrated enlisted basic training.

All of the British personnel interviewed had been on some form of field exercise in mixed-sex units, with most interviewees having served in Northern Ireland. All of the female respondents, Nield, Roulstone, Donovan, and the recruiting Sergeant all stated that they did not encounter any problems on field exercise, while the male Lieutenant Colonel said there were initial problems in the field.

The next question asked if combat units should be open to women in the British Army. Like the Americans, there was split in opinion with Donovan, Nield, and the Sergeant answering yes, Roulstone saying she was unsure, and the Lieutenant Colonel saying no. Issues of physical capability did arise in several interviews, including those with Bogdewic, the American Sergeant, and

Roulstone Thus the Americans and the British share concerns over whether or not women are physically capable of performing in combat units, a concern not shared by the Canadian respondents Despite the divided opinions, like the United States, the majority of the British respondents agree that ground combat positions should be open to women

Roulstone brought up the issue of privacy mentioned by the Colonel as a consideration of the women in combat arms debate Some combat units, like tank crews, have minimal space where privacy is often invaded, this must be considered according to some British respondents, when debating the issue of gender integration However, none of the Canadians or Americans mentioned privacy in their interviews But like several of the Americans, Roulstone believes physical capability is an issue Based on considerations of privacy and physical capability, Roulstone was unsure if combat arms fields should be open to women

Donovan, Nield, and the recruiting Sergeant all agreed that combat units should be open to women, much like the majority of Canadian and American respondents The recruiting Sergeant gave a simple "yes" response Nield also agreed, but questioned the openness of the army to women in combat positions Donovan said that she could not see how infantry and armour would ever be major employers of women, but women should still be given the opportunity to enter these fields if they have the abilities This means, according to Donovan, that the "combatant/ noncombatant" classification of women would also have to

change in order to open direct combat positions to women so that they can fight as combatants<sup>79</sup> She also mentioned the issue of privacy, but she was not entirely sure that the privacy argument alone could be used as a legal justification for continued closure of direct ground combat units to women

A majority of British, like the majority of Americans and all of the formal interview respondents in Canada believe that combat units should be open to women However, the answers to the questions on the potential effect of women in combat units on effectiveness and cohesion were just as divided as the other countries' responses It was the effectiveness question that was the most unanswerable, with three respondents having stated that they were not sure of the effect, (Roulstone, Donovan, and Nield) The Lieutenant Colonel said women would negatively affect effectiveness, and the Sergeant said there would be no effect The two recruiters argued that women would have no effect on cohesion, Roulstone said that it would be affected, Donovan said the effect "depends", and Nield was unsure The British responses mirror the uncertainty of the issues reflected in both the American and Canadian responses

Unlike Mosher and Bogdewic who answered yes for both cohesion and effectiveness being negatively affected by women in combat units, there were no British respondents who answered yes for both questions Roulstone answered yes for the cohesion issue while the Lieutenant Colonel answered yes for the effectiveness question The recruiting officer argued that because women are generally physically weaker than men, effectiveness would be negatively

affected in combat units. In this, he is like Bogdewic who argued along the same line of physical capabilities being the reason for continuing to close combat units to American women.

All three countries' responses illustrate divisiveness on the questions of effectiveness and cohesion in mixed-sex combat units. Many respondents were unsure of the effects. There was cross-overs between the responses, such as women and physical abilities negatively affecting effectiveness (Bogdewic, U.S. recruiter, U.K. recruiting officer), the effect on group cohesion being dependent on the unit and the men in the unit (Donovan, Bradley), and that the effectiveness and cohesion will not be affected if women are qualified (Murdoch, U.K. recruiting Sergeant). Despite the differences in opinion on the issues, there is transnational similarities in responses.

However, like the respondents in Canada and the United States, all of the interviewees in the United Kingdom stated that war was not the preserve of men. Most of those interviewed believed that war is the duty of all, irrespective of sex. Thus on this question all three countries are of the same belief that war is not the preserve of men, but a duty or obligation for both women and men.

As for the question if opening combat positions to women would lead to the induction of more women in the army, three stated that it would (Donovan and the two recruiters), while Roulstone and Nield were unsure. Thus, like Canada, the majority of British respondents believe that more women would enter the military if combat units were open to women, with no one in those two countries

saying that the numbers would decrease as argued in the American interview. The Sergeant said the numbers of women would increase because the career opportunities for women would increase as there would be more cap badges to choose from.<sup>80</sup> This response echoes the responses of the two Canadian recruiters, as well as Hellstrom and Mosher.

The final question results to be examined are the ones pertaining to tokenism. Three respondents said tokenism was not possible with respect to women in combat arms positions, the two recruiters and Donovan Roulstone stated yes it was possible, and Nield said yet it is absolutely true. Despite three of the five U.K. interviewees stating tokenism would not occur, there is still reason to believe that women in combat positions in the British Army would be tokens based on information provided in the interviews which details experiences of women in non-traditional units, which will be examined in detail in the following chapter.

All three countries have split opinions on the tokenism question. However, there are people, particularly high-ranking policy advisers who believe tokenism is in existence or will occur to women in combat arms fields. All three countries tend to have relatively the same variance in their responses to the effectiveness, cohesion, and tokenism questions. All three countries' respondents have been in mixed-sex environments at some point in their careers. While most have been on mixed-sex exercise or in a combat situation, there were several, mostly men,



who had not. Almost all of the respondents believe that war is the obligation of both sexes.

Variances across the countries were recorded in the responses to the question if more women would enter the military if combat units were open to women. There were also differences and uncertainties as to the opening of combat positions to women in both the US and the UK where the debate is still ongoing. For Canada, the women in combat positions question is a moot point, and the responses reflected this with all of the formal interviewees agreeing that direct combat positions should be open to women. Thus there is consistency across all three countries in almost all of the responses to the questions in their categorizations and explanations, illustrating relative homogeneity.

### **RESPONSES ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION: RECRUITERS**

Now that a country-by-country breakdown of the responses to the questionnaire has been examined an occupational breakdown of the responses can be given, though not in as much detail as many of the explanations for the responses have already been provided. The occupational explanations and responses begins with those provided by the recruiters.

There were a total of five formal interviews conducted with recruiters in the three countries, and one informal interview in Canada. The recruiters are a relatively homogeneous group across the three countries, giving relatively

similar answers to the questions. All of the recruiters have been in gender-integrated environments for most of their careers, with the exception of the American recruiter who had only been integrated in the office. Likewise, the US Sergeant was the only one who had not been on mixed-sex field exercise. Thus almost all of the recruiters were accustomed to gender-integration both in the field, on exercise, and in the office.

With respect to whether or not combat positions and units should be open to women, four of the five believed they should be, with recruiters in each country saying they should be. Only the UK Lieutenant Colonel believed combat units should not be open to women. An informal interview with a Canadian Sergeant also yielded a negative response to the women in combat question. This indicates that, on the whole, recruiters have no objections to women in combat units and positions which means that they will have no qualms in recruiting women for these positions. As stated by the Canadian recruiters, they are willing to recruit women for combat positions, however, they are restricted by a recruiting freeze on combat positions in the CF and by the small numbers of women asking to enter combat units.<sup>81</sup>

The finding that recruiters believe combat units and positions should be open to women, expressed by recruiters in all three countries, indicates that tokenism may not occur at the recruiting level. All three countries recruiters indicated that they recruit on the basis of merit, with the best person supposed to receive the job. In Canada, the recruitment merit lists do not indicate the sex of the potential

recruit All that is written on the merit list is the applicants' last names and initials, no given names or titles are written which would indicate sex, thus ensuring that potential bias is kept in check and that selection based on merit is strictly adhered to

The Captain stated that when she called the top person on the merit list to say that a ground combat position was available, "S Smith" was a woman and was pleased to hear that she was chosen for recruitment<sup>82</sup> Though the American and British systems are not exactly the same as the Canadian's, selection, in principle, is based on merit with the best person being selected for recruitment, irrespective of sex

If recruiters adhere to the merit system in recruiting it is difficult to see how tokenism can occur at the recruitment level This notion is further supported by the fact that three of the five recruiters believe that women in combat arms positions are not or will not be tokens, with one Canadian recruiter arguing that tokenism is less prevalent now than it was several years ago A slim majority of recruiters believe that the tokenization of women in combat arms fields will not occur The exception to this is the American recruiter who believes women in combat arms positions would be tokens

However, that is not to say that women in combat arms positions would not be tokens because the current Canadian experience indicates that they are tokens (as will be discussed in detail in the following chapter) The results of the interviews with recruiters, based on the responses to the opening combat positions to

women and the tokenization of women in combat positions questions indicates that recruiters are not at the source of tokenism as they simply select candidates based on policy guidelines established by headquarters. Thus tokenism is not occurring because recruiters are discriminating against women applicants for combat positions (as shown through adherence to selection based on merit), but because of a systemic, institutionalized bias against women entrenched at a much higher level in the military hierarchy.

The results of the other questions administered to the recruiters reflect the split in opinions presented in the overall interview and country-by-country responses. For the cohesion question, two recruiters said women in combat units would have no effect on cohesion (the UK respondents), the two Canadian recruiters said women would have an initial negative effect on cohesion which would dissipate, and the US recruiter and the Canadian informal respondent stated that women's effect on cohesion in combat arms units depended on if women and men were together from the outset and if women were treated equally.

The variations in the answers to the effectiveness questions was even more pronounced. The two Canadian officers argued in the short-term women would have a negative effect on combat effectiveness in combat arms units which would disappear, two recruiters stated that women would have a negative effect on effectiveness because of the physical requirements (UK officer and US recruiter), the UK Sergeant argued that women would have no effect on

effectiveness, and the Canadian Sergeant again stated that women's effect on effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units depends on if they are treated equally

The recruiters were more united in their responses to the questions regarding war being the preserve of men and whether more women would enter the military if combat units and positions were open to them. The British and the Canadian recruiters argued that war was not the preserve of men or a male-only obligation or duty, but that the duty belongs to both sexes. It was also these four recruiters who argued that more women would enter the military because combat units were open to them, mainly because of increased opportunity and expanded career choices in areas that were previously closed to them, including "traditional" positions in combat units, e.g. clerk-typist in an infantry unit. The American Sergeant gave a straight "no" response to the latter question. However, most of the recruiters were in agreement on those two questions.

#### **RESPONSES ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION POLICY ADVISERS**

The recruiters tended to be a relatively like group, responding in the same way to many of the questions, except for the variation on the cohesion and effectiveness questions which is typical of all group and subgroup responses. Headquarters personnel in all three countries also display the same relative group homogeneity as the recruiters. Though the recruiters were split between officer and enlisted cadres, all of the policy advisers are or were military

officers, with the exception of Murdoch. All respondents in this group are university graduates, with some holding graduate degrees including PhD's, like Manos. This makes the group even more homogeneous than the recruiters.

All of the military respondents to the formal questionnaire have been gender-integrated at some point in their military career, for the women, they have always been integrated, for the two Canadian men, they have only been integrated in the office. All but three of the respondents have been on gender-integrated field exercise or in combat situations, with the two men and Fchetti being the exceptions. All of the respondents stated that they did not experience any problems either on exercise or in combat situations. Despite some minor variations, most of the policy advising personnel have experienced combat situations or field exercise and all have been gender-integrated for at least part of their military careers.

The majority of policy advisors believe that combat positions should be open to women, six out of ten, with people in each country saying "yes". Only one person, Bogdewic, said that combat units and positions should not be open to women. Both Manos and Roulstone were unsure, while Looney had no opinion on the issue. Most policy advisers believe that combat units and positions should be open to women, including personnel in the UK and the US where combat positions were closed to women (and where ground combat arms positions remain closed). Thus at a policy advising level there exists a belief that combat arms fields should be open to women.

The responses to the question on women's effect on cohesion in mixed-sex combat units were split evenly between "yes women have an effect", and "no, no effect", with three people arguing each, two people stated they were unsure, and the remaining two, Bradley and Donovan stated that the effect on cohesion "depends" on the women, the men, and the unit itself Both Manos and Looney were not sure of women's effect on cohesion in mixed-sex combat units Bogdewic and Roulstone believed that women could have a negative impact on cohesion based on physical capability and male instinct to protect women rationale Mosher stated his negative effect on cohesion response was based solely on the (flawed) results of the SWINTER trials Flewelling, Murdoch, and Fachetti all believed that women would have no effect (either positive or negative) on group cohesion in mixed-sex combat units Thus, there is no overall majority response to the cohesion question from policy advisers, they are just as divided as the recruiters

However, like the recruiters, the policy advisers are more alike in their responses to the effectiveness question Five respondents, Flewelling, Bradley, Murdoch, Fachetti, and Manos all believe that women in mixed-sex combat units would have no effect on combat/performance effectiveness This represents a majority of the policy advising respondents, indicating that women, based on studies and personal experiences of the respondents, have no effect on effectiveness as they are part of the "team"/unit and are trained to achieve the mission If women were incapable of achieving the mission and therefore

contributing to effectiveness, they would not be in the units, combat or non-combat

Both Bogdewic and Mosher again argued that women could have a negative impact on effectiveness. Bogdewic's response is based on physical capability considerations, while Mosher's answer is admittedly based on the flawed research results of the SWINTER trials. The two British policy advisers, Roulstone and Donovan, and Looney all stated that they were unsure of the effect of women in combat units on effectiveness. Again, like the responses to the cohesion question, the responses to the effectiveness question vary between countries, recruiters, and policy advisers. However, unlike the broad split in opinions on the cohesion question, a majority do not believe that women will have an impact on the effectiveness of mixed-sex combat units.

Policy advisers like recruiters were not divided on the question of whether war was the preserve of men or a male-only obligation or duty. All nine of the military personnel who were asked that question stated that war was not the preserve of men, it is the duty/obligation of both sexes. Thus policy advisers are united on the issue that war is not a solely male responsibility, though they differ in opinion as to whether or not women should be able to fight wars as combatants in combat units.

The policy advisers also differ slightly in opinion on whether more women would join the military on the whole if combat units were open to women. Of the eight people who provided answers to the question, four (Murdoch, Fachetti,



Donovan, and Mosher) believed the numbers of women would increase, mainly because of increased opportunities and expanded choices, much like the recruiters. Both Bradley and Roulstone were unsure of what the result would be. Manos and Bogdewic argued that the total number of women would decrease as a result of opening combat positions to women. This would occur, according to Bogdewic, because of the increased possibility of being exposed to combat or having to fill a combat position in case of shortfalls which would deter women from enlisting.<sup>83</sup> However, despite those who are unsure or believe the number of women would decrease, the majority of policy advisers believe that the total number of women in the military would increase if combat arms fields are open to women.

The final question posed to policy advisers concerned the tokenization of women in combat arms positions and units. All ten policy advisers were asked the tokenism question, and an eleventh, Hay, offered his opinion. Six of the ten policy advisers agreed that women in combat arms positions would be tokens, and if Hay's response and previously detailed actions are included, seven of eleven policy advisers believe tokenism does or will occur. Only Looney did not have a clearly defined response by answering that tokenism was possible. Fachetti, Bradley, and Donovan are clearly in the minority with their belief that women in combat positions would not be or are not tantamount to tokens.

When the upper echelons of the military hierarchy and key personnel policy advisers actually physically produce Kanter's work on tokenism or refer to it

directly in explaining their affirmative responses to the tokenism question (Hay, Murdoch, Manos, and Roulstone), one can begin to conclude that the tokenism hypothesis is credible. And when Flewelling, one of the top policy advisers for the Directorate of Recruiting and Selection (as head of Policy and Evaluation for DRS) argues that tokenism is occurring, evidence exists for the supporting of the hypothesis that women in combat arms positions in the armed forces in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens because of the androcentric nature of the military.

#### **RESPONSES ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION RETIRED BRIGADIER GENERALS**

Policy advisers are not the only people who believe that tokenism does or will occur to women in combat arms positions, the two retired military women, Nield and Hellstrom are also in agreement with the tokenism statement, though that is one of the few areas the two agree on.

Both Nield and Hellstrom have always been gender-integrated and have been on numerous field exercises while Nield also served in Northern Ireland. They also both believe that combat positions should be open to women, though Nield has reservations about whether combat units are ready for women. Hellstrom and Nield do not believe that war is the preserve of men or a male-only obligation or duty. Both believe that women and men have a responsibility in "fighting" wars. However, this is where the similarities end for the two.

Hellstrom stated that there is no evidence to prove conclusively that women have an effect on cohesion or effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units. However, Nield was unsure of the effect of women on cohesion and effectiveness, particularly if the male hierarchy does not want women in combat units as 'they' may program women to fail. Nield is extremely pessimistic about "the will" of the male hierarchy towards integration and gender equality within the army.

Nield and Hellstrom also differ on the question of whether opening combat positions to women will lead to the induction of more women into the military as a whole. Hellstrom, like the majority of the recruiters and policy advisers, believes that the numbers would increase because of increased opportunities and expanded career choices. Nield, however, is unsure about the effect on recruiting much like Roulstone and Bradley. Nield agreed that opening combat units to women would open fields to them that they are not currently recruited in. However, she is unsure about whether more women would join the British Army if combat arms positions were open to them. However, despite their differences on questions of cohesion and effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units, and the issue of increased numbers of women if combat positions are open, Nield and Hellstrom are in agreement on the issue of tokenism.

Thus two of the highest ranking women in their militaries believe that women are or will be tokens in combat arms positions. This opinion of the two brigadier generals combined with the affirmation of the tokenism question by most of the policy advisers of the three countries, including all of the key advisers/makers,

provides crucial evidence to aid in the supporting of the hypothesis being examined in this research. Though it cannot yet be conclusively confirmed that women in ground combat arms positions are or will be tokens until further written evidence and explanations are provided in the following chapter, the results of the interviews with policy advisers and retired personnel gives strong support to the confirmation of the hypothesis.

## CONCLUSIONS

If military personnel, particularly policy advisers responsible for providing policy direction information to the policy-makers believe that women in combat arms positions are or will be, it leads one to believe that tokenism is or could be present and affects women in non-traditional (combat) positions. It also provides strong impetus for the confirmation of the hypothesis on tokenism and women in combat arms positions. As according to Laws, tokenism is an institutionalized way of dealing with pressures to include an excluded group in an organization or an institution, (or parts thereof for the purposes of this research), the recognition of tokenism as a phenomenon with respect to women in combat arms positions by military personnel, and in particular policy advisers, gives a strong indication to the existence of tokenism in military institutions. This is especially compelling when Kanter's theories are offered by key policy advisers in the two

countries which continue to close ground combat positions to women, the United States and the United Kingdom

Now that the results of the interviews conducted with recruiting, policy advising, and retired personnel in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States have been presented as case studies, overall generalizations, and in sub-groups based on country and occupation, the supporting of the hypothesis being investigated in this research can take place. The overall majority of the seventeen people formally interviewed believe that women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens. A national breakdown of responses found that a majority of respondents in both Canada and the United States provided an affirmative response to the tokenism statement presented in the questionnaire, while a slim majority of three to two disagrees in the United Kingdom.

However, it is the results of the interviews broken down on an occupational basis that provide the most compelling evidence. Even though a slim minority of recruiters do not believe women tokenism does or will occur (three to two), the overall majority of policy advisers and retired brigadier generals believes that women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens. What adds even more plausibility to the supporting of the hypothesis is that key policy advisers on army personnel policy for women believe that women will be tokens according to Kanter's definition and explanation of tokenism. Thus the results of the interviews, which found a majority of the respondents agreeing that women in combat positions are or will be tokens, provides the necessary foundation for the

confirmation of the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in ground combat positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Interview, Lieutenant Commander D Looney, USN (Female), Washington, D C , 8 February 1993
- 2 Interview, Lieutenant Commander Looney, Washington, D C , 8 February 1993
- 3 Interview, Captain P Bogdewic, USMC, (Female), Washington, D C , 8 February 1993
- 4 Interview, Captain P Bogdewic, Washington, D C , 8 February 1993
- 5 Interview, Major D Fachetti, USAF, (Female), Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 6 Interview, Major Fachetti, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 7 Interview, Major A Manos, USA, (Female), Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 8 Interview, Major Manos, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 9 Interview, Major Manos, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 10 Interview, Major Manos, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 11 Interview, Major Manos, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 12 Interview, Major Manos, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 13 Interview, Major Manos, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 14 Interview, Major Manos, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 15 Interview, Ms E Murdoch, Washington, D C , 9 February 1993
- 16 Interview, Ms Murdoch, Washington, D C , 9 February 1993
- 17 Confidential Interview, Sergeant First Class, USA, (Male), Pennsylvania, 31 March 1993
- 18 Confidential Interview, Sergeant First Class, Pennsylvania, 31 March 1993
- 19 Interview, Major M Mosher, (Male), Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 20 Interview, Major Mosher, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 21 Interview, Mr E A Flewelling, Ottawa, 23 February 1993

- 22 Interview, Mr Flewelling, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 23 Interview, Mr Flewelling, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 24 Interview, Brigadier General S Hellstrom, (Retired), (Female), Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 25 Interview, Brigadier General Hellstrom, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 26 Interview, Brigadier General Hellstrom, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 27 Interview, Brigadier General Hellstrom, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 28 Interview, Major R. Bradley, (Female), Ottawa, 24 February 1993
- 29 Interview, Major Bradley, Ottawa, 24 February 1993
- 30 Interview, Major Bradley, Ottawa, 24 February 1993
- 31 Interview, Major Bradley, Ottawa, 24 February 1993
- 32 Confidential Interview, Captain, (Female), Ontario, 6 April 1993
- 33 Confidential Interview, Captain, Ontario, 6 April 1993
- 34 Confidential Interview, Captain, Ontario, 6 April 1993
- 35 Confidential Interview, Lieutenant, (Male), Ontario, 6 April 1993
- 36 Confidential Interview, Lieutenant, Ontario, 6 April 1993
- 37 Interview, Brigadier J Roulstone, (Female), London, 27 May 1993
- 38 Interview, Brigadier Roulstone, London, 27 May 1993
- 39 Interview, Brigadier Roulstone, London, 27 May 1993
- 40 Interview, Brigadier Roulstone, London, 27 May 1993
- 41 Interview, Brigadier Roulstone, London, 27 May 1993
- 42 Interview, Lieutenant Colonel S Donovan, (Female), London, 27 May 1993
- 43 Interview, Lieutenant Colonel Donovan, London, 27 May 1993
- 44 Interview, Brigadier S Nield, (Retired), (Female), Midlands, 27 September 1993
- 45 Interview, Brigadier Nield, Midlands, 27 September 1993
- 46 Interview, Brigadier Nield, Midlands, 27 September 1993



- 47 Interview, Brigadier Nield, Midlands, 27 September 1993
- 48 Interview, Brigadier Nield, Midlands, 27 September 1993
- 49 Interview, Brigadier Nield, Midlands, 27 September 1993
- 50 Confidential Interview, Lieutenant Colonel, (Male), Northern England, 24 May 1993
- 51 Confidential Interview, Lieutenant Colonel, Northern England, 24 May 1993
- 52 Confidential Interview, Lieutenant Colonel, Northern England, 24 May 1993
- 53 Confidential Interview, Lieutenant Colonel, Northern England, 24 May 1993
- 54 Confidential Interview, Sergeant, (Female), Northern England, 24 May 1993
- 55 Confidential Interview, Sergeant, Northern England, 24 May 1993
- 56 Confidential Interview, Sergeant, Northern England, 24 May 1993
- 57 Confidential Interview, Captain and Lieutenant, Ontario, 6 April 1993
- 58 Interview (Informal), Lieutenant Colonel Hay, USA, (Male), Washington, D C , 10 February 1993, Interview, Brigadier Roulstone, London, 27 May 1993, Interview, Ms Murdoch, Washington, D C , 9 February 1993, and Interview, Major Manos, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 59 Interview (Informal), Lieutenant Colonel Hay, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 60 Interview, Major Bradley, Ottawa, 24 February 1993
- 61 Confidential Interview, Sergeant First Class, Pennsylvania, 31 March 1993
- 62 Interview (Informal), Major Touw, USA, (Male), Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 63 Informal discussions held at the Spring Semi-Annual DACOWITS Conference, Falls Church, Virginia, 18-21 April 1993
- 64 General Merrill McPeak, USAF, Keynote Address to the DACOWITS Spring 1993 Conference, Falls Church, Virginia, 18 April 1993
- 65 Interview (Informal), Lieutenant Colonel Hay, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993

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- 68 United States, Congress, Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces. Report of the Presidential Commission (Washington, D C 15 November 1992), pp 25-29
- 69 Ibid , p 27
- 70 Interview, Major Fachetti, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 71 Interview, Captain Bogdewic, Washington, D C , 8 February 1993
- 72 Informal discussion with Colonel, USA, (Male), West Point Military Academy instructor, Falls Church, Virginia, 18 April 1993
- 73 Interview (Informal), Lieutenant Colonel Hay, Washington, D C , 10 February 1993
- 74 Interview, Brigadier General Hellstrom, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 75 Interview, Major Bradley, Ottawa, 24 February 1993
- 76 Interview, Brigadier General Hellstrom, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 77 Interview, Brigadier General Hellstrom, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 78 Interview, Brigadier General Hellstrom, Ottawa, 23 February 1993
- 79 Interview, Lieutenant Colonel Donovan, London, 27 May 1993
- 80 Confidential Interview, Sergeant, Northern England, 24 May 1993
- 81 Confidential Interviews, Lieutenant and Captain, Ontario, 6 April 1993
- 82 Confidential Interview, Captain, Ontario, 6 April 1993
- 83 Interview, Captain Bogdewic, Washington, D C , 8 February 1993

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **IS IT TOKENISM? AN APPLICATION OF THE THEORY TO THE PRACTICE**

Now that the results of the questionnaires administered during the research interviews have been presented and generalizations regarding the responses have been detailed, the investigation of the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens can be undertaken. This chapter applies the theories of tokenism developed by Laws and Kanter and presented in Chapter Four of this research to the findings of the research on the utilization and status of women in combat arms positions. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section entails a brief reinforcement of the androcentric nature of the military as illustrated by male and female bias on the notion of women in combat arms positions. This section examines and ultimately rejects arguments and rationales for the exclusion of women in combat by utilizing research collected through the interviews and evidence presented in Chapters Two and Three on women warriors. Once the military is reinforced as a male-dominated institution, analysis of the armed forces according to the definitions of tokenism can be undertaken. Thus the second section examines the general organization of the military according to Laws' and Kanter's definitions and tokenism.

The third section details the presence of the tenets of tokenism described by Laws and Kanter in the utilization of women in combat arms positions as determined by the results of the interviews and written documents. The fourth section of the chapter examines some of the other findings of the research as

they relate to the tokenization of women in combat. The final section of the chapter details the supporting of the hypothesis for it is in this section that the definitions and tenets of tokenism are analyzed according to the results of the research to support their existence. Once the application of theory to practice has been undertaken, the confirmation of the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military, women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens will be realized.

### **REINFORCEMENT OF THE ANDROCENTRIC NATURE OF THE MILITARY**

The first section entails an examination of the androcentric nature of the armed forces as exhibited by male bias. The reinforcement of the military as a male-dominated institution is necessary for the fulfilment of the definitions of tokenism and involves the systematic study of stereotyped assumptions which have been and still are utilized to justify the exclusion of women from the core of the military - combat. These assumptions will be presented and ultimately dismissed as rationales or reasons for excluding women from combat arms positions. Some of the assumptions have been presented in previous chapters, e.g. women are inherently pacific, and women negatively affect combat effectiveness and/or group cohesion. It will be reinforced in this section that there is little validity to the assumptions, or a lack of proof for their constant

prevalence in the women in combat debate, except to reinforce the androcentricity of the military institution

Many of the reasons used to exclude or restrict women's access to combat are deeply rooted within Western societies and their militaries. Most of the assumptions presented in this section are found in government documents concerning the increased and expanded utilization of women in the military (e.g. the US Presidential Commission Report and the Canadian Charter Task Force Final Report). Some of the assumptions were also reiterated by both male and female respondents to the research questionnaire and were also directly addressed in the interview questions.

Two issues regarding the utilization of women in combat positions were directly addressed within the interviews: women's impact on cohesion and effectiveness. It was stated in the previous chapter that one of the concerns of both the British and American militaries is the impact of women in mixed-sex combat units on cohesion and effectiveness. This was a concern for the Canadian Forces until they were ordered to open combat positions to women. This was based on the results of the SWINTER trials held in the 1980s.

The results of the trials were varied with some of the mixed-sex units having no difficulties while others were deemed as having 'unsatisfactory social integration'. The isolation trial at CFB Alert, NWT and most of the aircrew trials were deemed successful and achieved 'satisfactory social integration', meaning that the "no more than 65 women (or no more than 15% of the total unit

strength) [who] were assigned to a trial unit at any time"<sup>1</sup> were assimilated into the unit and had no discernible effect on group cohesion or performance effectiveness<sup>2</sup> (Note the maximum percentage of women per unit was set at 15%, or Kanter's skewed group typology) However, the sea, land, and the one remaining air trials did not fare as well as the isolation and other four air trials, having achieved only 'partial social integration' and in the case of the 4th Service Battalion (4 Svc Bn), a combat support unit, 'unsatisfactory social integration' Women did not assimilate well into these trial units and were found to have contributed to a decline in cohesion and morale as well as in performance effectiveness Women in all three cases felt that they were not completely accepted by their male counterparts, while some men in 4 Svc Bn felt women lacked the physical capability to perform their assigned tasks<sup>3</sup>, which in itself is one of the arguments used to restrict women's access to combat arms positions

Based on the results of the SWINTER trials the CF concluded that women have a negative impact on both cohesion and effectiveness in combat support and combat service support units These findings were echoed in the 1986 Charter Task Force Final Report which was required to assess the feasibility of opening direct combat positions to women as a result of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on Equality Rights' 1985 report Equality for All, and the government's response to the report contained in Toward Equality, released in March 1986 The continued closure of positions to women by the CF was being questioned because of sexual equality clauses in both the 1978 Canadian Human

Rights Act and the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which declared that it is both illegal and unconstitutional to discriminate against a person in employment on the basis of sex. The CF was required to respond to Equality for All which stated that " all trades and occupations in the Canadian Armed Forces be open to women " The Government in Toward Equality responded to the suggestion by stating

The Government is fully committed to expanding the role of women in the Armed Forces and will ensure that women will be able to compete for all trades and occupations. The Government shall vigorously pursue this policy in a manner consistent with the requirement for the Armed Forces to be operationally effective in the interests of National Security<sup>4</sup>

Though the government stated that it was fully committed to the expansion of roles for women in the CF, the CF was more hesitant to commit itself to the recommendation that all positions and units, including combat, be opened to women. The CF's response to Equality for All is contained in the Charter Task Force Final Report where it assessed many of the reasons, rationales, and arguments surrounding the issue of women in combat arms positions. Two of the main areas of consideration were the impact of women on group cohesion and combat effectiveness. Despite the SWINTER trials finding that in some combat support and service support units women had a negative effect on cohesion and effectiveness the Charter Task Force was unable to produce any substantive evidence. The Final Report's conclusion regarding the placement of women in ground combat arms and combat support arms positions states



The current evidence of primary importance to this issue raises serious concerns as to the consequences to operational effectiveness in war of changing the CF policy on the gender composition of combat and combat support units. The problems resulting from the lower physical capability of women, and pregnancy, that are manageable in less demanding roles would be exacerbated in these units, *perhaps* to a damaging degree. The *possible* effect on cohesion and morale in war remains uncertain due to the absence of adequate evidence concerning such an effect in peacetime. Such evidence might be available by 1988 from a Danish trial. Should the trial evidence and that from the experience of expanded mixed-gender employment in the CF be inconclusive, the only alternative source of evidence would be from trials conducted within the CF.<sup>5</sup> (Emphasis added)

Thus the CF was unable to produce any conclusive evidence as to the effect of women on cohesion and effectiveness in ground combat arms units and recommended further study by trials on the issue, which led to the formation of the CREW trial in 1987. They had effectively dismissed the results of the SWINTER trials as possible evidence as no mention of SWINTER appears in any part of the Charter Task Force except for the bibliography. As for the results of the interviews, only Mosher argued that women would definitely have an effect on both cohesion and effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units based solely on his knowledge of the SWINTER trials.

As stated in the previous chapter, Hellstrom stressed that the SWINTER trials were flawed and biased, particularly in the CFB Europe trials where it was obvious that the commanders did not want the women to succeed. Mosher

himself admitted that the trials were flawed as the women were volunteers (they chose to be part of SWINTER) while the men were given no choice and some harboured resentment towards the women over this <sup>6</sup>

Therefore in Canada there is no concrete, valid evidence for the assertion that women in combat arms units would have a negative impact on cohesion and/or effectiveness. A study of government reports suggests that there is either a lack of evidence or the existence of biased or flawed evidence. The interviews yielded the same mixed results. Mosher's 'negative impact' response was admitted by him to be based on flawed trials. Hellstrom and Flewelling said women would have no effect on either cohesion or effectiveness, while the recruiters argued that there would be either an initial negative effect and then no effect, or that the effect depends on whether the women are treated as equals. There is no concrete evidence for the CF's and the government's assertion of the negative impact of women in combat arms positions on cohesion and effectiveness. This argument was used to justify the illegal and unconstitutional exclusion of women from combat units yet had no validity or solid evidence to verify its existence. This was, and is arguably, used to ensure the male domination of the core of the military - combat.

The American Presidential Commission on the utilization of women in the armed services also put forth the argument that women could have a negative effect on cohesion and/or effectiveness in combat arms units. The Commission's findings did not assert that women did have an impact on cohesion/effectiveness,

but that there were uncertainties which led some of the Commissioners to urge the continued closure of ground combat arms units to women.<sup>7</sup> The MAXWAC and REFWAC tests of cohesion and effectiveness in mixed-sex combat support units in the 1970s found that women had no discernible effect on either. Thus, like the Canadian case, there is no solid evidence available to verify the argument that women would have a detrimental effect on cohesion and/or effectiveness in mixed-sex combat arms units. However, this is an argument put forth by most of the Commissioners as rationale for the exclusion of women from combat arms units. The use of this argument without valid justification or evidence helps reinforce the androcentric nature of the armed forces by keeping ground combat closed to women. This assertion is made even more credible when examining the results of the interview questions on cohesion and effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units.

Though the majority of respondents in all three countries stated that women would have no effect on cohesion and effectiveness, at least one person from each country said they would, including some of the female respondents, e.g. Bogdewic and Roulstone. The affirmation of the argument that the placement of women in combat arms units could have a negative effect on group cohesion and/or combat effectiveness by female military personnel without legitimation by way of valid studies or experience illustrates two things: the androcentric nature of the military institution, and the presence of tokenism.

When servicewomen utilize arguments traditionally used by servicemen to restrict access to other women, they are re-affirming the male bias of the military by not questioning the lack of evidence which could verify that women in combat units do have a detrimental effect on cohesion and effectiveness. This also indicates that tokenism is present as the women do not alter the fundamental components of the institution to which they are admitted. Bogdewic stated that women could have a negative impact on both cohesion and effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units, while Roulstone asserted that women could have a negative effect on cohesion, thus reinforcing the stereotyped assumptions used mostly by men which perpetuate the androcentricity of the military and allude to tokenism.

Other assumptions that have been and still are used as reasons to exclude women from ground combat arms positions are as much based on misinformation, falsehoods, and invalid or biased studies as the stereotyped assumption of women's effect on cohesion and effectiveness. The assumptions that war is a man's game and that women are inherently pacific as rationale for excluding women from combat arms positions are based more on myth and lack of information than on reality. As shown in Chapter Two on theories of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression and on the history of women warriors and soldiers, the notion that it has been only men with the exceptional woman who fought and declared wars is a false one. The literature review shows that women are no more inherently pacific than men are inherently aggressive.

War has not, according to preceding chapters been a solely male experience, as women throughout history worldwide have fought as combatants, revolutionaries, liberators, and resistance fighters, thereby negating the commonly held beliefs that war is a 'man's game' and that women are inherently pacific

The research interviews also found that sixteen of the seventeen respondents stated that war was not the preserve of men, but the responsibility of all. Thus, the people who could be and have been called upon to actually fight wars do not adhere to the stereotyped assumption that war is the preserve of men or a male-only occupation or duty, thereby calling into question the validity of the assumption. Given that many of the respondents answered that war is not the preserve of men, in addition to the literature findings that women are not inherently pacific and that women have been warriors on both a small and large scale, the assumptions can be rejected as invalid and seen as two more reasons for restricting women's access to combat arms positions, which in turn help to reinforce the androcentric nature of the military institution.

The views of the Commissioners who were totally against the utilization of women in any combat positions and some of the statements found in the Charter Task Force utilize the aforementioned stereotypes to exclude women from combat. The Charter Task Force Final Report stated that the utilization of women in combat positions by the Soviet Union (1941-45), Yugoslavia (1941-45), and Israel (1948) were "abberations" in military history as "[i]n all cases

these countries were fighting for national survival. The enemy was in the homeland, they were short of manpower, and the outcome of the war was very much in doubt."<sup>8</sup>

The American Commissioners who were against the utilization of women in combat simply stated "A proud history as successful warriors exists among men of different races, but not among women."<sup>9</sup> This line of reasoning was taken one step further by Commissioner Ronald D. Ray (who voted against the use of women in all forms of combat duty) when he asserted

Combat is the most competitive, challenging and physically demanding of human endeavours. Battles and wars for thousands of years have involved armies of men engaged against each other often fighting for national survival. No military in history has willingly chosen to send women as combatants to fight another nation's male soldiers simply because **men are inherently better designed for such savage activity**<sup>10</sup>  
(Emphasis added)

Ray (a self-proclaimed military historian) and the other Commissioners who argued for the retention of combat exclusion laws and policies for women, and the authors of the Charter Task Force have neglected or ignored the long history of women warriors, from the Amazons of Northern Anatolia and Dahomey, to the Valkyries, Boadicea, Rani of Jhansi, and the women of Malawi, Algeria, and Nicaragua who have led troops into battle or fought battles, including the offensive takeover of territory, or independence. Women warriors historically have not fought exclusively for reasons of 'national survival', but as shown in Chapters Two and Three, for reasons of independence, revolution, or territorial

acquisition, thereby negating Ray *et al's* assertions that women fought only when the homeland was under severe threat. Thus the persistence of the stereotyped assumptions with regards to the rationale for the exclusion of women from ground (and other) combat units and positions serves to reinforce the male bias and androcentric nature of the military.

The next assumption used to justify the exclusion of women from combat positions is a compelling one and one which has been the focus of much attention - that women are not physically capable of performing adequately in combat positions. This stereotype has been put forth by virtually all opponents of women in combat and is based on numerous military and civilian studies of physical difference between women and men in the areas of cardio-vascular structure, upper-body strength, and stamina. The CF in the Charter Task Force argued that there are " large differences in average physical capability between men and women "<sup>11</sup> The CF argued that the average woman has 63.5% the strength of the average man, with only 55.8% of the upper-body strength and 71.9% of the lower body strength. When they are the same size, women have 80% the strength of men.

The CF also argued that men have a greater potential for endurance, and women have to work harder physically to accomplish the same amount of work as men. This is due to the fact that men have larger hearts and lungs than women allowing greater potential. Based on this, women's endurance is 67% that of men's. Studies conducted by the CF and others have discovered that because of

physical differences only 10% of female applicants could meet the highest standards for physical capabilities set by the CF, while 90% of the male applicants would meet the highest physical requirements <sup>12</sup>

American documented findings based on studies of physical differences between women and men were not much different from those put forth by the CF Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps studies on physical strength and endurance provided the evidence for the Presidential Commission members to argue the following regarding the adoption of gender-neutral physical requirements based solely on the specialties for which they are relevant

The issue was considered by the Commission because individual capabilities must match occupational strength requirements to maintain military effectiveness. The Commission acknowledges the need to establish specialty-related strength standards to ensure the quality of the U S Armed Forces. There is strong consensus among the Commissioners that standards for all military specialties open to women should not differentiate on the basis of gender. The Commission agrees that strength standards would benefit the military by matching only physically qualified people, men or women, to physically demanding specialties.

During testimony, servicemembers expressed great concern that women would not be able to perform physically demanding tasks in a combat environment. The Commission addressed the issue of physiological gender differences. Testimony from physiologists indicated that women, in general, are shorter, weigh less, have less muscle mass and have greater relative fat content than men. In terms of military significance, women are at a distinct disadvantage when performing military tasks requiring a high level of muscular strength and aerobic capacity.



due to their lower muscle mass and greater relative fat content. The dynamic upper torso muscular strength of women is approximately 50 to 60 percent that of men, while their aerobic capacity is approximately 70 to 75 percent that of men. Thus it is important that specialty-related standards not be gender-normed.<sup>13</sup>

Thus the American findings are similar to those of the Canadian's, on average, women have approximately 60% the strength of men, while the endurance capacity of women is around 70% that of men. No written documentation from the UK is available to the public, thus responses to the questionnaires must be focused upon in order to ascertain the prevalence of the 'women are not physically capable for combat' stereotype within the British Army.

Several of the respondents in the UK and the US argued that on average, women do not or would not have the physical capabilities for performing adequately in combat units. Some, like Manos, Bogdewic, the recruiting Sergeant, and the recruiting Colonel in the UK stated that individual women could have the physical abilities necessary for infantry, artillery, and heavy armour positions, but on the whole, women as a (sex) group would not meet the physical requirements. The UK and the US recruiting Sergeants stated that women do not have the upper-body strength to perform effectively in armour and artillery units because of the weights involved, having to lift and load heavy shells and mortars weighing upwards of two hundred pounds in some cases. Thus the arguments put forth in Canadian and American documents and reports on physical strength differences based on gender are reiterated by six of the

respondents in the US and the UK as part of their explanations to the "should combat units and positions be open to women" question

It is also interesting to note that in Canada where combat units have been opened to women none of the respondents argued that women do not have the physical strength to be in combat units or positions, it is an argument put forth by respondents in the two countries where the utilization of women in ground combat units is still restricted. Also four of the six respondents who stated women on average do not have the physical strength required for effective performance in combat units all said some women would qualify for combat as individual women could meet the physical requirements. Thus they were not saying that all women would not meet the physical standards dictated by the rigours of ground combat positions, but that since on average women are physically weaker than men they were unsure about whether combat units should be open to women, or because the average woman is less strong than the average man, ground combat units should remain closed to women.

It is not the intention of this research to test physical differences between women and men, or to scientifically and rigorously analyze the results of military tests on physical capabilities, but to examine the argument that women are physically weaker than men as rationale for excluding women from ground combat positions, which in turn, reinforces the androcentric nature of the military institution. It is true, based on numerous military and civilian studies,

that women on average only have 60% to 70% the physical strength and stamina of men, these physiological differences cannot be denied

However, the studies utilized by the US (and Canada), and the respondents' answers must be tempered by several factors not mentioned or considered by either. First of all, the six respondents and the studies discussed averages, with four respondents stating that they had no doubts individual women would pass the physical requirements. It must be remembered that the 'average woman' does not enter the armed forces, and certainly not its core, combat. The lone female infanteer in Canada was a lumberjack before she entered the CF. Thus it is not adequate to banter about statistics about 'average' women's physical capabilities when discussing the utilization of women in combat positions, as it is not the average woman (or man) who enters the military, or combat.

Secondly, as explained by some of the Canadian respondents, gains are made by women throughout their basic training, in that they increase their physical strength and stamina during the course of their basic and advanced training. Placement for an MOC is based on the (potential) ability to perform the job, but fails to take into account these gains<sup>14</sup>. Thus the physical ability argument utilized by respondents in the US and the UK is debatable as these countries automatically exclude women from most ground combat arms positions based on 'average' physical strength studies without taking into account women can and do increase physical strength and stamina during their training.

There is also a question regarding the studies themselves, that is what are the MOS's or MOCs of the participants of these studies? As women were restricted from combat positions during the Canadian and American studies, were the countries comparing 'apples and oranges' or women in support positions with men in actual combat positions? Nowhere in either study does it say that participants were taken from the same support or service support units, thus it can be hypothesized that men used to heavy lifting and carrying tasks were tested along with women who were not accustomed to such jobs as their specialties did not require them to perform such activities. If this is the case (and there is no evidence to show that it is not), then the tests must be dismissed as invalid as they are comparing women who chose specialties that did not require as much physical strength and stamina to men who are in such specialties and have trained to perform these tasks.

Another consideration of the physical strength standards is a question of how many men can actually perform the tasks. The male recruiting Sergeant stated that even though he was an infantry footman in ready physical condition, he and other men are physically strained by some of the physical requirements of combat positions like those of an eight inch gun artilleryman where the gun itself weighs two hundred and thirteen pounds and each eight inch shell to be loaded weighs fifty pounds.<sup>15</sup> A study in the USN reinforces this assertion as only 50% of men could perform the "MK-82 Bomb Lift", while no women were able to complete this task. Thus even men have difficulties in performing certain

physical tasks required by the military yet men as a group are not barred from combat positions while women as a group are. This occurs despite the fact that not all military men have the physical strength necessary to accomplish demanding tasks.

According to the British analysis by Captain Robin West of the Royal Navy of Canadian, American, Dutch and Danish women at sea studies, physical strength differences are not always a need for concern.

Despite the fact that the differences between the average upper-body strength of a man and a woman is thirty per cent, Captain West could find no job on a ship that a woman was physically incapable of doing, including lifting heavy metal hatches. Some tasks that were too much for a woman working alone were also beyond the capability of many men. The Health and Safety at Work Act prevents anyone from lifting over-heavy weights, as the integrated Canadian and Dutch navies discovered, a job like loading stores was often done more safely and efficiently by a team and the men suddenly experienced fewer back injuries. They also found that in the initial stages of integration, men had a tendency to be chivalrous and undertake the dirty, heavy tasks, but after a while they respected women's abilities and left them to it.<sup>16</sup>

The Navy has found no difficulties with the physical capabilities of women in Canada, and none of the Canadian respondents stated that women were not physically capable of entering combat arms positions, it is an assumption utilized in countries where women are still restricted from entering ground combat positions, the UK and the US.

As with the arguments of women's effect on cohesion and effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units, the assumption of women not being physically capable to perform adequately in combat positions is used by women in the British and American forces, including women like Manos who are in non-traditional occupations like the military police. The women interviewed did not question the seemingly unattainable (for women) physical standards (something which will be done in the later in this chapter), but instead reiterated rhetoric and faulty arguments that are espoused by many of the men in the military who wish to keep women out of combat.

Like the effectiveness/cohesion stereotype, the unequivocal acceptance of the physical capability assumption by some of the UK and US respondents also points to the existence of tokenism, as these women do not question established norms. Nor do they challenge arguments that are typically utilized by the male majority (as found in numerous Canadian and American defence reports), but instead reinforce them in their beliefs and responses which restricts the further expansion in roles for women. This is an indication of tokenism as defined by Laws as these women are acting as gatekeeper as some are in policy advising roles (Roulstone, Bogdewic, and Manos).

Though the physical differences between women and men cannot be disputed, the utilization of this as rationale for the continued restriction of women in combat units by both male and female respondents and in numerous documents serves to reinforce the androcentric nature of the military, especially since it was

given by respondents in the US and the UK, but not in Canada. The credibility of the assertion must be questioned and ultimately dismissed in light of the arguments put forth in this section. The persistence of the stereotype of women's weaker physical strength as rationale for excluding women from ground combat positions reinforces the male bias of the military in light of navy studies of team work, 'average' women do not necessarily enter combat positions, and physical and endurance gains that are made during training being ignored. Thus, due to a lack of compelling evidence to verify it, the physical capability argument must be dismissed as a credible reason for excluding women from combat positions, and thus joins cohesion, effectiveness, inherent female pacifism, and war is a male-only duty as further reinforcement of the androcentric nature of the military institution.

The last stereotyped assumption used to exclude women from combat positions to be examined is that "women get pregnant" and take on diminished duties and maternity leave, thereby affecting the performance effectiveness of the unit if a replacement is unavailable, as well as group cohesion. Again, like the other arguments, the pregnancy issue is presented in documents, has been the focus of numerous studies, and was mentioned by two of the respondents as rationale for the exclusion of women from combat positions.

Because of military regulation, once it is discovered that a woman is pregnant she is grounded from flying, given shore duty if she is aboard ship beyond the fifth month, given 'lighter' duties, or is assigned to a desk job, not only to ensure

the comfort and safety of the woman, but also that of the fetus Unless a replacement for the pregnant woman can be found, the unit is short one person during pregnancy and during the woman's maternity leave

All three countries used to alleviate the pregnancy issue by dismissing the servicewoman However, legal challenges and decisions on this practice based on sex discrimination have ensured that the dismissal is not automatic and that maternity leave is provided for those who wish to continue their military careers All three countries allow maternity leave for servicewomen, while only Canada offers a parental leave option (open to either parent) in line with federal and provincial legislation

However, during the time of the debate on the increased utilization of women in the CF, the military was not as open-minded on the pregnancy issue

Once diagnosed as pregnant, a woman would have to be removed from more arduous employment to ensure her personal safety and that of her unborn child Such a removal of qualified members, if they were not replaced immediately, would detract from the operational effectiveness of the unit, the extent would depend on the incidence of pregnancies

In summary, pregnancy and related parental responsibilities would decrease effectiveness, and the adverse effects would be more pronounced in the case of operational units<sup>17</sup>



Thus there was concern regarding the effectiveness of a unit if and when a female member became pregnant, which would be particularly acute in operational or combat units

In the past seven and a half years since that Report was written many changes have taken place in the CF and it has been deemed that maternity leave should be no more of a problem for a unit than leaves for courses or illness <sup>18</sup> However, problems still exist despite official policy guidelines regarding pregnancy, including resentment amongst the unit if a replacement is not readily available, as well as wide variation in how the pregnancy is handled

The responses to women who become pregnant in the Canadian Forces today range from the Victorian to the enlightened. Some women are removed from their assigned duties immediately or as soon as they begin to "show," despite their desire to continue working and their physician's approval. Others are taken off shift work and reassigned to day jobs, an action that displaces other workers and increases the burden on colleagues even before maternity leave begins.

For example, one female Physical Education and Recreation Instructor (PERI), in top physical condition and committed to her training tasks, was reassigned once her pregnancy became visible. Another was removed from a clerical course when she became pregnant and one woman was transferred from vehicle tech duty to spare parts control (which was just as physically demanding). A MCpl cook was reassigned from supervisory duties in the kitchen to typing duties in the Chief Warrant Officer's (CWO's) office for which she had no training, and in other instances drivers have been taken off duty.

Some medical officers routinely recommend the reassignment of pregnant servicewomen without

consulting supervisors and against the wishes of the women concerned. Frequently, there is no clear understanding among the affected parties why these decisions were made. As a result, the pregnant woman is often willing and able to continue her regular assignment, while her colleagues may feel they are being disadvantaged or displaced by a pregnancy that was a matter of choice, or worse, a means of avoiding responsibility.<sup>19</sup>

Despite clarity of policy, consistency in its application is lacking and resentment occurs as a result, lending credence to the stereotype that women should be excluded from combat positions because they get pregnant.

Though this assumption cannot be used to exclude women in Canada from combat units, it is one that is utilized in the combat debate in the UK and the US. Again, the Report to the President pointed to the negative impact of pregnancy on effectiveness and cohesion but did not state outright that ground combat units should remain closed to women because 'women get pregnant'.<sup>20</sup> However, the Commission stated

Much attention was focused on pregnancy throughout the Commission's tenure because of its impact on readiness, deployability and cohesion in the Armed Forces. Additionally, the Commission formulated this issue in response to its statutory mandate to provide recommendations on "[w]hether special conditions and different standards should apply to females than apply to males performing similar roles in the Armed Forces" (Sec 543 (b)(2)(D), P L 102-190). This issue was addressed in hopes of creating an equitable system where women are not the subject of discrimination due to pregnancy, and where men with lengthy, but not acute injuries are treated similarly. As with all other issues, the overriding concern was military effectiveness.

In a report released on August 31, 1992, the General Accounting Office (GAO) found that a number of active and reserve personnel were unable to deploy for the Persian Gulf War. The causes of nondeployability ranged from incomplete training to varying medical conditions and personnel problems. GAO reported that the "Department of Defense said *nondeployables were not considered a serious problem because the Services were able to replace them with other personnel*. Nevertheless, available data indicates the number of nondeployables was sizeable." Regarding lost time, women have a lower rate than men when pregnancy and postpartum convalescent are excluded. When including these factors, however, women have approximately four times as much lost time as men<sup>21</sup> (Emphasis added)

The Commission went on to recommend a "deployment-probability-designation coding system" to discover how and where a pregnant woman can serve and the effect the pregnancy would have on the unit. They also found that a pregnant woman could have an adverse effect on cohesion in combat units, and thus based on this and other factors voted that ground combat " exclusion policies be enacted into law for consistency and as sound public policy."<sup>22</sup> Thus the argument 'women get pregnant' was used indirectly (as the reason given by the Commission was pregnant women can have a negative effect on cohesion and effectiveness) to continue to exclude women from American ground combat positions

Not only do government documents utilize the pregnancy stereotype to justify the exclusion of women from combat, two of the respondents also cited the pregnancy issue. Manos stated in her response to the "should combat positions and units be open to women" question that pregnancy is an issue because it is young women of childbearing age who would fill the positions and pregnant women cannot go into combat, thereby diminishing unit numbers. She wondered if the unit can be effective in this situation<sup>23</sup>. Thus the pregnancy issue, and its impact on effectiveness, for Manos is another reason why she is not sure if ground combat units should be open to women.

The male recruiting Lieutenant Colonel in the UK was the only other respondent to bring up the pregnancy issue. He stated that there were three issues governing his opinion why combat units should be closed to women: physical strength differences and privacy (discussed in this and the previous chapter), and pregnancy "a uniquely female experience". He justified this by stating that women have to be replaced when the pregnancy becomes known, women have the right to leave the service, and they have to be given lighter duties. For these reasons he believes that ground combat units should remain closed to women<sup>24</sup>. The Colonel did not use arguments of cohesion and effectiveness, but reiterated the arguments found in many Canadian and American documents: replacement, right to leave, and lighter duties. However, Manos and the Colonel were the only two who mentioned the pregnancy assumption in the women in combat debate,

indicating that for a majority of the respondents, including all of those in Canada, it is a non-issue

Like the physical differences argument, the 'women get pregnant' issue is one that cannot be denied, however, it cannot be used as justification for the continued closure of ground combat positions to women for several reasons. First of all, not all military women are pregnant at any given time. The US and Canadian reports verify this, as in 1984 only 465 CF women out of 7500 were pregnant, or only 16% of the total.<sup>25</sup> The American annual service pregnancy rates for 1990 were 11.9% (USA), 13.4% (USN), 6.5% (USAF), and 5.9% (USMC).<sup>26</sup> The British statistics are unavailable due to the closed nature of the military. The statistics from Canada and the US verify that not all women are pregnant at any given time, and given the similarities between the three countries can be assumed to be the case in Britain. This calls into question the argument that women should not be deployed in combat units as they are the sex that gets pregnant.

The issue of replaceability must also be examined as it was mentioned in the documents and by Manos. The DOD stated that "the Services were able to replace [nondeployables] with other personnel", including those who were undeployable during the Gulf War because of pregnancy. This was a war situation where replacements for pregnancy were found so as not to affect cohesion or effectiveness.

The Canadian MABWCF has recommended that

[a] systematic review of past experience and anticipated current needs related to pregnancy leave replacement in mixed gender units be undertaken and strategies identified to provide support that recognizes the varied degrees of difficulty involved in replacement<sup>27</sup>

It was also suggested that the CF examine US replacement policies and utilize reservists to alleviate some of the experienced difficulties with finding replacements for pregnancy leave. Thus the CF is reviewing and revising inadequate and inconsistently applied policies to ensure effectiveness and cohesion are not affected by a woman's pregnancy, maternity, or parental leave, indicating the fallibility of the pregnancy argument. Therefore based on the two explanations that not all women get pregnant, and that replacements can be and have been found if the will to do so exists, the 'women get pregnant' statement as rationale for excluding women from combat positions must join the other stereotyped assumptions in being dismissed as another untenable issue which reinforces the androcentric nature of the military and restricts women's access to combat and ensures the male dominance of the institution.

The issues of women's negative impact on cohesion and effectiveness, women's inherent female pacifism, war is a man's game, women are physically weaker than men, and women get pregnant are stereotyped assumptions that have been and still are used to justify women's exclusion from combat positions. These arguments are found in various government documents and were reiterated by a number of the respondents to the research questionnaires. However, they are not credible justification as they have faulty or incomplete

verifications or are based on falsehoods and misconceptions. Despite having no tangible or credible defence for their existence, these arguments or reasons are continually used to justify and explain the restriction of women from combat. The utilization of these reasons by defence officials, documents, and respondents serves to reinforce the assertion made throughout this thesis of the androcentric nature of the military institution and result in the preservation of the male dominance of the armed forces, and in particular its *raison d'être*, combat.

### **GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MILITARY ACCORDING TO THE DEFINITIONS OF TOKENISM**

Now that the arguments utilized to justify the exclusion of women from combat have been shown to be invalid, but nevertheless reinforce the androcentric nature of the military institution, the notion of tokenism can now be examined. The first definition of tokenism to be applied to the military is the one developed by Laws:

Tokenism may be analyzed as an institution, a form of patterned activity generated by a social system as a means of adaptation to a particular kind of pressure.

Tokenism is likely to be found wherever a dominant group is under pressure to share privilege, power, or other desirable commodities with a group which is excluded. Tokenism is the means by which the dominant group advertises a promise of mobility between the dominant and excluded classes. By definition, however, tokenism involves mobility which is severely restricted in quantity, and the quality of the mobility is severely restricted as well. The Token

does not become assimilated into the dominant group but is destined for permanent marginality. The Token is a member of an underrepresented group, who is operating on the turf of the dominant group, under license from it. The institution of tokenism has advantages for both the dominant group and for the individual who is chosen to serve as Token. These advantages obtain, however, only when the defining constraints are respected: the flow of outsiders into the dominant group must be restricted numerically, and they must not change the system they enter.<sup>28</sup>

The role of the sponsor with regards to the token is not being utilized for this chapter's purposes because of the weaknesses of the relationship discussed in Chapter Four. Also, since women in combat positions were not available for interview it is difficult to ascertain if they indeed had or do have a sponsor. Furthermore, Michael Rustad's study of enlisted women in the USA posted to "Khaki Town" in Germany found that very few male soldiers were willing to act as 'Sponsor' for 'Token' female soldiers in the Signals Corps, an area recently opened to women.<sup>29</sup> Because of these factors the token/sponsor relationship will not be analyzed.

In order for the phenomenon of tokenism to occur, the institution must be (a) male-dominated, and (b) under external pressure to include a previously excluded group, e.g. women in combat arms position. The military has been defined and described in this and previous chapters as a male-dominated and androcentric institution. The existence of laws and policies which restrict or prohibit women's admission to or participation in direct combat or other



positions (CS and CSS) confirms the male dominance, and indeed the androcentric nature of the military. This satisfies part of Laws' definition of tokenism, but is or has the military been under pressure to share "power, privilege or other desirable commodities" with women? The answer is an unequivocal "Yes", based on the way in which combat positions were opened to women in the first place, which shall be examined on a country-by-country basis, beginning with Canada.

As discussed in Chapter Three and in the first section of this chapter, the CF was forced into trials testing the integration of women into combat units (CREW), and ultimately into opening combat positions to women because of equality rights guaranteed by law. Numerous documents including the reports of the SWINTER trials and the Charter Task Force all argue against the inclusion of women in many direct combat units, including all ground combat positions. Women's potential negative effect on cohesion and effectiveness were given as reasons for the continued closure of direct combat units before the Human Rights Commission Tribunal in the case which opened positions to women. The CHRC stated in their decision

[w]e find that after 1986, and the publication of the policy documents, the occupational requirement faded as a defence to discrimination in employment. The risk to operational effectiveness was not shown, in evidence, to be so great as to overbalance the claims by women to non-discriminatory treatment. Indeed, some of the evidence suggest that the CAF understood that change was inevitable even in combat units. The 1987 statement by the Minister of National Defence deferred to professional judgment about

operational readiness but at the same time it strongly endorsed equality rights. The Segal Report commissioned by the Minister, the studies for new physical testing and occupational selection standards, the removal of all restrictions against women in the air force, the commitment to CREW trials focused on women in actual combat units and environments, are evidence that on the face of it, a number of individuals in the Forces and outside observers believed that the preference for men could no longer be salient feature of employment. No doubt, there are those who honestly believe that the full integration of women into the military is an idea whose time had come and those who equally believe that the risks of integration have not yet been disproven.

Our conclusion is that the occupational requirement no longer has adequate evidence to sustain it. We must, therefore, find that the present policy of the CAF in designating specific occupations and units as male-only is a discriminatory practice.<sup>30</sup>

The CHRC ordered the CF to open all positions (except those aboard submarines) to women and be completely integrated by February 1999.

Thus in Canada, the armed forces attempted to have ground combat units remain closed to women and argued this before the Tribunal. By having the opening of combat units forced on them, it can be asserted that the CF was under legal imperative (and pressure) to admit a previously excluded group to its core - combat - despite numerous attempts to keep it closed. This satisfies part of Laws' definition of tokenism as the CF did not voluntarily open ground combat positions to women but had them opened through a legal challenge.

The American case is quite similar to that of the Canadian's. The opening of air combat positions to women (e.g. fighter aircraft pilots) did not come as a result of a request for the repeal of Title 10, U.S.C. 8349 by the USAF, but as a result of amendments to The Defense Authorization Act - Public Law 102-90 passed on 5 December 1991 which repealed the combat exclusion provision on female navy aviation officers, and the exclusion of women from flying combat aircraft in the USAF. However, this repeal was not enacted until April 1993 by the new Secretary of Defense Les Aspin when he ordered the USAF and the USN to start integration. The Services had the legal impetus to start to train women as combat pilots but waited one and a half years and an order from Aspin before they acted.

However, despite women being allowed to fly combat aircraft, Title 10, U.S.C. 6015 restricting women from serving aboard combatant vessels still remains as does the USA policy of barring women from serving in direct combat units or positions. Neither the Navy nor the Army has made a request to the Secretary of Defense or Congress for the repeal of the law or a change in policy. Nor has the USA gone ahead and changed the self-imposed combat exclusion policy of its own volition, despite having no legal restrictions preventing it from taking such action.

The reluctance of the Navy and the Air Force to begin to train women as pilots, despite having no legal barriers, until ordered to do so by the Secretary of Defense, and the refusal of the Navy and the Army to request legal and policy

changes shows that only external pressure or legislative change will force the Services to open combat units and positions to women. Like Canada, the need for and the use of legal or enforced legislated integration of women into combat units was necessary because of the reluctance or the refusal of the militaries to open the positions to women. Therefore, in the American case as well, part of Laws' definition of tokenism is satisfied.

The British experience is slightly different from that of the US and Canada. The Royal Navy and the RAF opened combat positions to women mainly to solve recruiting problems. Thus, in the UK, combat positions were opened to women not for reasons of equality, but to shore-up personnel shortfalls. However, that is not to say that tokenism or the potential for tokenism is not or will not be present in the UK as there are external pressures for the further integration of women. For instance, "[t]he Ministry of Defence won a High Court battle yesterday [16/12/1991] to stop the Equal Opportunities Commission forcing a revision of its wider policy towards women"<sup>31</sup>. Despite opening naval combat positions to women in 1990, and air combat positions in 1991, the armed forces was adamant that there be no further expansion in the utilization of women because of external pressures (mainly from the EOC), and thus obtained a legal ruling that there be no further pressure for expansion.

The use of pressure to open ground combat units to women was mentioned in the interview with Roulstone. She stated that the UK Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 specifically excluded the military from its purview, but the European

Community's Equal Treatment Directive is a new area to deal with. She is not sure if the Army could legally defend its position of excluding women from ground combat positions in light of EC legislation eliminating sex discrimination and enforcing equal treatment, particularly since the legal challenge to the policy of discharging pregnant servicewomen led the military to change its policies towards women and provide maternity leave<sup>32</sup>

Roulstone does not believe that the Army's current policy of excluding women from ground combat arms positions would withstand a legal challenge in the European Court of Justice, however, the Army is not taking any measures to prevent being accused and taken to court over violating Equal Treatment Directive 76/206. Thus, despite the possibility of a legal challenge to the Army's policy, which Roulstone admits might be found illegal, the exclusion policy remains. It is also very likely that any change to the Army's policy of excluding women from combat positions will be either a direct or indirect result of a legal challenge, in much the same way as the changes to the maternity leave policy came about.

Like the USA, there is no legal barrier in the UK to prevent women from entering combat positions, the exclusion is based on policy rather than law. It can be asserted that in the UK, like in Canada and the US, the opening of ground combat units to women will be because of the ruling of a legal challenge, or the threat of a legal challenge, as put forth by Roulstone. The British Army itself has not requested a change in policy despite the other two services having opened all

positions to women and seems unlikely to do so unless forced through legislated policy changes or legal challenges. Thus, like the American case, it can be asserted that ground combat positions will only be opened to women as a result of pressure, thereby satisfying part of Laws' definition of tokenism.

All three countries' experiences with the admission of women to their armed forces, and in particular, their armies, indicate that part of Laws's definition of tokenism is present. However, before Laws' definition of tokenism can be completely satisfied, it must be determined if the last two aspects of her definition are present: tokens are restricted numerically, and they must not change the system they enter.

The second tenet is relatively easy to satisfy, so few women are able to meet the physical requirements that their numbers will remain extremely low and the tokens will therefore *de facto* be numerically restricted. The third tenet, that tokens do not change the system they enter, has already been indirectly addressed. The physical standards were not altered or lowered for women, the women have to achieve the pre-set male standards. Therefore, as basic training has not been changed because of the admission of women to combat units, at least one aspect of the institution has remained intact.

Some may argue that the establishment of maternity leave for servicewomen (and parental leave for either sex), and the provision of daycare facilities on bases indicate that the military has changed because of the introduction of women. However, these policies were implemented before women were allowed

to enter combat positions, though they were introduced when the armed forces started to admit more women

However, the provision of maternity leave in the UK came about because of a legal challenge that to not provide maternity leave was a violation of European Community Directives governing equality in the workplace. The Canadian provision of maternity leave (and indeed parental leave) came about through the overall changes in legislation which included the provision of maternity leave from all employers, including the CF. But, despite maternity leave allowances and the provision of daycare facilities at some, but certainly not all, military bases, which were brought about because of the expansion of women in the armed forces overall, the nature of the system has not changed at all.

The introduction of women to the military has not changed the role of the armed forces to protect sovereignty and territory, and to participate internationally when called upon to do so. Nor has the introduction of women to combat units changed the *raison d'être* of the military's core as combat units still fight offensively at the forward area of the battlefield. Only a few policies and provisions have changed in the military since the roles of women have expanded and the forced opening of combat units to women. Because the military itself has not been fundamentally altered with the introduction of women to the institution and its core, combat, the third tenet of Laws' definition of tokenism is also confirmed.

In Laws' definition she asserts that the dominant group is under pressure to share privilege or admit women to a male-dominated institution, and that tokenism results from this pressure. The military is a male-dominated institution which has been and still is under pressure to admit women to its core - combat. Congressional pressure in the US and a legal ruling in Canada forced the opening up of combat positions to women, while it appears that only further congressional pressure and legal challenges will open ground combat units to women in the US and the UK due to past experiences and the reluctance of the services to request policy changes. The need for legal pressure to open closed positions to women confirms that tokenism according to Laws' definition is present. Having satisfied Laws' definition of tokenism, attention can now be focused on Kanter's numerical definition of tokenism to determine if her skewed group typology is present.

Kanter's definition of tokenism is as follows:

Skewed groups are those in which there is a preponderance of one type over another, up to a ratio of perhaps 85:15. The numerically dominant types also control the group and its culture in enough ways to be called "dominants." The few of the other type in a skewed group can appropriately be called "tokens," because they are often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals. If the absolute size of the skewed group is small, tokens can also be solitary individuals or "solos," the only of their kind present. But even if there are two tokens in a skewed group, it is difficult for them to generate an alliance that can become powerful in the group.<sup>33</sup>



Though the numbers themselves do not prove that tokenism is present, the existence of a skewed group type indicates that the phenomenon exists. As the CF is the only military that has opened ground combat units to women, it is the first to be examined.

Canada, as of January 1993, had a total of 8,759 women in the CF, comprising 10.9% of the total force strength. However, after four years of total integration, the vast majority of women were still clustered in the "traditional" areas for servicewomen - medical, clerical, and administration. In operational fields, women are less than or just around 1% of the personnel, including air positions which have been open to women since 1979. The breakdown of women in operational fields is shown in the chart on the following page.

**Canadian Forces Regular Force, January 1993**

<b>MOC</b>	<b>NUMBER OF WOMEN</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
<i>OFFICERS</i>		
Pilot	21	1%
Air Navigator	11	1%
Maritime Engineer	1	<1%
Maritime Surface and Sub-Surface	10	1%
Infantry	1	<1%
Armour	0	0%
Artillery	4	<1%
<i>ENLISTED</i>		
Flight Engineer	5	1%
Boatswain	14	2%
Marine Engineer Technician	4	1%
Infantry	0	0%
Crewman (Tank/Armour)	0	0%
Artillery (Field Defence)	9	<1%
Artillery (Air Defence)	4	1%
Field Engineer	2	<1%

Chart taken from Status Report on Integrated Employment of Women, 4/22

By the time this report was compiled the lone female infanteer had left the CF after completing her contract

As can be seen from the table, four years after integration was ordered, women are grossly underrepresented (or not even represented) in combat positions. However, that is not to say that women are not applying for these positions or even undergoing basic training. One hundred and three women have attempted infantry basic training since 1989, but only one thus far has completed the course. The numbers of women in other enlisted positions are very similar. Up to April 1992, only 11 out of 61 women had completed field artillery training, 10 out of 21 for air defence artillery, 2 out of 15 for tank crews, and 4 out of 9 for combat engineers<sup>34</sup>. The percentage of women who successfully complete combat training and are posted to a unit ranges from 1% for the infantry to 48% for air defence artillery. The CF is enlisting women, however, the majority of them are not completing basic training. This is causing numbers of women in combat positions to fall directly into Kanter's skewed group type as they constitute much less than 15% of the total in combat arms fields, ranging from 0% to 2%. Therefore, in Canada, Kanter's skewed group type requirement for tokenism is satisfied both on a total force strength basis (10.9%), and with respect to women's representation, or lack thereof, in the combat arms trades.

As women in the US and the UK are not permitted in ground combat arms positions, it must be hypothesized that if and when they are opened to women, the percentages will approximate those of Canada. To substantiate this assertion one only has to look at the success rate of the limited experience of the RAF and

training women as combat aircraft pilots, two women have attempted training since December 1991 and both have failed

The total percentage of women in the British Army is just under five percent and though the Army Board has issued a directive that women should be ten percent of the total, Donovan stated that she is doubtful that the number would even get that high. She also stated that if ground combat positions were open to women, they would not even reach five percent of the total.<sup>35</sup> Thus, in the case of the UK, the numbers both actual and hypothesized, show that Kanter's tokenism would occur

Like the UK, the US's numbers must be hypothesized based on current knowledge. As of March 1992, women formed 11.6% of the USA, and 11.2% of the total force strength. This percentage falls well within Kanter's skewed group but as with Canada and the UK, women are clustered into "traditional" occupations. For example, 82% of enlisted women in all of the services are in 'traditional occupations', with the remaining 18% of women in electronics or mechanical repair (13%), technical units (3%), or tactical positions (2%), such as aircrew or missile crew.<sup>36</sup> And those numbers have decreased as the DCPC rule closed many positions when it was introduced

Manos, like Donovan, stated that when ground combat units are eventually opened to women, they will not be found in large numbers, though she did not put a percentage to her response.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, in both the UK and the US current percentages of women as part of the total force strength are below the 15% of

Kanter's skewed group And respondents in both countries believe that women would not constitute large numbers within the combat arms trades This, combined with the CF's actual experience of women comprising less than 2% of the combat arms trades (and in most cases less than 1%), leads to the conclusion that all three countries either fall into or will fall into Kanter's numerical definition of tokenism whereby women in combat arms positions will constitute much less than fifteen percent of the total

### **IS IT TOKENISM?**

Now that the basic requirements of Laws' and Kanter's definitions of tokenism have been satisfied, attention can be focused on whether or not tokenism is or will be present in combat arms units This will be achieved through an examination of the tenets or perceptual phenomena of tokenism that are present in the armed forces which were confirmed through the interviews and through references to tokenism and its tenets found in Canadian and American documents

The first of the perceptual phenomena to be examined is visibility, described by Kanter Kanter argues that visibility entails a larger awareness share of the token(s) due to smaller numerical proportion within the group which in turn leads to performance pressures as tokens are put in the spotlight This is often referred to as the gold fish bowl syndrome The existence of visibility is present

in all three of the countries. The first women to undertake any form of combat training (e.g. pilot, naval, or ground combat) were subjected to internal and external scrutiny, including that by the media. For instance, when Pvt. Erxleben became the first woman to successfully complete infantry basic training, she made the front page of several Canadian newspapers who used such headlines as "Ready for battle! She's made it!"<sup>38</sup> The Canadian media publicized all successes and failures of the first women to enter combat positions, e.g. "Infantry flunkies try again."<sup>39</sup> The women were subjected to constant media attention and the attention of the CF itself. It was this visibility or 'living life in a gold fish bowl' which attributed to Erxleben's decision to resign shortly after joining her combat unit, Princess Patricia's Light Infantry.<sup>40</sup>

Respondents in each of the countries stated that women in combat arms positions tend to live life in a fishbowl because of their small numbers and because their utilization is a recent occurrence.<sup>41</sup> Roulstone argued that the Army has to take women out of a "high profile position" and has strived to ensure this in order to avoid pressures and divisiveness for both women and men. In order to avoid the high media profile of the first woman to undergo combat aircraft training (which some attributed to her failing to complete the course), the Army deliberately kept the training of the first two female helicopter pilots out of the press until after they passed their course in late April 1993.<sup>42</sup>

The phenomena of visibility also occurs in the US where interviews were held with the first three women selected to undergo combat aircraft training, and the

news of the first female to complete the course was not only in the newspapers in the United States, but also in the Canadian media. Thus, based on interviews and media reports regarding the 'first women' to undergo combat training, serve aboard warships, and to pass training courses in all three countries, the presence of Kanter's perceptual phenomena of visibility is affirmed with regards to women in combat arms positions

The second perceptual phenomena to be examined is polarization (Kanter), or boundary maintenance (Laws), which serves to ensure an "us and them" situation whereby the dominant male culture is heightened and boundaries are drawn between women and men. This is much harder to detect, particularly within the interviews as the women themselves were not allowed to be interviewed. Thus, reliance will be placed on defence studies of the integration of women to substantiate this tenet's existence

As discussed in Chapter Four, boundary maintenance includes all activities which perpetuate the psychological and social distances between the dominant group and the token(s), while polarization infers that differences between the dominants and the token(s) are overstated in order to distance the two. This is usually achieved through sexual humour, being the object of jokes, or reminders of 'differences' which peripheralize the women. All of these tactics exist within the militaries

In Canada, the MABWCF interviews women in traditional and non-traditional units to determine how integration is progressing. They have found instances of harassment throughout the CF.

Harassment in some form has been reported by women everywhere in the Canadian Forces. Although it may appear that harassment is part of initial gender integration and will diminish with time, recent observations indicate that the problem may be on the increase, particularly in some Army units. One of the consequences of harassment is an increase in the attrition rate of female members. Another is the lack of cohesion and the existence of hostility toward women members in problem locations.

The nature of gender harassment, which is the most pervasive form, ranges from irritating comments or insults to serious, sustained and collective verbal attacks intended to destroy the confidence and commitment of the victims. Sexual harassment ranges from the display of pornographic material to sexual propositions. With some notable exceptions, the problem of severe gender harassment is most serious in Land Combat and Combat Service Support units and least serious in static and Air Element units.<sup>43</sup>

The incidents range from making "gender-related epithets", "obscene anatomical references" (e.g. "split ass") and "derogatory reference to female physiological functions" (menstruation and PMS) to "statements of rejection or non-acceptance such as, 'you do not belong' or 'women should not be here'."<sup>44</sup> The MABWCF noted that racism is not tolerated within the CF, but sexism inexplicably is.



Banter among operational personnel is normal and frequently takes the form of tongue-in-cheek insults without malice. It is viewed as a sign of acceptance or group solidarity. The behaviour observed in problem units is not banter. There does, however, appear to be confusion in the minds of some individuals about where the boundaries of acceptable banter lie. At a minimum, there is a need for ground rules that discourage the use of routine references to women by obscene anatomical terms or physiological functions. Certainly, prejudiced comments by leaders must cease.<sup>45</sup>

The above quote illustrates several aspects of tokenism. First, no official policy or ground rules exist regarding 'banter', though the CF has an official policy of "zero tolerance" for sexual harassment, of which banter can be construed as. Second, even "leaders" are guilty of making prejudiced comments, which in an hierarchical organization like the military can be seen by junior members as acceptable behaviour. Third, the sexual orientation of the comments and obscene references about women's anatomy and physiology point out and reinforce differences between women and men, or tokens and dominants. This serves to heighten boundaries between the two sexes and substantiates the existence of polarization or boundary maintenance in the CF as it serves to marginalize women from the dominant group.

The existence of polarization or boundary maintenance in the US and UK armed forces is not as easily detectable, particularly because of the unavailability of British written documentation. However, several incidents serve to indicate their existence in these two countries. In the USN, the Tailhook scandal which

forced the resignation of the Navy Secretary Lawrence Garrett in June 1992 shows that the Canadian experience is not unique

During the 1991 naval aviators' Tailhook Association conference in Las Vegas, 26 women, including 14 naval officers were sexually assaulted by men in the hotel hallways who groped at the women and tore off their clothes. The initial report "whitewashed" the sexual harassment scandal and identified only two suspects and no senior officials. At the insistence of Barbara Spyridon Pope, the Navy's Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, combined with the 'surfacing' of more evidence, an in-depth investigation ensued. Not only did Garrett resign over the scandal, so did the Commander of the Naval Investigative Service, Rear Admiral Duvall Williams, as well as the reassignment of six senior officials. The April 1993 report also concluded that as many as 83 women were assaulted at Tailhook and recommended that 175 male naval aviators face disciplinary action.<sup>46</sup>

Statements like those made by Commander Rosemary Mariner, USN, the first woman to qualify as a naval warplane pilot, "[s]exual harassment will continue to be a problem in the military services as long as women are barred from combat duty - as long as we are considered institutionally inferior,"<sup>47</sup> are just the tip of the iceberg. The Canadian experience has shown that sexual harassment is a problem even when combat positions are open to women, Mariner's "institutionally inferior" phrase is more accurate. As long as women

are peripheralized or are tokens, even in combat positions, sexual harassment will continue to be a problem

The USA has no official policy on sexual harassment and does not appear to have any written data on incidents of harassment, unlike the US civil service which conducts surveys. However, some numbers of criminal incidents of sexual misconduct related to Operations Desert Shield/Storm indicate that sexual harassment and assault are prevalent in wartime and are not unique to naval conventions. From 2 August 1990 to 1 July 1992 there were a total of 11 reported rapes, 6 attempted rapes, 22 indecent assaults, and 15 'other' types of sexual misconduct committed against American servicewomen serving in the Persian Gulf<sup>48</sup>. If a total of 54 'criminal incidents of sexual misconduct' were reported committed in a two year span in the Persian Gulf, one can begin to imagine the daily incidents of sexual harassment and obscene gender-related epithets that occur but are not reported or recorded, or are just ignored.

Rustad found that women face "day-to-day" abuse by male counterparts which took the form of being sexually propositioned, sexual humour pointed at women in training manuals, army newspapers, and in verbal conversation, name-calling, e.g. "bitch", and nude female pin-ups in the workplace. He also found that many men did not want women in 'their army' and made the women aware of their feelings<sup>49</sup>. Thus, combined with the Tailhook sexual assault scandal, the numbers of sexual assaults reported during the Gulf War, and the lack of a coherent sexual harassment policy all serve to substantiate the existence

of polarization and boundary heightening in the American Armed Services. Though the literature is not as detailed as the Canadian's it can be asserted that the American experience is no different and that sexual humour, harassment, and statements like 'we don't want women here' are not unique to Canada, but experienced in the US which serves to substantiate the existence of polarization/boundary maintenance.

Though no documents were available from the British services, they did report to the US Presidential Commission that there are problems with sexual harassment in the UK military.<sup>50</sup> One of the respondents also reported that she had to put up with men's "teasing" and jokes when she was posted to a previously all-male unit. Donovan was the first woman to be posted to the 28th Amphibious Regiment, complete with 800 men and a male Colonel commanding officer, as the 2nd assistant adjunct in an administrative post. She stated that she accepted teasing from the men in the unit while they were on exercise, e.g. "You're the woman ma'am, you should do the cooking." She asserted "women should accept teasing to part of the group as it is part of the unit culture."<sup>51</sup> This 'teasing' serves to heighten boundaries between the dominants and the token(s), especially when it involves suggestions that women in combat units perform 'traditional' female tasks, such as cooking meals, even when they are posted as administrators, not canteen cooks.

Nield echoed Donovan's experience when she described what would happen to women if women are allowed in combat positions: "Women will be made to

feel uncomfortable, especially if they are the only woman. They will be harassed. This is based on the current knowledge of what happens to women being placed with units short of young officers, including combat units, such as artillery, armour, and cavalry. The women were young officers serving as assistant adjuncts and were often the only woman there. They were harassed, made to feel unwanted, uncomfortable, and incapable of performing tasks by the men.<sup>52</sup> Nield believes that women posted as combatants to combat units will face the same problems as women posted as administrators. And what she has described above is again polarization or boundary maintenance.

Based on military studies and reports and anecdotal evidence provided by respondents, it can be argued that women in combat units suffer from and are (or will be) subjected to experiences associated with polarization/boundary maintenance. Being the recipient of crude and lewd remarks, derogatory humour, unwanted sexual harassment, and being told either directly or indirectly by military men that women's presence is unwanted in 'non-traditional' combat units all substantiate the existence of both Kanter's and Laws' tenets of tokenism - polarization/boundary maintenance. This is because the women are made to feel different from men as their 'differences' are emphasized and used to marginalize the women.

The next tenets of tokenism to be examined come from Laws' explanation and are grouped together because they are intertwined: exceptionalism, individualism, and the profession as a meritocracy. With exceptionalism both the

token and the dominants agree that the token is 'unusually capable or competent' This in turn reaffirms the aspects of meritocracy and individualism Because the token is 'exceptional', she is able to enter the armed forces as a result of her own efforts, hence individualism And because entrance to the military is based on merit - only those who possess the required qualifications are admitted - the token's admission based on her own effort and exceptionalism reaffirm the profession as a meritocracy

With the armed forces it can be asserted that it is a meritocracy As described in Chapter One, with the increased centralized state control of the military organization and the bureaucratization of the military also came selection and promotion based on merit, not on privilege If you do not possess or complete the necessary requirements you do not proceed in the institution This holds true for both men and women This is affirmed by examining the Canadian example of the requirements to pass infantry battle school All infantry recruits must successfully complete four common tasks that represent the physical fitness requirements of an infantry soldier It should be noted that these standards were set in 1988 prior to the introduction of women to combat fields after a five year study was ordered in 1983 following the 1980 initial changes to physical fitness requirements that arose out of changes in the actual physical fitness levels of male applicants<sup>53</sup>

The result of this five year study into the physical fitness requirements culminated with the early 1988 recommendations that each infantry soldier be able to perform the tasks below

**1 Weightload March** Each soldier will march 13 kilometres in 2 hours and 26 minutes wearing full fighting gear (25 kilograms of rucksack, helmet, webbing, gasmask, rifle, and basic ammunition) and will arrive at destination "fit to fight"

**2 Casualty Evacuation** In a simulated battlefield situation, the soldier will perform the fireman's (sic) lift of another soldier of approximately the same weight (both wearing uniform, helmet, webbing, and weapon) and evacuate 100 metres in 60 seconds

**3 Digging Slit Trenches** Scoop, lift, and trow 486m<sup>3</sup> (representing one fox hole) of standardized gravel out of a slit trench in 360 seconds using an issue shovel

**4 Ammunition Box Lift** Each soldier will be required to lift 48 ammunition boxes (each weighing 20 kilograms) to the height of a truck bed (1.33 metres) in 300 seconds<sup>54</sup>

These standards were originally male standards, as women were not integrated when the standards were set, that became 'gender-neutral' standards after integration was ordered in 1989. Thus women admitted to infantry battle school have to perform the same 'gender-neutral' standards as men in order to pass the course.

These requirements affirm the CF as a meritocracy because they are required of all applicants. They also affirm the individualism and the exceptionalism of

the token(s) as described by Laws as the token gets through based on her own efforts, no one else can help her pass the physical fitness requirements. The individual token's ability to successfully complete the requirements of the meritocracy based on her own efforts also affirms the notion of exceptionalism, as only one woman out of one hundred and three recruits successfully completed infantry basic training. Thus both the dominants and the token herself agree that the token is unusually competent or exceptional given the high failure rate of women in combat arms basic training.

The example of the CF battle school and its physical fitness standards confirms the existence of individualism, exceptionalism, and the profession as a meritocracy in the combat positions of the military, thereby affirming all four dimensions of Laws' definition of tokenism. Though evidence is not as readily available for the American and British militaries it can be argued that the same is true for those two countries.

Neither country altered or lowered standards or requirements for the integration of women into combat positions, the women have to perform to the male standards that were becoming 'gender-neutral'. Both countries abide by merit, whereby only those who qualify are admitted to the armed forces. And if the Canadian experience is any indication the women who do pass the requirements of basic training will be considered by the dominants (and will consider themselves) to be exceptional, given the high standards needed to succeed.<sup>55</sup> Thus, it can be concluded that the profession as a meritocracy,



individualism, and exceptionalism are or will be present with the admission of women to ground combat positions, thereby affirming the existence of all four tenets of Laws's definition/description of tokenism in the three countries

The last aspect of tokenism to be examined is Kanter's concept of assimilation which involves role encapsulation. Assimilation involves the use of stereotypes about women in the armed forces which leads to role encapsulation such as stereotyped roles or status-levelling. Again since women in combat units were not allowed to be interviewed it is difficult to determine if role encapsulation or assimilation takes place. However, some of the findings of the MABWCF indicates that this perceptual phenomena might be present

[T]he Board learned of cases where women are employed in tool cribs and offices rather than in the trade for which they were trained. Some female members reported assignment to secondary duties such as committee secretary or escorts for visiting dignitaries which, *capitalize on or perpetuate stereotypes*<sup>56</sup> (Emphasis added)

The MABWCF noted that the placement of women as committee secretaries or as escorts perpetuates the stereotypes of women as good at administrative matters or as "hostesses." This tentatively affirms assimilation defined by Kanter, as stereotyped notions about women and the type of work they should be doing are utilized in the CF. However, the presence of assimilation and role encapsulation cannot be overstated in this chapter as none of the female respondents reported any incidents of stereotypes (except for Donovan as discussed earlier in the chapter). Therefore Kanter's notion of assimilation can

only be, at best, tentatively affirmed, and must for this thesis's purposes be rejected for lack of proper empirical evidence, while bearing in mind that there is some justification for its existence based on incidents in the CF

Based on the evidence obtained through the interviews and defence studies and reports it can be concluded that all but one perceptual phenomena or dimension of tokenism as defined and described by Kanter and Laws are present in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and in particular, combat. There is enough evidence to support the existence of visibility, meritocracy, individualism, exceptionalism, and polarization/boundary maintenance with respect to the utilization of women in ground (and other) combat arms positions. The presence of these phenomena, combined with the previous section's affirmation of both Laws' and Kanter's definitions of tokenism leads us to the conclusion that according to the parameters established by the literature on tokenism, women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens due to the androcentric nature of the military institutions, as described in the first section of this chapter. However, the affirmation of Laws' and Kanter's definitions of tokenism is inadequate in light of other findings made during this research. The supporting of the hypothesis of this thesis cannot be achieved solely through the presence of perceptual phenomena, adherence to definitions, and because the majority of the respondents stated that women are or will be tokens in combat arms fields. Concepts such as "critical mass" (described in

Chapter Seven) and why and how tokenism occurs and is perpetuated must be examined before concrete conclusions can be made

## OTHER FINDINGS

Kanter's and Laws' definitions and explanations of tokenism provide the parameters for the investigation of the utilization and status of women in non-traditional military occupations, however their analysis is inadequate for this thesis's purposes as they do not explain how and why tokenism occurs in real terms. Their notions of polarization, etc. do not offer practical, tangible explanations how tokenism is achieved. This section examines 'critical mass' in the CF and the 'whys' and 'hows' of tokenism as they relate to the military, which is a very different institution from the civilian arenas of management and academia the original tokenism theorists were investigating.

Critical mass needs to be examined more closely for if it was adhered to by the CF it appears that tokenism could have possibly been avoided when the integration of women was initiated. Critical mass was first described in Chapter Seven as a policy utilized by the CF to ensure a balance of women and men was achieved in combat units. In October 1990, an NDHQ Action Directive stated

New units will actually begin to receive women  
once there are sufficient women in a given arms  
MOC to warrant doing so<sup>57</sup>

Critical mass for women in any CF unit is a five percent minimum of a unit force, while the optimum level is 20% of an LFC combat unit or a combatant naval vessel.<sup>58</sup> The decision to adopt an official policy of critical mass was " to avoid assigning one or two women to a large all-male unit, which would put extra pressures on the women and on the unit as both learn to adapt."<sup>59</sup> Thus the CF instituted a policy of critical mass of women to alleviate the pressures of being the sole woman or one of a few women in combat units, which details tokenism exactly. Hence, the CF (either knowingly or unknowingly) tried to alleviate the problems associated with tokenism and the pressures experienced by being a token by having a minimum female requirement. However, as stated in the previous chapter, the CF found that this policy was unworkable and was eventually abandoned by LFC in 1992, thereby re-creating the skewed group.

Unfortunately, though the CF and LFC achieved some form of critical mass during basic training, the high failure rate of women recruits in combat basic training meant that critical mass was difficult to achieve in post-training unit placement. Critical mass, as a policy for ground combat units seemed unattainable from the start given the high probability of women's failure during basic training - their best intentions were negated by the CF to make female recruits achieve previously male, but now gender-neutral, physical fitness standards. It can be asserted that the CF knew that women in ground combat units were going to be tokens from the outset of forced integration. Or, alternatively, LFC and the CF stated that they wanted to avoid tokenism and its

problems through critical mass, but knew so few women would complete combat basic training, because of the difficult physical standards, that the policy was a smokescreen for the institutionalized phenomenon of tokenism that they would ensure through forcing women to perform to men's standards, knowing all along that very few women could achieve them

Despite the abandoning of critical mass as a policy at LFC, Maritime Command (MARC) still adheres to a policy of a minimum 5% women aboard ships. This is not due to any ideals of avoiding pressures put on tokens, or problems associated with tokenism, but because of logistical considerations, or berthing requirements on board ships<sup>60</sup>. Thus the only reason, or the main reason, why MARC has continued with the policy of critical mass is to ensure berthing problems are not encountered, not altruistically to ensure tokenism and its associated problems and difficulties are not experienced by women, or at the very least, are diminished.

Based on the above discussion of the 'critical mass' of women in CF combat units several conclusions can be drawn. First, at least publicly, the CF wanted to avoid tokenism and the problems and pressures associated with being a token in a combat unit, thus the system of critical mass. This system at least worked in basic training, as female recruits prior to 1993 went through basic training with a group of women (e.g. in 1988, the first group of eight women infantry recruits were sent together). However, as discussed throughout this thesis, the failure rate for female combat recruits is extremely high and ranges from 99% for the

infantry to 52% for air defence artillery, thereby eliminating (or at least drastically diminishing) the chances of women being posted together in a combat unit. Therefore the 'intentions' of the CF are completely negated. The inability to achieve critical mass has led to its abandonment by the one element, LFC, where it is the most necessary to alleviate tokenism and its pressures on token women. Therefore, it can be concluded that the CF and LFC have accepted that tokenism in ground combat units will occur but are doing nothing to prevent it, pointing at their failed attempts to achieve critical mass as proof of their intentions. However, as will be shown in later discussion, critical mass was merely lip service to concerns of tokenism in ground combat units because it could never be achieved whilst women are required to perform male physical fitness standards that are now deemed to be 'gender-neutral'.

Now that the notion of critical mass as a way of alleviating tokenism in the CF has been discussed, and ultimately dismissed, attention can now be focused on the 'whys' and 'hows' of tokenism in combat units. Some of the reasons why tokenism will occur have already been discussed in the first section of this chapter in the reinforcement of the androcentric nature of the military institution, however, other findings of this research must also be put forth before the hypothesis can be supported.

Attitudes of high-ranking military men is one of the reasons why tokenism will occur. The argument that war is a man's game was discussed in detail in the first section and is one of the reasons why tokenism will occur, particularly

when this view is held by high-ranking servicemen who are in a position to make, or at least, influence policy on the integration of women in combat. General McPeak's views on female combat aircraft pilots were presented in the previous chapter, however, he is not alone in his position against women in combat. Lieutenant General J H Binford Peay, USA, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Planning, stated his views before the Presidential Commission why ground combat positions should remain closed to women:

There are challenges of qualification for deployability, fraternization when living in close quarters, and strength/stamina over time. But perhaps they may be manageable, with difficulty, in our pursuit of fairness and equal opportunity.

Thus, the argument before us is neither one of psychological nor physiological differences. We have brought some women soldiers home in body bags from foreign shores before.

Rather, the ultimate standard I think we must examine is a cultural one. Do we as a nation want to assign women to forward units? The combined arms soldier first and foremost must be capable of killing, not in self-defense, but killing as the primary focus.<sup>61</sup>

Peay goes on to assert that the US as a nation is neither ready nor willing to subject women and see women subjected to continuous hours of offensive killing of the enemy, that goes against the cultural values and norms of the society. For that reason, ground combat positions should remain closed to women, according to Peay.<sup>62</sup>

Peay is not alone in his views, Lieutenant General Glosson, USAF, Lieutenant General Cooper, USMC, and Vice Admiral Smith, USN all appeared before the Presidential Commission as high-ranking officials or Chief of their service branches "manpower" offices arguing against the admission of women to combat units<sup>63</sup> They utilized arguments of history, women's lesser physical capabilities, and cultural values which go against women being subjected to the horrors of war and offensively taking lives, all of which have been discussed previously in this and other chapters and refuted

However, if personnel or "manpower" chiefs are utilizing these arguments and are publicly against the utilization of women in combat arms positions, this can only mean the tokenization of women if and when the combat units are opened to women as the androcentric bias starts at the top and is not just confined to the office privately, but is put forward to the public Attitudes of high-ranking servicemen who are in policy making/advising positions and are against the utilization of women in combat positions is one of the reasons why tokenism will occur This is because their attitudes reinforce the male-dominance of the military institution and the androcentric nature of its core - combat

Unfortunately, the public attitudes of high-ranking British servicemen are not available, but because of the cultural similarities of the three countries and the relatively late integration of women into the three main services (i e the recent disbanding of the women's services) it can be assumed that the private feelings towards women in combat approximate that of the Americans' The Canadian



bias was illustrated through documents presented in the first section of this chapter, thus it can be asserted that attitudes of military men towards women in combat positions is one of the reasons why tokenism does or will occur in the combat arms fields of the armed forces

Another reason why tokenism will occur is related to Laws' definition of tokenism the men in the institution do not want to share privilege or power with women, which is something they might have to do when women are admitted to combat positions That is not to say that men do not wish to share fighting wars with women, but simply the rewards that go along with being in combat positions and fighting wars For instance, the Americans' highest military honour is the Congressional Medal of Honor which is given for outstanding service to a combatant Because women are barred from ground combat they do not have a chance to obtain this award, ensuring that only men receive this privilege

Tokenism will also occur because men do not wish to share the power that is associated with combat positions The highest ranks in the armed forces, vice admiral and lieutenant general and above have been given mainly to men with combat experience Women have not been able to rise above brigadier general in Canada and the UK, or rear admiral or major general in the US, and these ranks are generally given to the head of the former WRAC and heads of nursing corps By not having combat experience, as gained from placement in combat units, women face an artificial glass ceiling for promotion to the highest ranks of the armed forces and the powers and privileges associated with those ranks

These powers include sitting on the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the US, becoming Chief of Defence Staff or even a member of the Defence Staff in the UK and Canada. These are powerful positions given only to men with some form of combat experience, who were generally in combat fields. Men do not want to share the power and privilege that is associated with these positions. Hence, tokenism, as defined by Laws, will occur.

The reluctance to share power and privilege which being in combat positions brings, and the attitudes of high-ranking servicemen towards women in combat, combined with the arguments presented in the first section (which are the reasons given why women should not be allowed in combat positions, which serve to reinforce the androcentric nature of the military, e.g. women have a negative effect on cohesion and effectiveness, war is a man's game, women are inherently pacific, women are not physically capable, and women get pregnant) all serve to show why the tokenization of women will occur in combat arms positions. As long as sexist and protective attitudes remain in the upper echelons of the armed forces, men are reluctant to share the power and privilege that being in a combat MOC or MOS brings, and misinformation and invalid arguments against women in combat positions persist, the androcentric nature of the military will persist, ensuring the tokenization of women in combat arms positions.

Now that the reasons why tokenism will occur in combat arms positions have been explained, the ways in which tokenism will be ensured (or the "hows")

shall be examined. Two of the ways in which tokenism will ensue have already been discussed above: attitudes of high-ranking military men like McPeak and Peay, who are publicly against the utilization of women in combat arms positions. Also the persistence of the arguments mentioned above and discussed at length in the first section perpetuate tokenism and ensure that women in ground combat positions are or will be tokens. However, tokenism can also occur as a result of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Lieutenant Colonel Hay stated that the reason why the USA does not have women in ground combat units is because of tokenism and its associated problems and pressures, as defined by Kanter. Thus the USA is using the phenomenon of tokenism itself as a reason to exclude women from combat arms positions as they believe that tokenism is inevitable because very few women would be able to meet the stringent physical requirements. However, if ground combat positions were opened to women as a result of a legal challenge, congressional pressure, or an Executive Order, the Army's argument that women in combat units will be tokens could in fact, materialize. Therefore, in the aforementioned scenario, tokenism in ground combat arms units could occur as a result of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Though the three aforementioned notions could be how tokenism will or does occur within ground combat arms positions, the most likely way in which the tokenization of women in combat positions will occur, and indeed be ensured, is through the physical fitness requirements necessary to pass combat basic

training As stated previously in this chapter, Laws' dimensions of tokenism are found in the physical standards However, I am asserting that more basic than the intangible notions of meritocracy, individualism, and exceptionalism, the male-dominated military institution ensures tokenism and the subsequent marginalization of women through unattainable, for most women, physical standards

The physical fitness requirements for infantry battle school were detailed in the preceding section, and the extremely low numbers of women who actually pass the requirements attest to their difficulty It has been argued in this chapter that the so-called 'gender-neutral' requirements became gender-neutral when the CF was ordered to open combat positions to women "The Canadians have never changed their stringent requirements to allow women in their services "<sup>64</sup> The above statement and evidence presented in the preceding sections that the 'gender-neutral' standards being applied to women are male standards, introduced in 1988 for men, then extended to women in 1989 These standards were scrutinized and deemed acceptable by outside agencies according to Flewelling, which legitimizes their continued use by LFC and the CF as representative of the standards necessary to be a soldier in a combat arms unit

However, knowing that women, on average, have less upper and lower body strength than men, it can be argued that the CF maintained its previously male standards to become gender-neutral standards upon forced integration knowing that only a tiny percentage of women could actually meet the physical fitness

standards, thereby ensuring the tokenization of women in ground combat arms positions. Therefore tokenism is achieved in the CF through applying gender-neutral standards to women which are really male standards that have been renamed. And it has been argued previously in this chapter that there is no reason to believe that the British Army and the USA would not do the same thing given that standards were not altered to accommodate female combat aircraft pilots in the RAF and the USAF. Thus it is through the retention of male physical fitness standards for combat positions and their application to female recruits that the tokenization of women is and will be achieved and ensured.

Beyond what Laws and Kanter define and describe as tokenism, several other findings have been made and presented in this research. First, critical mass was attempted as a policy in the CF to 'avoid' problems associated with tokenism but was abandoned as unattainable in LFC due to insurmountable physical requirements for women. Second, the reasons why tokenism will or does occur were presented in both the first section of this chapter and in this section. And third, 'gender-neutral' physical requirements, attitudes of policy-makers or high-ranking servicemen towards women in combat positions, the persistence of the stereotyped assumptions presented in the first section, and the notion of tokenism as a self-fulfilling prophecy were all put forth as ways in which tokenism does or will occur and how the tokenization of women in combat arms positions will be ensured in the armed forces of Canada, the UK, and the US. Thus, now that the findings of the research have been applied to the theories, and

individually presented, some conclusions and the confirmation of the hypothesis can now be made

## CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter the definitions, perceptual phenomena, and dimensions of tokenism, defined by Laws and Kanter, have been applied to the findings of the research interviews and defence documents in order to support the hypothesis "because of the androcentric nature of the military institution women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of America are or will be tokens " The presence of most of the perceptual phenomena/dimensions of tokenism (visibility, exceptionalism, individualism, meritocracy, and polarization/boundary heightening) as they happen to women in ground combat arms positions means that part of the criteria for the existence of tokenism have been met

It was also detailed in this chapter that the numerical definition of Kanter's skewed group type is present and valid as the total force strength of women in all three countries is below 15%, while the numbers of women in most combat positions in the CF struggle to meet 1%, with only one trade reaching a mere 2% of women Thus it can be concluded that the numerical requirement of Kanter's definition of tokenism is satisfied lending further support to the hypothesis

Laws' definition of tokenism is also met as in all cases women were admitted (or would be admitted) as a result of pressures to include the excluded group by legal challenges or decisions, or by congressional pressure. Thus, because the admission of women to combat arms positions arose out of external pressure (and forced by external legal bodies), the *de facto* numerical restriction of women into combat units, and the fact that though some policies have changed because of the introduction of women, the nature of the military institution has not been fundamentally altered, all of the tenets of Laws' definition of tokenism are present with respect to the introduction and utilization of women to combat arms positions.

Since all of the tenets of the definitions of tokenism and almost all of the phenomena/dimensions associated with being a token are present in this study of the tokenization of women in ground combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, the hypothesis can be provisionally verified. The existence of tokenism (or the potential existence) is given further credence by the fact that on the previous chapter, eleven out of eighteen respondents agreed that women in combat arms positions are or will be tantamount to tokens, including the majority of policy-advisers.

Based on the evidence presented in this chapter, the hypothesis of tokenism is strongly supported by the available evidence. The first section reinforced the androcentric nature of the military with the existence and persistence of the stereotyped assumptions that women have a negative impact on cohesion and

effectiveness in combat units, women are inherently pacific, war is a man's game, women are not physically capable to be in combat units, and that women get pregnant, all of which were negated and discounted

The second section affirmed the general organization of the military institution according to the definitions of tokenism by Kanter and Laws. The third section detailed and substantiated the presence of the perceptual phenomena and dimensions associated with tokenism: visibility, individualism, exceptionalism, meritocracy, and polarization/boundary maintenance through evidence gathered through the interviews and document searches. It was also found that Kanter's third phenomenon, assimilation, could not be supported based on the available evidence. Nonetheless, the existence of tokenism and the presence of its associated phenomena is confirmed with regards to women in combat positions, and specifically, women in ground combat arms positions.

The fourth section of this chapter departed slightly from Laws' and Kanter's definitions of tokenism to incorporate some of the other findings of this research which included an examination of how and why tokenism does or will occur. The concept of critical mass as a means to alleviate tokenism in the CF was discussed as was its eventual abandonment by LFC due to its unattainability. It was also asserted that the CF used critical mass as a smokescreen for tokenism as they knew that only token numbers of women would be able to meet the physical fitness requirements, thereby ensuring the tokenization of women in ground combat arms positions.



The negative attitudes of visible high-ranking servicemen (and policy makers) towards the admission of women to combat units, and the reinforcement of the androcentric nature of the military institution through the persistence of invalid stereotyped assumptions (as detailed in the first section) both show how and why tokenism will or does occur. The reluctance or refusal of military men to share power and privilege associated with being in combat positions is another reason why tokenism will occur.

Tokenism can also occur through the realization of it as a self-fulfilling prophecy. More realistically and tangibly, tokenism has occurred (and will occur) through the existence of largely unattainable for women 'gender-neutral' physical fitness requirements, which were, in fact, prior to forced integration in the CF and other forces, male standards now applied to both sexes. This is the most practical, perceptible, and acceptable way to ensure tokenism as the official policy is that the standards are 'gender-neutral' and indicative of the requirements necessary to perform adequately as a soldier in a combat unit.

Beyond the descriptions and definitions of tokenism by Laws and Kanter, which have been confirmed by this research as existing with regards to women in combat arms positions, practical ways in which tokenism is achieved and ensured have been established by the findings of this thesis, as well as the reasons and the ways in which the tokenization of women in ground combat units does or will occur.

Therefore, based on the findings of this thesis which confirm the androcentric nature of the military institution, the existence of Kanter's and Law's definitions of tokenism and most of the associated phenomena/dimensions, the "hows" and "why" tokenism does or will occur, and the fact the majority of the respondents interviewed agree that women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens, the verification of the hypothesis is complete, so far as the available evidence permits. It can now be confirmed that due to the androcentric nature of the military institutions of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States women in ground combat arms positions are or will be tokens.

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## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

The goal of this thesis was to examine the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America are or will be tokens. However, in order to support the hypothesis several aspects had to be considered.

The introduction to this thesis provided a presentation of the hypothesis as well as a broad theoretical methodology. It started with Kate Millett's definition of patriarchy, which asserted that the military is a patriarchal institution and its power (like all other patriarchal institutions) is in male hands. The introduction continued with an examination of how four strands of feminist thought (conservative, liberal, socialist, and radical) defined patriarchy and/or defined or described the military and the role and status of women within the armed forces. It was stated that only liberal feminists (and the author of this thesis) agree with the full utilization of women in the armed forces, including the combat arms positions of fighter aircraft pilot, warship personnel, infanteer, artilleryperson, heavy armour personnel, and combat engineer. Conservative, socialist, and radical feminists all agree that women should either not be in non-traditional positions beyond clerical, administrative, or medical or should not be in the armed forces at all. Based on this, the liberal feminist perspective of equal treatment of women in all facets of the military was chosen as the theoretical starting point for this thesis. This was also combined with a personal advocacy for the full integration of women into all facets of the military.



The introduction also provided a verification of the military as a male-dominated or patriarchal institution based on feminist definitions. Also discussed in was the use of the term "androcentric" in the thesis and the hypothesis rather than "male-dominated" or "patriarchal" to define and describe the military institution. The introduction concluded with a broad outline of the thesis and the format and content of the chapters.

In the first chapter the historical evolution of the professional military was detailed from its mercenary origins, to the *levée en masse* sustained by conscription to the present day all-volunteer forces of the three countries in this research. Once the history was presented, attention focused on how the military reacts to technological and social changes in the society. This included an examination of the sustainment of all-volunteer forces and problems faced by the military in an AVF era. The third section of Chapter One examined models of the military and military organization within the field of military sociology. This included an analysis of Moskos's institutional/occupational hypothesis and an application of the models to the three countries to determine which model the militaries most approximate. The final section of this chapter entailed a critique of the military sociology literature for its failure to encompass gender and the utilization of women in the military to remedy problems of personnel shortfalls experienced by AVFs.

Chapter Two continued along the theoretical theme by examining theories of inherent female pacifism and inherent male aggression. Once the origins and the

theories themselves were detailed they were critically assessed with respect to an examination of the long and cross-cultural history of women warriors and female combatants. Examples of women warriors from the Amazons of ancient Greece to the female revolutionaries of Nicaragua in the 1980s were presented as evidence for the refutation of the theories of inherent female pacifism/inherent male aggression presented in the first section of the chapter. The findings of the chapter concluded that the pacifist feminist literature fails to realize the vast evidence of collective and individual women warriors who "defy" the notion of inherent female pacifism, and based on this the notion must be dismissed as invalid.

The third chapter continued along the historical theme and detailed the utilization of women in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The chapter was divided into four sections, the first three examining each country's history on an individual basis. The final section entailed a critical analysis of the utilization of women in the military. This included an examination of the military as an androcentric institution in that women serve in the capacities afforded to them by the men at the top of the military hierarchy. This chapter also introduced the notion of women in the armed forces as tokens, as asserted by an American Congressional subcommittee.

In Chapter Four the focus shifted away from the military, its history, and theories of military sociology to the theories of tokenism utilized in this thesis.

The definitions and descriptions of both Kanter's and Laws' theories of tokenism were presented in detail. Following the definitions, descriptions, and analyses of the notions of tokenism was a review of the literature of women in non-traditional employment fields from the perspective of tokenism to illustrate the theories' applicability and universality. The final section of the chapter entailed a literature review of women in the military as tokens which illustrated the general lack of study of the phenomenon of tokenism with respect to women in the armed forces.

In Chapter Five, the methodology, questionnaires, interviews, and respondents were presented. It was in this chapter that the explanation of how and why tokenism was chosen as the theory tested in this thesis was presented. This was followed by a presentation of the research and questionnaire development process, problems experienced in the process, and the evolution of the questionnaire. The third section of the chapter entailed an analysis of the final interview questionnaires and their relation to the tokenism theories. The final section of the chapter detailed the interviewees, the dates and locations of the interviews, the need for confidentiality and anonymity of sources, and problems experienced in the interview process.

It was in Chapter Six that the results of the interviews were presented. This chapter detailed a person-by-person study of the responses to the questionnaires and described the responses of the seventeen formally interviewed people in detail. This was followed by a presentation of the overall generalization of the

research findings, then more specific generalizations. Thus the final two sections of the chapter were generalizations of the findings based on country and by occupational category, e.g. headquarters personnel, recruiters, and retired female brigadier generals.

It was in Chapter Seven that theory was applied to practice and confirmed the hypothesis of this thesis. The first section reinforced the androcentric nature of the military institution as illustrated by male and female bias towards the notion of women in combat arms positions. This section presented and rejected reasons and rationales for excluding women from combat arms positions. The second section examined the general organization of the military according to Laws' and Kanter's definitions of tokenism. The third section detailed the presence of the dimensions and the perceptual phenomena of tokenism described by the original theorists and as determined by the results of the interviews and written documents needed to support the hypothesis. The fourth section of the chapter examined other findings of the research as they relate to the tokenization of women in combat arms positions. The final section entailed the actual confirmation of the hypothesis for it was in this section that the definitions and tenets of tokenism were analyzed according to the results of the research in order to substantiate their existence. It was in this section that it was argued that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution, women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America are or will be tokens.

The results of the research interviews undertaken in this thesis found that almost all of the dimensions of tokenism described by Laws and Kanter are present with respect to women in combat arms positions. It was also found that the military is organized according to the definitions of tokenism. According to Laws, tokenism occurs when the institution is male-dominated and is under pressure to include a previously excluded group. The tokens are also numerically restricted and do not change the system they enter.

It was shown throughout the thesis that the military, and in particular, its core - combat - has been and still is male-dominated with women constituting twelve percent of the American forces, eleven percent of the Canadian forces, and six percent of the British services. In Canadian combat positions, women are less than two percent of the combat MOCs with most trades having less than one percent women. These numbers also satisfy Kanter's definition of tokens constituting fifteen percent or less of an institution or organization.

It was also shown that all three countries opened combat positions to women because of pressure placed on the military to do so. The CF was forced to open combat trades to women because of the CHRC Ruling, Congressional pressure led to the lifting of the combat flying ban against women, and the British Navy and Air Force ended their exclusion policies because of personnel shortfalls. It was also found that according to Roulstone, the British Army might be forced to open ground combat units to women because of European Union legislation on sex discrimination in the workplace. Finally, it was shown that despite minor

changes made to some policies (e.g. the provision of maternity leave, and uniform alterations), the military as an institution, and its core, combat, have not been fundamentally altered by the inclusion of women, thus satisfying all of the aspects of Laws' definition of tokenism, with Kanter's numerical definition also having been satisfied

It was also found that almost all of the aspects of Kanter's and Laws' descriptions of tokenism were present. Visibility, as exemplified by the 'gold fish bowl' syndrome is present in all three countries with respect to women in combat positions. Polarization or boundary maintenance were also found to be present through the results of the interviews and through the study of written documents. Laws' notions of individualism, exceptionalism, and the profession as a meritocracy were also present. However, it was found that there was not enough evidence to substantiate the existence of Kanter's phenomenon of assimilation.

Thus based on the results of the interviews and the study of defence documents, it was argued that tokenism (by definitions and through the presence of phenomena) is present and that women in ground combat arms positions in the armed forces of the three countries are or will be tokens. The existence of tokenism combined with the reinforcement of the military as an androcentric institution confirms the hypothesis of this thesis.

It was stated in the previous chapter that the research also found some surprising (to the researcher) evidence regarding tokenism. Firstly, Kanter's

theory of tokenism and its associated perceptual phenomena were known to respondents in both the US and the United Kingdom. But, secondly, and more importantly, according to the Commanding Officer of the Soldier Policy Branch, Lieutenant Colonel Hay, tokenism is the reason why the United States Army will not open ground combat units to women. The policy-makers know that women in infantry, artillery, heavy armour, and combat engineering will be tokens because their numbers will be low due, in part, to the stringent physical requirements, and will, therefore automatically experience the perceptual phenomena associated with tokenism, which is something they assert they do not want to happen. However, based on the results of the research, it can be argued that the tokenization of women in combat arms positions occurs *because* of the androcentric nature of the military institution. The rationale of the phenomenon of tokenism itself justifying women's exclusion from combat, as well as the stringent physical requirements act as a smokescreen for the marginalization of women (which occurs because of the androcentric nature of the military) or are at best, partial explanations for the small to non-existent presence of women in combat arms trades.

This thesis also pointed out how and why tokenism will occur to women in combat arms positions, which is something that is not discussed in real or actual terms in the literature on token women in male-dominated occupations. Attitudes of high-ranking military men towards women in combat arms trades was discussed as one of the reasons why tokenism will occur. And more

tangibly, tokenism will occur through the maintenance of male physical fitness requirements which have been renamed as gender-neutral. It is through these stringent requirements that the tokenization of women in ground (and other) combat arms positions is and will be ensured. This research, above all others in the field, has shown how and why women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of the three countries are or will be tokens in practical terms.

This thesis, beyond elucidating practical issues surrounding tokenism has also furthered the theory of tokenism itself. Very little research on the tokenization of women in non-traditional fields has combined Kanter's and Laws' theories despite the obvious overlaps in their definitions and descriptions. Both theorists discuss numerical restriction, though Kanter assigns an arbitrary percentage to her definition of the skewed group type where tokenism will occur. Both also describe a phenomenon or dimension of polarization or boundary maintenance which are one and the same. Given the overlaps of the theories it is natural to combine the two, as undertaken in this thesis to gain a better perspective of the incidence of tokenism.

By combining Kanter's and Laws' theories in this seminal study of the tokenization of women in combat arms positions this thesis has contributed to the field of sociology in several ways. First of all, it is the first rigorous academic study thus far comparing women in combat arms positions in the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Secondly, this is the first time that the theory of tokenism has been applied to any study of



women in combat arms positions and is only the second study fully applying the theories of tokenism to women in ground-breaking or non-traditional military occupations. And finally, this is the only academic research thus far which has sought out policy advisers/makers, recruiters, and retired personnel to determine their attitudes towards women in ground (and other) combat positions while directly addressing the issue of tokenism. All of these considerations make this thesis and its findings unique within the fields of military sociology and gender studies.

However, despite the research supporting the hypothesis that because of the androcentric nature of the military institution women in the combat arms positions of the armed forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are or will be tokens, the research also raised a few issues that are unanswerable without further study. First of all, access to the women in combat arms positions would be desirable to determine if aspects of tokenism not detectable through this research, that is the token/sponsor relationship and Kanter's perceptual phenomenon of assimilation, are in fact present. By interviewing the women themselves utilizing a combined Kanter/Laws theories study (like this one) these aspects of tokenism could either be verified as being in existence or rejected as they have been in this thesis.

A second, and more interesting research project that could stem from this thesis would entail an examination of the practical implications of tokenism, if any. Having argued that because of the androcentric nature of the military

institution, women in combat arms positions are or will be tokens, it would be interesting to determine if women as tokens have any effect on group cohesion and/or combat effectiveness in mixed-sex combat units. Effects on cohesion and effectiveness were investigated in this thesis in questions about the effect of women in combat units on these areas. It was shown that there are no clear-cut answers to these questions, and the actual effects are at times speculative. Thus it could be interesting from a personnel perspective to determine the effect of women, if any, on cohesion and effectiveness in combat units now that it has been argued that women in these positions are tokens. This is another research possibility that can take the findings of this thesis to another level and expand upon its results to include practical implications for the military with respect to token women in combat fields.

I am not going to recommend any of the solutions to the problem of tokenism suggested by Kanter and Laws, that is, changing the social system, ending patriarchy, or in the case of this thesis, changing the military from an androcentric institution to one which is more egalitarian, more accepting of women, and allows women to share power with men on an equal basis, to do so would be to fall into the traps laid out in the critiques of the theories in Chapter Four.

Increasing numbers of women, as suggested by Kanter is also implausible as a solution as there is little conclusive evidence that more women in combat units would alleviate the phenomena associated with tokenism. The only practical

solution to the tokenism issue that can be suggested in this thesis (and it is at its very best tentative and largely hypothetical) is to ensure that physical fitness standards used are in fact, gender-neutral and are *bona fide* occupational qualifications, that is they are necessary to perform the job. As it was shown current standards are in fact **male** physical fitness standards, and are the main inhibitors to women increasing their representation in combat arms positions. These should be questioned, examined, tested, and justified if sexual equality is to be achieved, and more importantly, tokenism is to be eliminated. Thus, in order to ensure that women in male-dominated occupations, and in particular, women in combat arms positions are not tokens and subjected to the negative effects and associated phenomena of tokenism, a practical solution is necessary rather than the unachievable theoretical solutions suggested by other writers.

## **APPENDICES**

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HEADQUARTERS PERSONNEL

- 1 General information rank, age, length of time in service, designation or MOS
- 2 What do you think about the integration of women into the armed forces, i.e. the disbanding of the separate women's corps in the U.K.?
- 3 What are the requirements to become a combat soldier in the army or land element, e.g. infantry, heavy armour, and artillery? What are the entry requirements and the basic training requirements?
- 4 What are some of the results of mixed-gender field exercise utilizing women in combat or combat support positions? How do women affect group cohesion or "bonding"? How do women affect operational or combat effectiveness, i.e. the unit's ability to achieve its assigned mission?
- 5 Should combat units be open to women? Why or why not?
- 6 Do you think women, if properly trained, are qualified for combat mentally, physically, emotionally?
- 7 How do you perceive war and combat?
- 8 Is war the preserve of men, or a male-only obligation/duty? If yes, do you think the integration of women into combat positions would be an invasion on the male preserve of war?
- 9 Do you think that the opening of combat positions to women could lead to the induction of more women to the military?
- 10 Would (or does) the introduction of women in combat positions change the nature of war?
- 11 Some people say that the opening of combat positions to women is merely paying lip service to equal opportunity policies and/or personnel requirements, and subsequently women in combat positions are merely tokens. What do you think of this assertion, is it probable/true?
- 12 Is there a demand for women in combat roles and positions? Does or would the introduction of women into combat specialties alleviate personnel shortfalls in these occupations?
- 13 What policy measures are being taken to successfully integrate women into all aspects of the military?

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEN

- 1 General information rank, age, length of time in service, designation or MOS
- 2 What do you think about the integration of women into the armed forces, i.e. the disbanding of the separate women's corps in the U K ?
- 3 Would you mind or do you mind the integration of women into your unit? Why or why not?
- 4 Have you worked with women in gender-integrated units or assignments? If yes, do women perform their assigned tasks effectively and efficiently?
- 5 Have you ever been on field exercise or in a combat situation with women? If yes, did they perform their assigned tasks effectively and efficiently? How do they affect the unit's ability to achieve its assigned mission?
- 6 Should combat units be open to women? Why or why not?
- 7 Do you think women, if properly trained, are qualified for combat emotionally, physically, mentally?
- 8 How do you think the integration of women into combat units would affect the unit's ability to achieve its mission? How do women affect combat effectiveness in combat or combat support units?
- 9 How do you think women in combat units would affect group cohesion or "bonding"?
- 10 How do you perceive war and combat?
- 11 Is war the preserve of men, or a male only obligation/duty? If yes, do you think the integration of women into combat positions would be an invasion on the male preserve of war?
- 12 Do you think that the opening of combat positions to women could lead to the induction of more women to the military?
- 13 Would the introduction of women in combat positions change the nature of war?
- 14 Some people say that the opening of combat positions to women is merely paying lip service to equal opportunity policies and/or personnel requirements, and subsequently women in combat positions are merely tokens. What do you think of this assertion, is it probable/true?

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEN RECRUITERS

- 1 General information rank, age, length of time in service, designation or MOS
- 2 What are the requirements to become a combat soldier in the land element or army, e g infantry, heavy armour, and artillery? What are the entry requirements and the basic training requirements?
- 3 Would you mind or do you mind the integration of women into your unit? Why or why not?
- 4 Have you ever worked with women in gender-integrated units or assignments? How do you feel about gender integrated units, especially in combat or combat support positions and specialties?
- 5 Have you ever been on field exercise or in a combat situation with women? If yes, did they perform their assigned tasks effectively and efficiently? How do they affect the unit's ability to achieve its assigned mission?
- 6 Should combat units be open to women? Why or why not?
- 7 Do you think women, if properly trained, are qualified for combat emotionally, physically, mentally?
- 8 How do you think the integration of women into combat units would affect the units' ability to achieve their missions? How do women affect combat effectiveness in combat or combat support units?
- 9 How do you think women in combat units would affect group cohesion or "bonding"?
- 10 Is war the preserve of men or a male only obligation or duty? If yes, do you think the integration of women into combat positions would be an invasion on the male preserve of war?
- 11 Do you think that the opening of combat positions to women could lead to the induction of more women to the military?
- 12 Would the introduction of women into combat positions change the nature of war? How? Why?
- 13 Some people say that the opening of combat positions to women is merely paying lip service to equal opportunity policies and/or personnel requirements, and subsequently women in combat positions are merely tokens What do you think of this assertion, is it probable/true?

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN

- 1 General information rank, age, length of time in service, designation or MOS
- 2 What do you think about the integration of women into the armed forces, i.e. the disbanding of the separate women's corps in the U K ?
- 3 Do you mind or would you mind being integrated with men? Why or why not?
- 4 Have you worked with men in gender-integrated units or assignments? How do you feel about gender integrated units, especially in combat or combat support positions and specialties?
- 5 Have you ever been on field exercise or in a combat situation with men? If yes, how does your participation in field exercise or in a combat situation affect the unit's ability to achieve its assigned mission?
- 6 Should combat units be open to women? Why or why not?
- 7 Do you think women, if properly trained, are qualified for combat emotionally, physically, mentally?
- 8 How do you think the integration of women into combat units would affect the unit's ability to achieve its mission? How do women affect combat effectiveness in combat or combat support units?
- 9 How do you think women in combat units would affect group cohesion or "bonding"?
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## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN

- 1 General information rank, age, length of time in service, designation or MOS
- 2 What do you think about the integration of women into the armed forces, i.e. the disbanding of the separate women's corps in the U K ?
- 3 Do you mind or would you mind being integrated with men? Why or why not?
- 4 Have you worked with men in gender-integrated units or assignments? How do you feel about gender integrated units, especially in combat or combat support positions and specialties?
- 5 Have you ever been on field exercise or in a combat situation with men? If yes, how does your participation in field exercise or in a combat situation affect the unit's ability to achieve its assigned mission?
- 6 What are the requirements to join the army? What are the requirements to become a combat soldier in the army, e.g. infantry, artillery, armour? What are the entry requirements and basic training requirements?
- 7 When will enlisted training in the army be gender integrated?
- 8 How is officer gender integrated basic training progressing?
- 9 What positions in the army are still closed to women? Why?
- 10 Should combat units be open to women? Why or why not?
- 11 Do you think women, if properly trained, are qualified for combat emotionally, physically, mentally?
- 12 How do you think the integration of women into combat units would affect the unit's ability to achieve its mission? How do women affect combat effectiveness in combat or combat support units?
- 13 How do you think women in combat units would affect group cohesion or "bonding"?
- 14 Is war the preserve of men, or a male-only obligation/duty? If yes, do you think the integration of women into combat positions would be an invasion on the male preserve of war?
- 15 Do you think that the opening of combat positions to women could lead to the induction of more women to the military?

16 Would the introduction of women in combat positions change the nature of war?

17 Is there a demand for women in combat roles and positions? Does or would the introduction of women into combat specialties alleviate personnel shortfalls in these occupations?

18 What policy measures are being taken to successfully integrate women into all aspects of the military?

19 Some people say that the opening of combat positions to women is merely paying lip service to equal opportunity policies and/or personnel requirements, and subsequently women in combat positions are merely tokens. What do you think of this assertion, is it probable/true?

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN RECRUITERS

- 1 General information rank, age, length of time in service, designation or MOS
- 2 What are the requirements to become a combat soldier in the land element or army, e g infantry, heavy armour, and artillery? What are the entry requirements and the basic training requirements?
- 3 Would you mind or do you mind being integrated with men? Why or why not?
- 4 Have you ever worked with men in gender-integrated units or assignments? How do you feel about gender-integrated units, especially in combat or combat support positions and specialties?
- 5 Have you ever been on field exercise or in a combat situation with men? If yes, how does your participation on field exercise or in a combat situation affect the unit's ability to achieve its assigned mission?
- 6 Should combat units be open to women? Why or why not?
- 7 Do you think women, if properly trained, are qualified for combat emotionally, physically, mentally?
- 8 How do you think the integration of women into combat units would affect the units' ability to achieve their missions? How do women affect combat effectiveness in combat or combat support units?
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