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Gays and the Military: A 20-Year Study at the Naval Postgraduate School

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Naval Postgraduate School

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Gays & the Military

A 20-Year Study at the Naval Postgraduate School

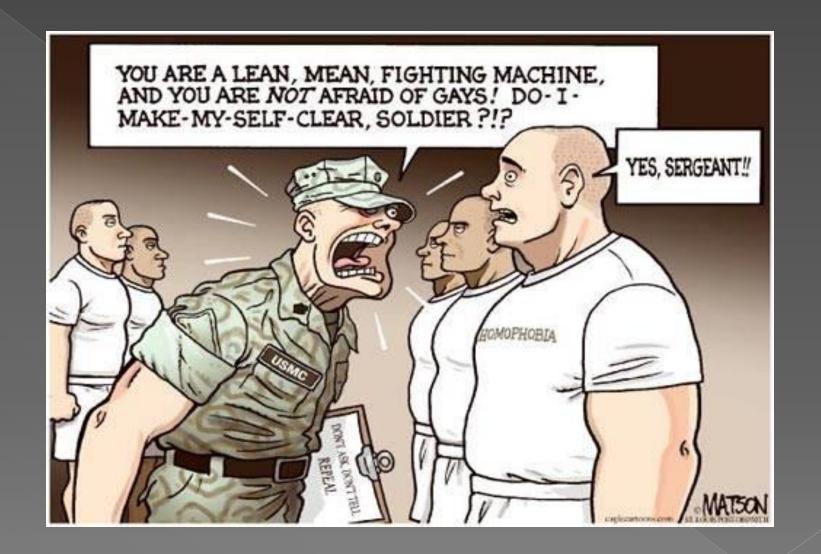
Dr. Mark J. Eitelberg
Professor of Public Policy
Graduate School of Business &
Public Policy
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California
February 2011
(Revised, February 2013)

National Attitudes Represented in Political Cartoons

A Selection of "Typical" Cartoons from the News Media

Aside from Operation Desert Storm, "gays and the military" was the most-covered defense topic in the national news media during the entire decade of the 1990s.

- Not women in combat
- Not the massive defense downsizing & BRACs



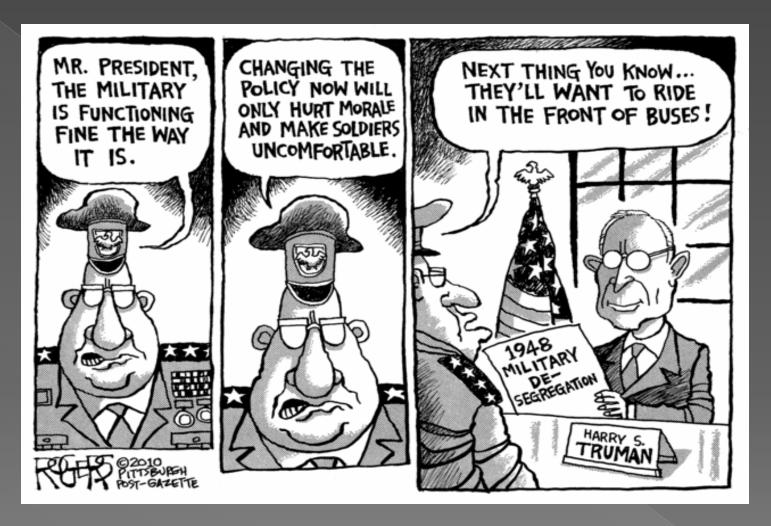
"Boot Camp for the Fearful"



General Principles of Good Conduct



Patriotic Theme: Support the Troops



Equal Opportunity: Historical Precedents



Equal Opportunity: Shared Service



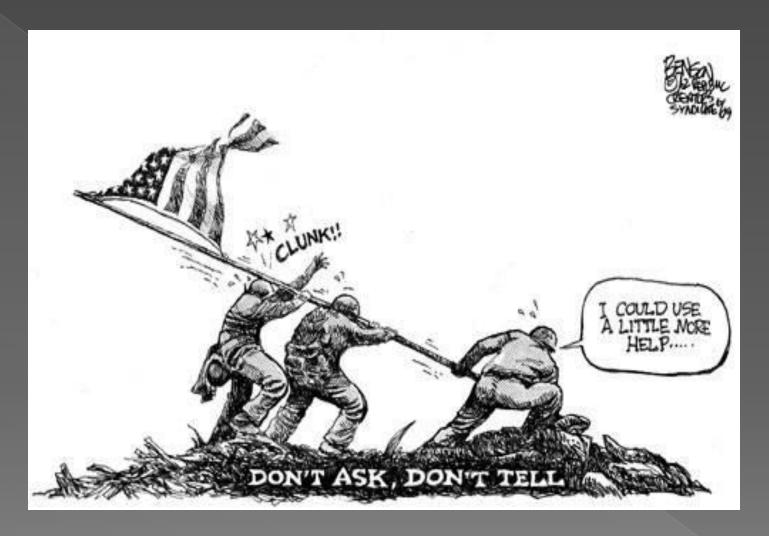
Equal Opportunity: Shared Service



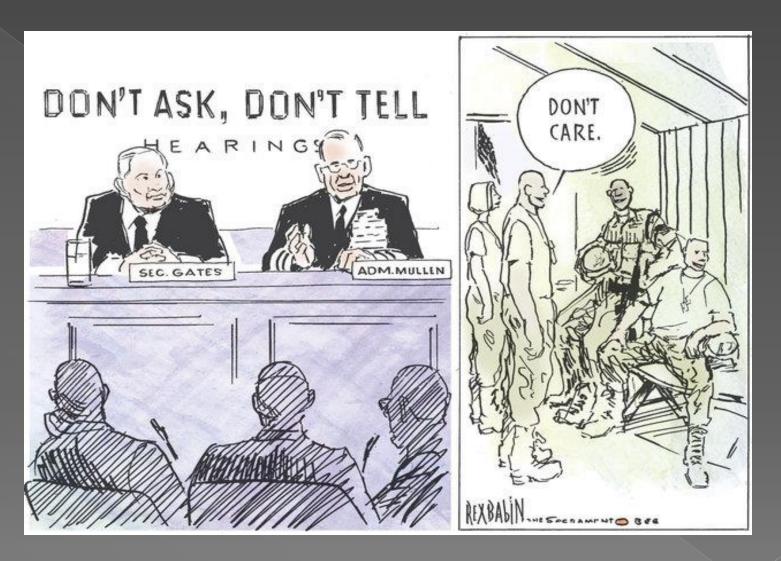
Equal Opportunity: Shared Service



Equal Opportunity: Shared Service



Equal Opportunity: Shared Service



"No Big Deal"

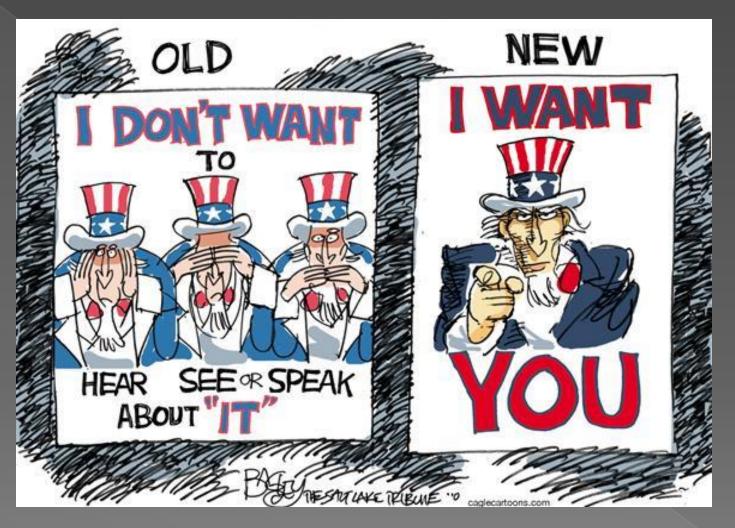


"No Big Deal"





"No Big Deal"



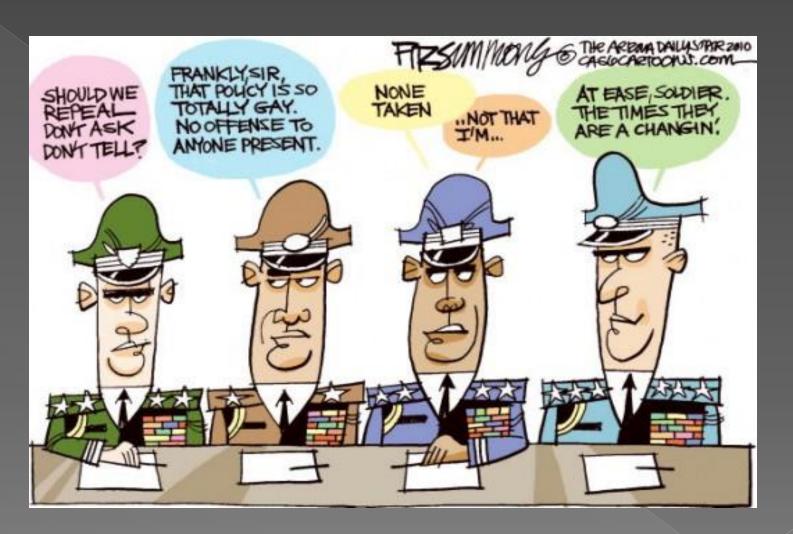
"Accepting Reality"



"Accepting Reality, Part 2"



"Accepting Reality, Part 3"



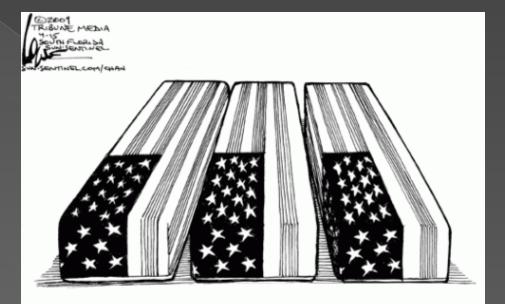
"Accepting Reality, Part 3.5"



"We Are All Americans"



"We Are All Americans"



WHICH IS THE GAY ONE?

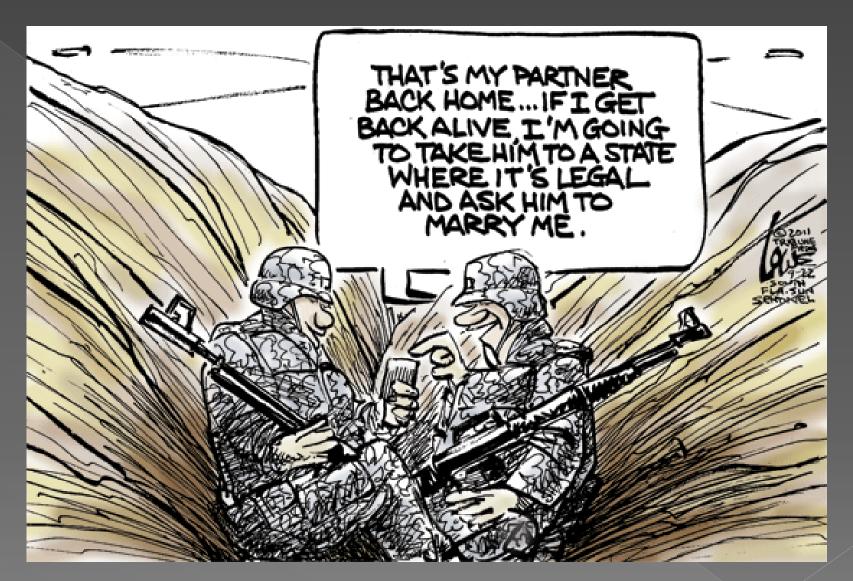


DOES IT MATTER WHO?





Where Will it End?



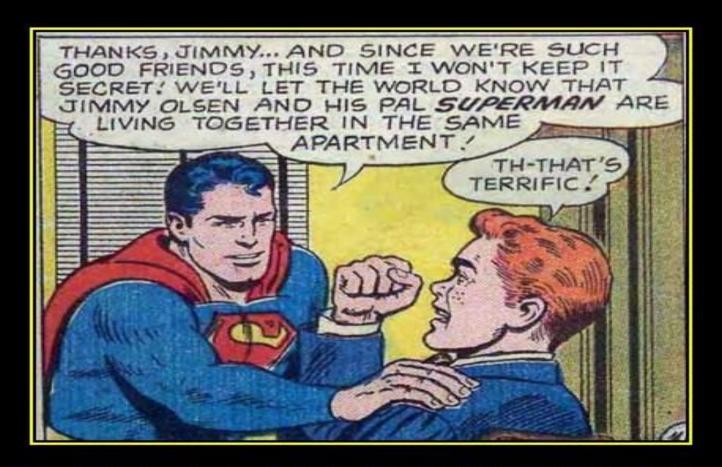
Where Will it End?



Where Will it End?

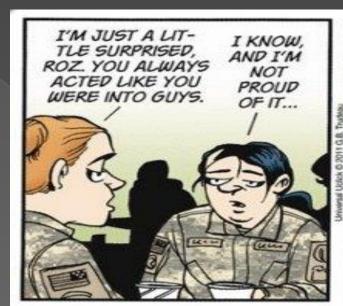


The Navy: Totally Gay!



DON'T ASK; DON'T TELL

It's been repealed

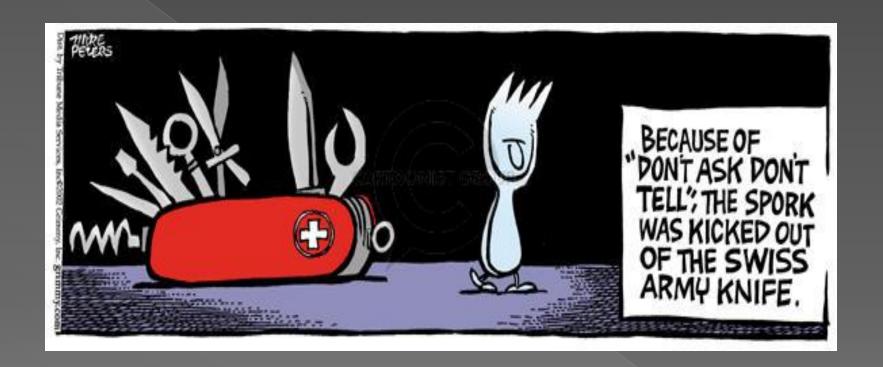




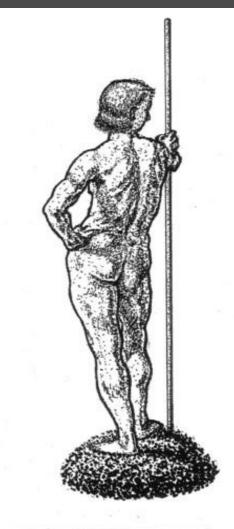




Doonesbury



A Classic Cartoon by Mike Peters, 11 December 2002



DonaAska



Donatello

CRAIG SWANSON @ WWW. PERSPICUITY. COM

DADT: The NPS/Monterey Connection

Contributions to the National Discourse Over the Past 20+ Years

DADT: The NPS/Monterey Connection

- PERSEREC Report by Ted Sarbin & Ken Karols, 1988
 - Widely discussed nationally (e.g., ABC's "Nightline")
 - > Motivates other studies (e.g., GAO) and national debate
 - Pentagon "destroys" reports (literally & figuratively)
- APA National Conference in San Francisco, 1991
 - > DoD affiliates ordered to *not* participate
- NPS Thesis Research Begins, 1993
 - Survey of NPS Students (Navy & Marine Corps)
 - Cleveland & Ohl, 1994 (Advisors: Eitelberg & Sarbin)
 - Friery, 1997 (Advisors: Eitelberg, Sarbin, & Carney)
 - Bicknell, 2000 (Advisors: Eitelberg & Simon)
 - Garcia, 2004-2009 (Advisors: Eitelberg & Thomas)
 - Ferguson, 2011 (Advisors: Eitelberg & Crawford)
 - Two MSA Thesis Projects Underway, 2013 (Advisors: Eitelberg & Barrett—see Appendix)

DADT: The NPS/Monterey Connection (Cont.)

- Other Relevant Thesis Research
 - Hyler, Study of Youth Attitudes, 2011 (Advisors: Eitelberg & Roberts)
 - Vergara, Study of DADT & Cohesion, 2011 (Advisors: Eitelberg and Crawford)
 - Peterson, "Homosexuality, Morality, & Military Policy," 1997 (Advisors: Eitelberg & Gue)
 - Rea, "Unit Cohesion & the Military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell Policy,"
 1997 (Advisors: Eitelberg & Thomas)
 - Barnes, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: A Costly & Wasteful Policy," 2004 (Advisor: Knopf)
- APA National Conference, Toronto, 2003. ("Spacemen, Scholars, & Sailors: Another Look at the Military's Treatment of Gays")
- > Armed Forces & Society
 - Key research article, 2001
 - Two book reviews, 1996 & 2004
- University of California Blue Ribbon Commission to Estimate Costs of DADT, 2005-2006 (Professors Eitelberg & Barrett)
- "Gays & Military" Policies Used as Case Studies in MN4106 (w/Sponsored Speakers) from 1989-Present

Excerpts from Ted Sarbin's Obituary (NY Times, 7 September 2005)

Theodore R. Sarbin, a prominent social psychologist who in 1988 helped write a controversial Pentagon report recommending that the United States military end discrimination against gay men and lesbians, died on Aug. 31 at his home in Carmel, Calif. He was 94.

Dr. Sarbin's report was prepared for the Defense Personnel Security Research and Education Center, at the time a Navy program. Completed in late 1988, the report was publicly rejected by the Pentagon after it was leaked to the news media the next year by members of Congress sympathetic to the cause of gay men and lesbians in the military. The report was written with Kenneth E. Karols, a Navy psychiatrist and surgeon.

From 1987 until shortly before his death, Dr. Sarbin was a research psychologist at the Defense Personnel Security Research and Education Center, which is now part of the Department of Defense. Based in Monterey, Calif., the center was established in 1986 in the wake of the discovery of a Navy spy ring. It studies human behavior as it relates to national security.

Dr. Sarbin's report was originally commissioned to examine the security risks posed by gay men and lesbians in the military. In the finished report, "Nonconforming Sexual Orientations and Military Suitability," he and Dr. Karols concluded that gay men and lesbians posed no greater risk than heterosexuals did. They recommended that the Pentagon rethink its policy barring them from service.

"Having a same-gender or an opposite-gender orientation is unrelated to job performance in the same way as being left- or right-handed," they wrote.

On The Floor of the U.S. House of Representatives

"Ted was perhaps best known for pioneering work he did on the subject of gays in the military. . . . The Report's publication propelled Ted into the spotlight. However, despite its notoriety, the "Gays in Uniform" report simply reflected the theme of Ted's life work: Listen to others and refrain from judgment in reporting the facts."

"In Honor of Ted Sarbin" Honorable Sam Farr (CA) U.S. House of

"In Honor of Ted Sarbin," Honorable Sam Farr (CA), U.S. House of Representatives, 7 October 2005







WILLAGE PEOPLE 1 in the navy 1

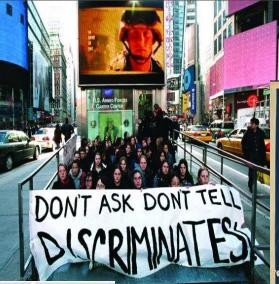




VILLAGEPEOPLE

The 70s Icons, Builder, Navy, Biker, Indian, Cop & Cowboy, Which are You?







DON'T ASK,



OPENLY GAY?...STAY AWAY

ine Times

1½ lbs. and it could save your life 3

Caregiver pay New rules for wounded Marines 14

Hey, pilots! \$10K to leave active duty & fly Reserve 35



DANGEROUS NEW HOLSTERS CAREFUL! YOU COULD SHOOT YOURSELF 30

MARINE VS. BEAR **GUNNY'S STANDOFF** ENDS BADLY -









Remote recon

Results from 5 Surveys of Officers at NPS, 1994-2010

The first NPS-DADT Survey was administered in 1994. The very same survey, with minor modifications, was administered in 1996, 1999, 2004, and 2010.

These surveys are unique within DoD, and they trace the entire history of DADT.

Approach: NPS Surveys

<u>Year</u>	Method	#Returns	%Response
1994	Scantron	605 (Navy)	60%
1996	Scantron	306 (Navy)	35%
1999	Scantron	215 (Navy)	35%
	Scantron	94 (Marine)	40%
2004	Online	334 (Navy)	38%
	Online	102 (Marine	76%
2010	Online	382 (Navy)	36%
	Online	90 (Marine)	47%

Approach: Survey Structure

- 52 statements with the following choices: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree
- 5 demographic questions: years of service, gender, race/ethnicity, community designator, and pay grade
- Comments section
 - > 140 in 2004
 - > 132 in 2010
- Latest version distributed via "Survey Monkey"
 - 25 October through 3 November 2010

Gays should be allowed to serve openly in the US military.

<u>Year</u>	Public	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	57%	25%	N/A
1996	65%	36%	N/A
1999	70%	39%	18%
2004	80%	50%	12%
2010	76%	61%	44%

Gays should have rights to marry.

<u>Year</u>	Public	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
2000	36%	N/A	N/A
2002	46%	N/A	N/A
2004	42%	35%	33%
2010	44%	50%	44%

Homosexuals are probably born that way.

<u>Year</u>	Public	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	N/A	33%	N/A
1996	31%	36%	N/A
1999	34%	40%	35%
2004	37%	53%	45%
2010	36%	53%	60%

Homosexual orientation is due to external factors and can be changed.

<u>Year</u>	Public	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	N/A	52%	N/A
1996	40%	45%	N/A
1999	44%	45%	51%
2004	41%	40%	47%
2010	37%	36%	39%

Trend Analysis: Effectiveness

Allowing homosexual personnel within Navy/USMC can cause downfall of good order & discipline.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	79%	N/A
1996	67%	N/A
1999	59%	85%
2004	52%	71%
2010	37%	57%

Trend Analysis: Effectiveness

The presence of a homosexual in my unit would interfere with mission accomplishment.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	N/A	N/A
1996	51%	N/A
1999	44%	78%
2004	36%	59%
2010	26%	41%

Trend Analysis: Personal Comfort

I feel uncomfortable in the presence of a homosexual and have difficulty interacting normally with them.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	58%	N/A
1996	44%	N/A
1999	36%	46%
2004	21%	28%
2010	18%	21%

Trend Analysis: Personal Comfort

I would feel uncomfortable having to share my room with a homosexual service member.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	N/A	N/A
1996	N/A	N/A
1999	N/A	N/A
2004	N/A	N/A
2010	52%	71%

Trend Analysis: Leadership

I would have no difficulty working for a homosexual Commanding Officer.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	30%	N/A
1996	37%	N/A
1999	43%	26%
2004	61%	44%
2010	68%	55%

Trend Analysis: Leadership

I would have no difficulty obeying an order from the CO to work with a homosexual on a difficult or dangerous assignment.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	50%	N/A
1996	62%	N/A
1999	67%	45%
2004	78%	70%
2010	80%	72%

Trend Analysis: Leadership

I would prefer not to have a homosexual in my command.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	82%	N/A
1996	78%	N/A
1999	67%	88%
2004	55%	70%
2010	38%	60%

Trend Analysis: Safety

A homosexual's safety or life could be in danger due to beliefs held by other service members.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	N/A	N/A
1996	86%	N/A
1999	86%	78%
2004	80%	87%
2010	70%	80%

Trend Analysis: Health

Homosexuals could pose a health risk to the Navy.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	74%	N/A
1996	65%	N/A
1999	49%	70%
2004	39%	51%
2010	27%	36%

Trend Analysis: Equity

Homosexuals and heterosexuals should have equal rights.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	61%	N/A
1996	67%	N/A
1999	67%	44%
2004	78%	71%
2010	80%	72%

Trend Analysis: Equity

Full & open acceptance of homosexuals in the military sends the wrong message to the rest of society.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	73%	N/A
1996	66%	N/A
1999	59%	78%
2004	46%	58%
2010	36%	42%

Trend Analysis: Equity

Homosexuals should not be restricted from serving anywhere in the Navy.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	25%	N/A
1996	36%	N/A
1999	39%	18%
2004	50%	12%
2010	61%	44%

Trend Analysis: Tolerance

Compared with my peers, I consider myself more tolerant on the issue of homosexuals in the military.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	56%	N/A
1996	64%	N/A
1999	71%	51%
2004	70%	60%
2010	76%	69%

Trend Analysis: Tolerance

I Would not want a gay person as a neighbor.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	45%	N/A
1996	39%	N/A
1999	32%	46%
2004	19%	32%
2010	14%	21%

Trend Analysis: Religion

Religious teachings provide the only real obstacles to total acceptance of gays in the military.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	10%	N/A
1996	8%	N/A
1999	10%	10%
2004	16%	12%
2010	13%	7%

Trend Analysis: "Leavers"

If homosexuals were allowed to serve openly in Navy/Marine Corps, I would resign my commission.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	N/A	N/A
1996	20%	N/A
1999	27%	53%
2004	8%	16%
2010	8%	13%

Trend Analysis: I Know Someone

I personally know a homosexual service member.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	N/A	N/A
1996	N/A	N/A
1999	21%	4%
2004	35%	20%
2010	50%	28%

Trend Analysis: I Know Someone

I have a friend or relative who is homosexual.

<u>Year</u>	NPS Navy	NPS Marine
1994	29%	N/A
1996	46%	N/A
1999	46%	42%
2004	57%	51%
2010	64%	59%

Statements with Strongest Agreement: Navy Officers

- I have a friend/relative who is homosexual (64%)
- Homosexuals can be trusted w/ secret docs (48%)
- Homosexuals/heterosexuals should have equal rights (41%)
- Gays & lesbians should be tolerated in our society (41%)
- A division officer's sexual preference does not affect ability to lead (37%)
- I would have no difficulty obeying an order to work with a homosexual on a difficult/dangerous assignment (36%)
- Gays & lesbians should be tolerated in our military (35%)
- Homosexuals' dependents should get same benefits (33%)
- Civilian homosexuals are of no consequence to me (31%)
- I would have no difficulty working for homosexual CO (30%)

Statements with Strongest Agreement: Marine Officers

- I have a friend/relative who is homosexual (59%)
- I would feel uncomfortable sharing a room with a homosexual service member (40%)
- Homosexuals can be trusted w/ secret docs (35%)
- Gays & lesbians should be tolerated in our society (35%)
- I would prefer not to have homosexuals in my command (26%)
- Allowing homosexuals in Navy can cause downfall of good order & discipline (26%)

Statements with Strongest Disagreement: Navy Officers

- If homosexuals were allowed to serve openly, I would resign my commission (61%)
- Homosexuality is med/psych anomaly & can be changed through treatment (39%)
- Gay men would not be reliable in combat (39%)
- Presence of a homosexual in my unit would interfere with mission accomplishment (35%)
- I would not want a gay person as a neighbor (35%)
- Religious teachings provide only real obstacle
 (35%)
- I feel uncomfortable with homosexuals & have difficulty interacting with them (35%)

Statements with Strongest Disagreement: Marine Officers

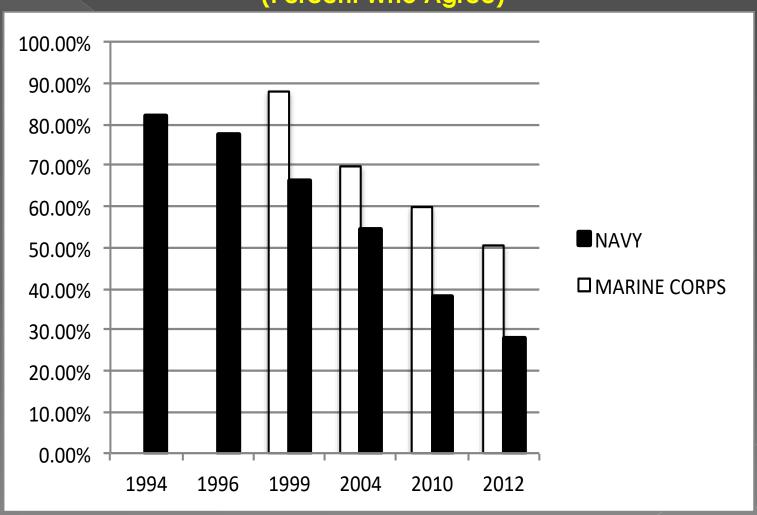
- If homosexuals were allowed to serve openly, I would resign my commission (52%)
- Homosexuality is med/psych anomaly & can be changed through treatment (40%)
- Religious teachings provide only real obstacle (35%)
- I would not want a gay person as a neighbor (33%)
- I personally know a homosexual service member (32%)
- Homosexuals should have same rights to marry (32%)
- Gay men would not be reliable in combat (28%)

Conclusions

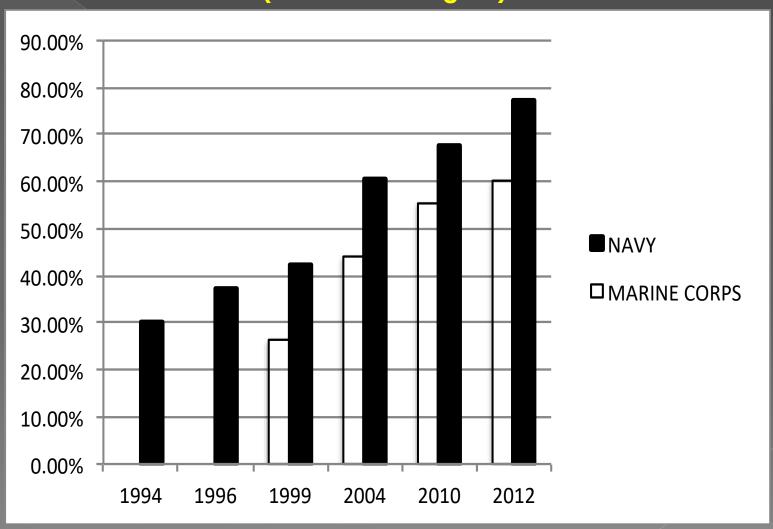
What have we learned?

What can we expect in the years ahead?

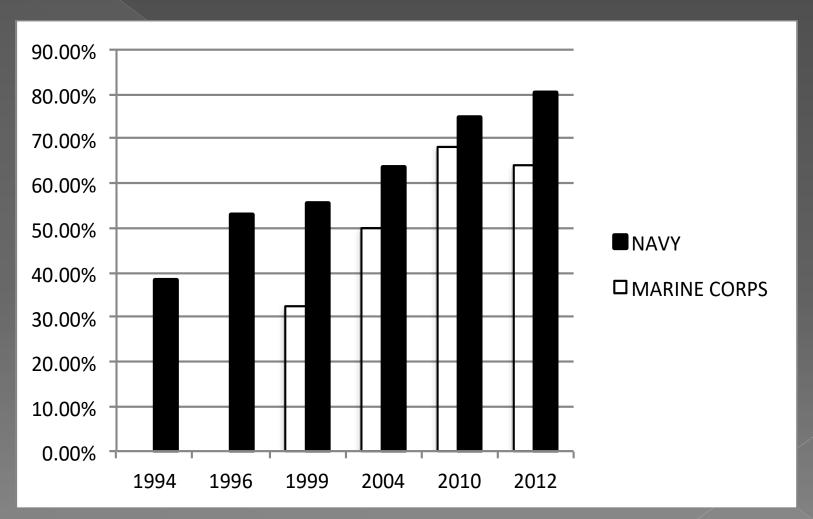
I Would Prefer Not to Have Homosexuals in My Command (Percent Who Agree)



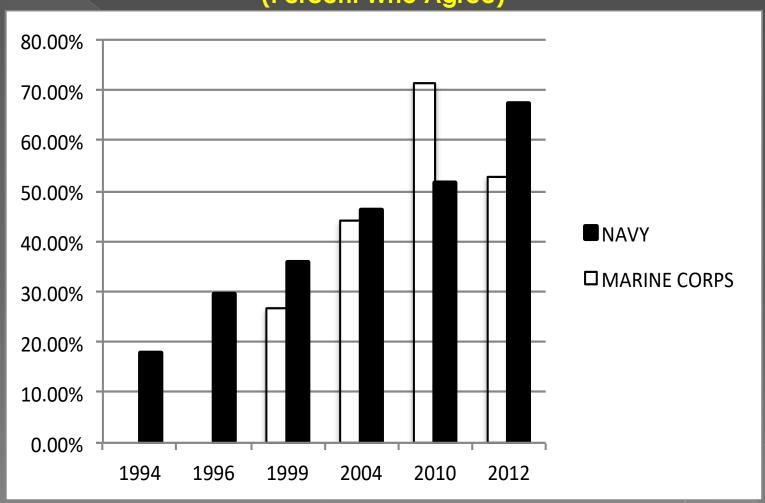
I Would Have No Difficulty Working for a Homosexual Commanding Officer (Percent Who Agree)



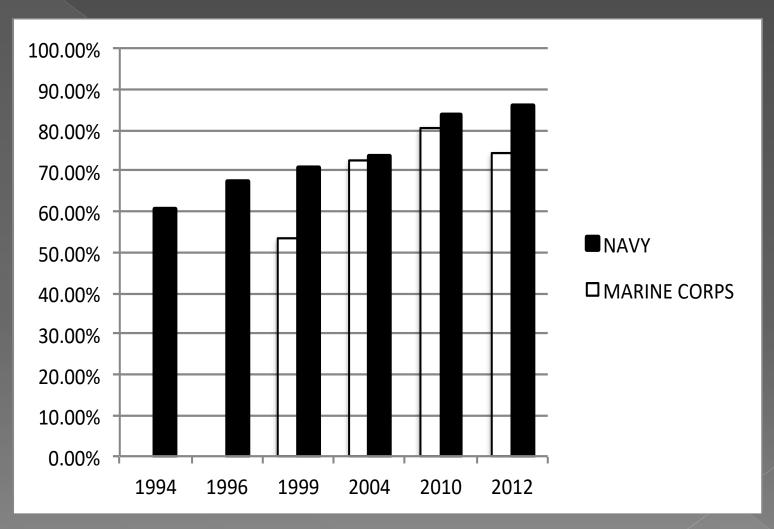
A Division Officer's Sexual Preference Has No Effect on the Officer's Ability to Lead (Percent Who Agree)



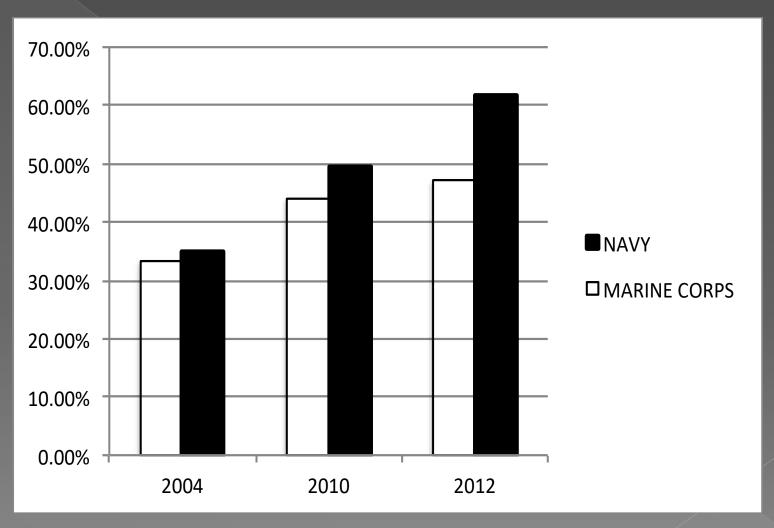
The Current Policy is Good for National Defense (Percent Who Agree)



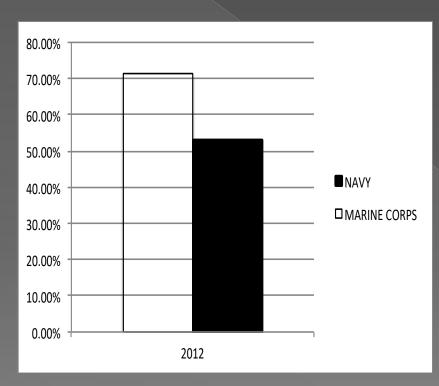
Homosexuals and Heterosexuals Should Have Equal Rights (Percent Who Agree)



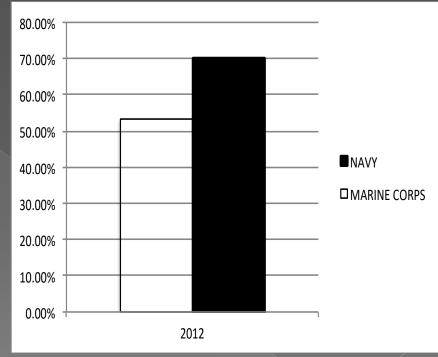
Homosexuals Should Have the Same Rights to Marry as Heterosexuals (Percent Who Agree)



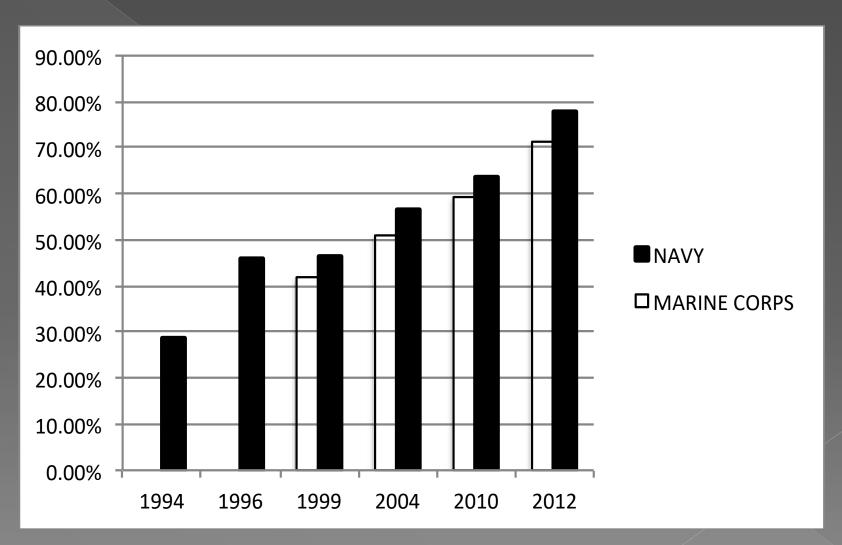
The Definition of Marriage is the Union of One Man and One Woman (Percent Who Agree)



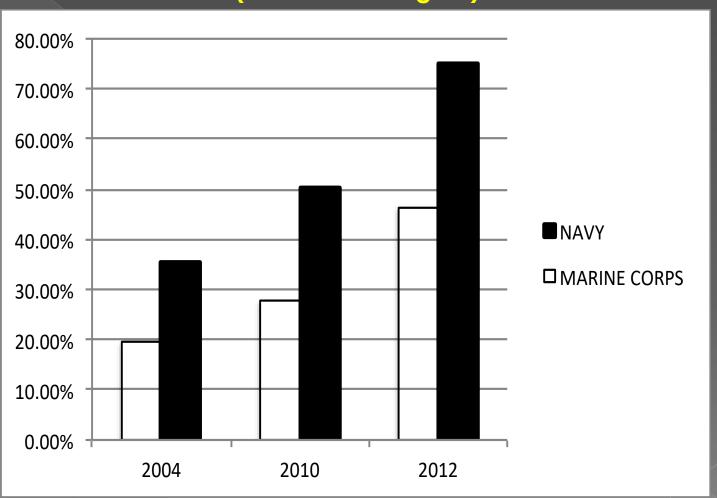
Same-Sex Spouses of Homosexual Service Members Should be Entitled to the Same Benefits Provided to the Spouses of Heterosexual Service Members (Percent Who Agree)



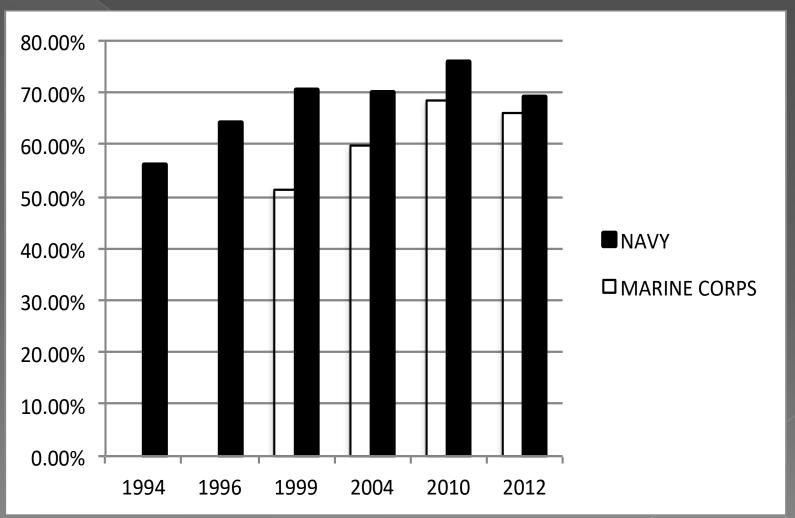
I Have a Friend or Relative Who is Homosexual (Percent Saying Yes)



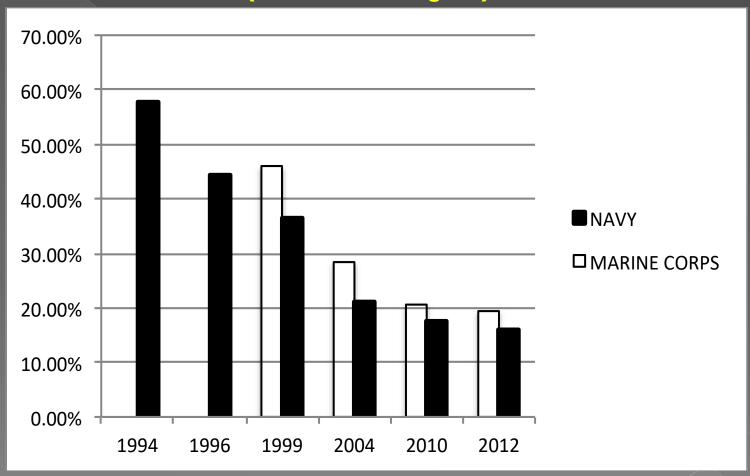
I Personally Know a Homosexual Service Member (Percent Who Agree)



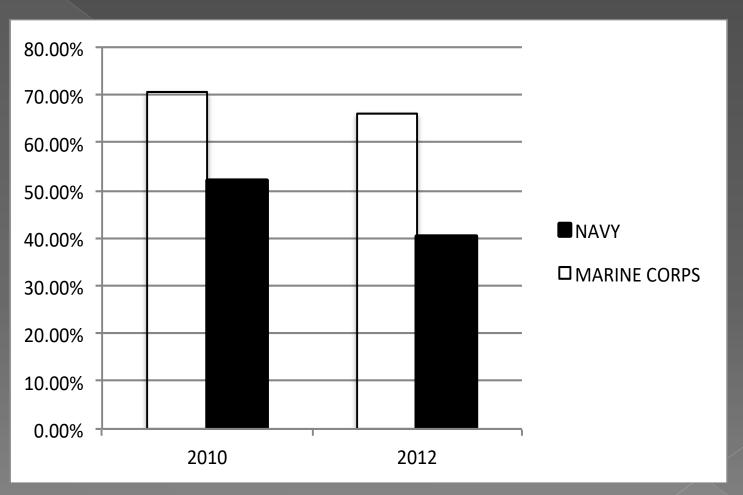
Compared with My Peers, I Consider Myself More Tolerant on the Issue of Homosexuals in the Military (Percent Who Agree)



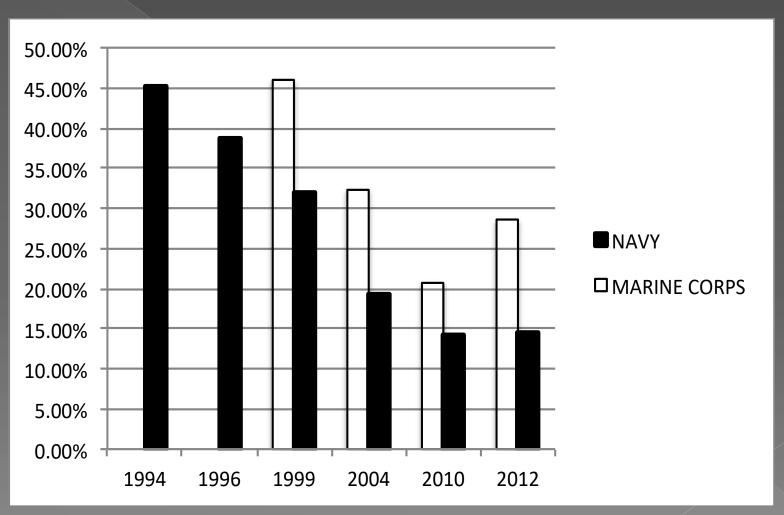
Difficulty Interacting Normally with Them (Percent Who Agree)



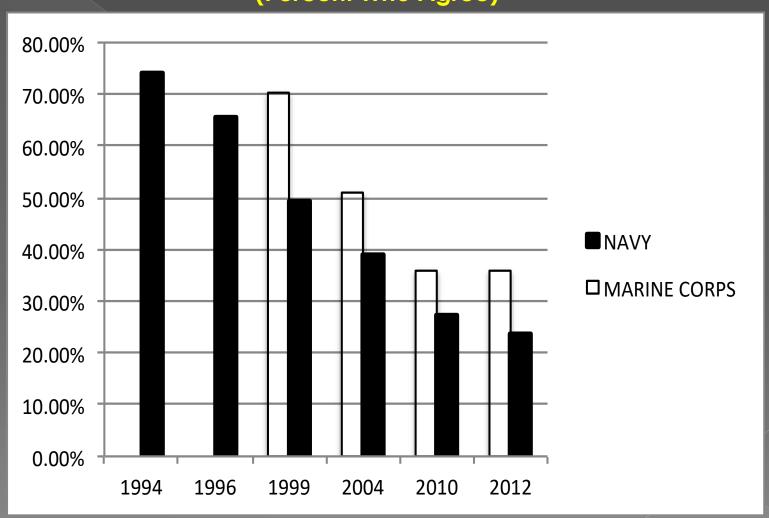
I Would Feel Uncomfortable Sharing My Room with a Homosexual (Percent Who Agree)



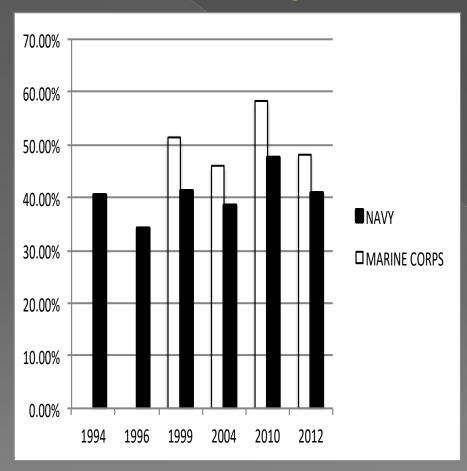
I Would Not Want a Gay Person as a Neighbor (Percent Who Agree)



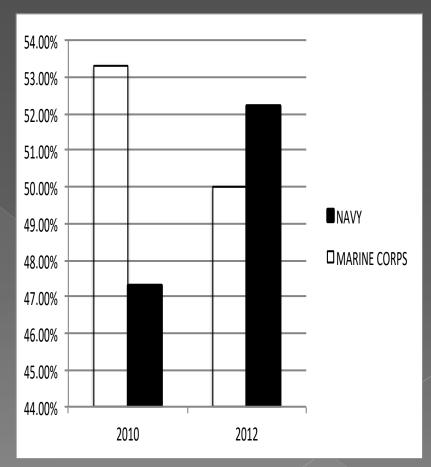
Homosexuals Could Pose a Health Risk to the Navy/Marine Corps (Percent Who Agree)



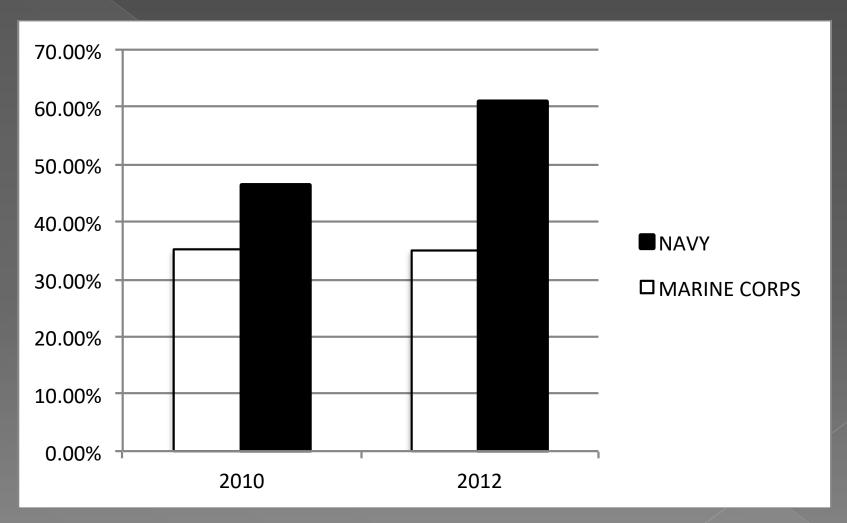
People Are Either Homosexually or Heterosexually Oriented (Percent Who Agree)



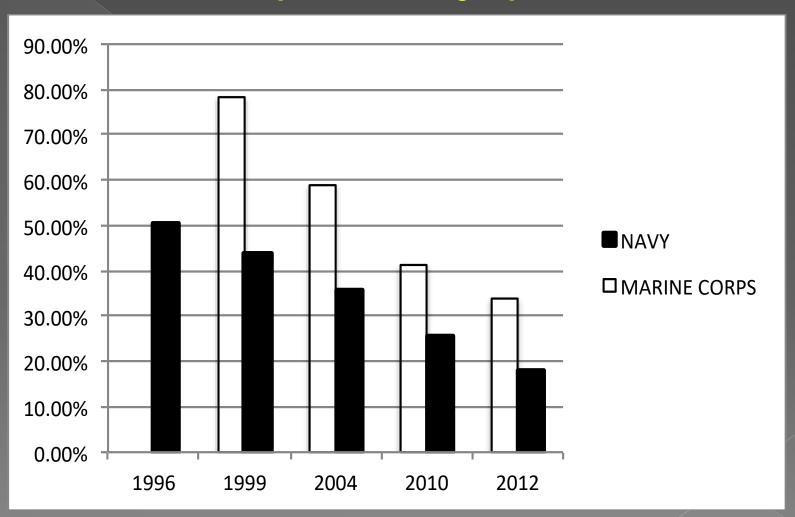
Being Gay or Lesbian is Likely a Genetic or Biological Trait (Percent Who Agree)



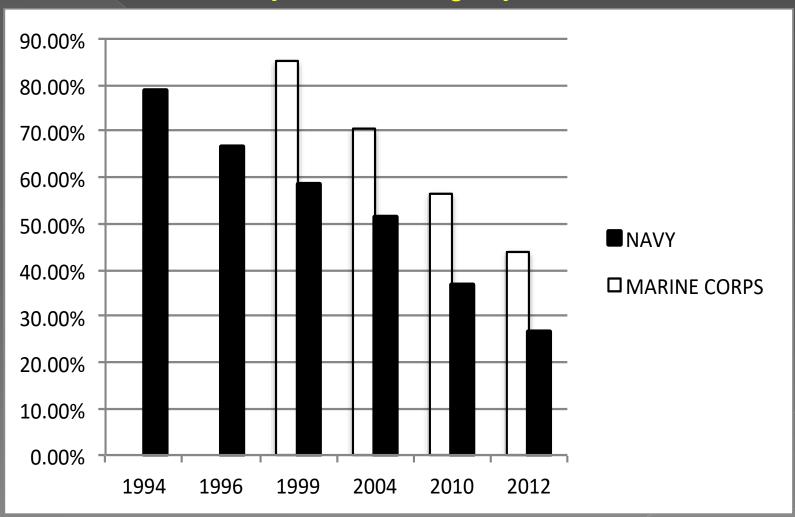
Allowing Gays and Lesbians to Serve Openly in the Military Increases the Overall Effectiveness of the Armed Forces (Percent Who Agree)



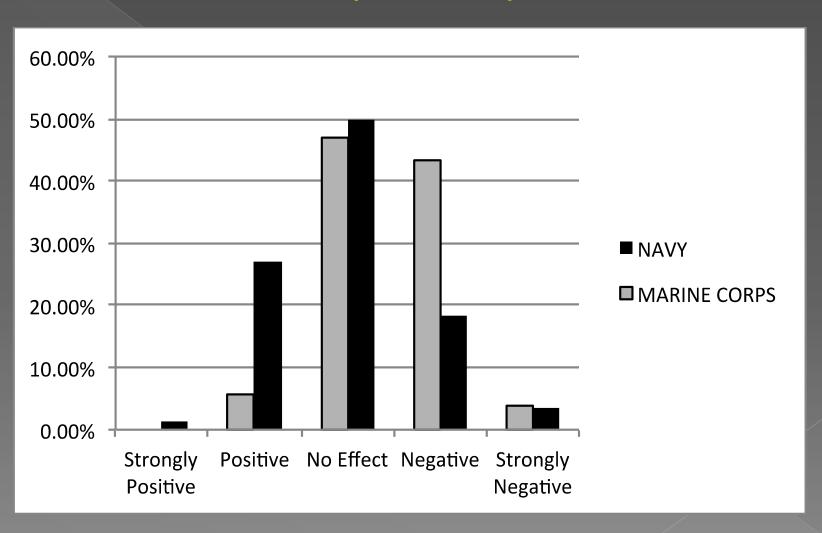
The Presence in My Unit of a Homosexual Would Interfere with Mission Accomplishment (Percent Who Agree)



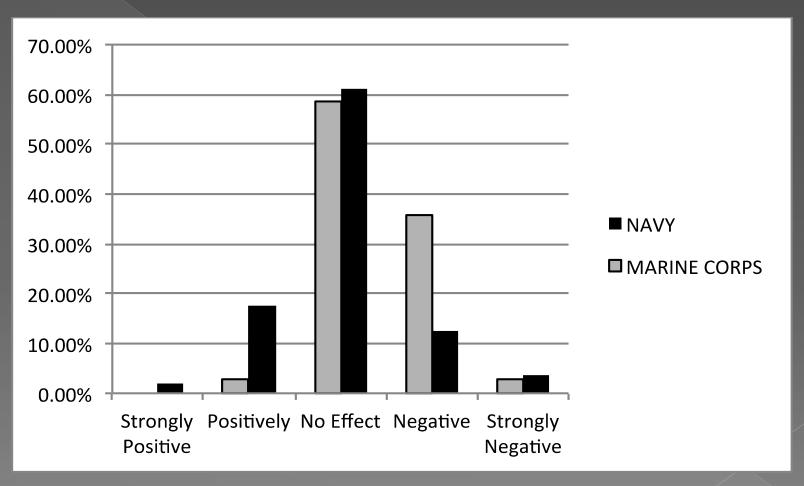
Allowing Homosexual Personnel within the Navy can Cause the Downfall of Good Order and Discipline (Percent Who Agree)



How Has the Repeal of DADT Affected Morale in the Navy/Marine Corps?



How Has the Repeal of DADT Affected Unit Cohesion in the Navy/Marine Corps?



What Do YOU Think?

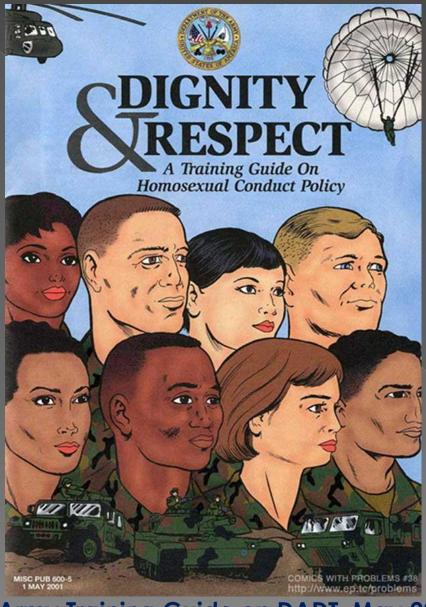
What conclusions do you draw from the results?

Selected Conclusions

- Navy/MC officers at NPS currently share many of same views as in society
 - Trends are similar, toward increasing acceptance of gays generally
 - Views among Navy/MC officers and especially among Marines – seem less positive in having gays serve openly in military
 - Movement toward accepting gays in military is clear and strong over past 17 years; much more in recent years
- Why the trend toward acceptance?
 - Contact hypothesis (and nature/location/proximity)
 - "Catching up" with society
 - Generational effects
 - Other factors (e.g., dealing with inevitable change)

Selected Conclusions (cont.)

- Differences between officers in Navy and Marine Corps
 - Similar directional trends, but slower among Marines
 - > The intensity of views (i.e., strongly agree or strongly disagree) is greater among Navy officers
 - Marines appear less comfortable, personally & operationally, with prospective changes – but professional in adapting
- No major problems or issues apparent here after the repeal of DADT
- Longer-range prospects appear positive, given history of adaptability to change in the US military (and in the militaries of 20+ other nations)



Questions?

US Army Training Guide on DADT, May 2001

Appendix



U.S. Navy Officers' Attitudes on the Repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"

LT Ryan Appleman & LTJG Pete McLaughlin

Advisors: Prof. Mark Eitelberg &

Prof. Frank Barrett



ABSTRACT

"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) prohibited gays from serving openly in the military from December 1993 to September 2011. In February 1994, a survey of Navy officers was administered at the Naval Postgraduate School exploring attitudes toward DADT. This survey was re-administered in 1996, 1999, 2004, and 2010. The surveys revealed an increasing acceptance of gays in the Navy. The present study, conducted post-repeal, utilized the same NPS survey along with focus-group interviews to examine the following: policy, cohesion, leadership, tolerance, unit effectiveness, and military environment. The results show that the trend toward increasing acceptance has continued, as a majority of Navy officers strongly support the service of homosexuals. At the same time, a number of officers claim to feel uncomfortable sharing living quarters with a homosexual. Differences in attitudes were found by rank and years of service. It is recommended that the study be continued and expanded to include a more representative population of Navy officers and enlisted personnel. Further, the post-repeal effects on readiness should be monitored, particularly for fairness and potential harassment. The thesis includes appendices with survey trend data from 1994 to 2012 and response frequencies from a concurrent survey of Marine Corps officers. (March 2013)

https://calhoun.nps.edu/bitstream/handle/10945/32788/13Mar_Appleman_McLaughlin.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y



Research Questions

How have Navy officers' attitudes on gays in the military changed:

- since 1993?
- since the repeal of DADT?

What are Navy officers' impressions regarding the effects of repeal on fleet readiness?



Methodology

- Qualitative study:
 - 59-question survey administered over a twoweek period
 - Four focus-group interview sessions

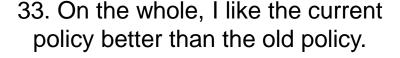
Survey Requests Sent Out	Respondents	Skipped Questions	Total	Response Rate
573	334	24	358	62.5%
				Focus Group
Total	Collected	Requested		Participants
Total Respondents	Collected 358	Requested 573		•
		-		Participants .

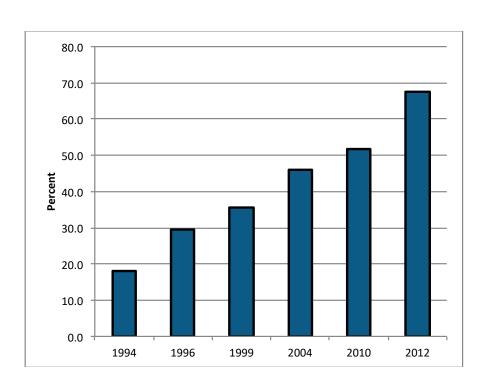


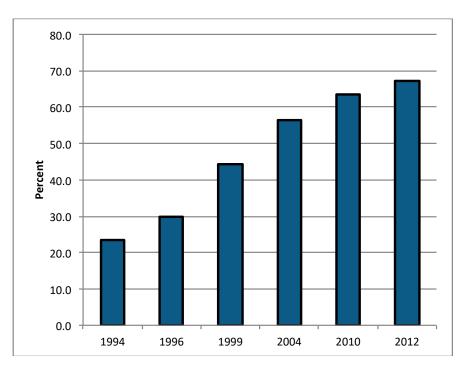
Trend Analysis of Navy Officer Attitudes:

Policy

18. The current policy is good for national defense.





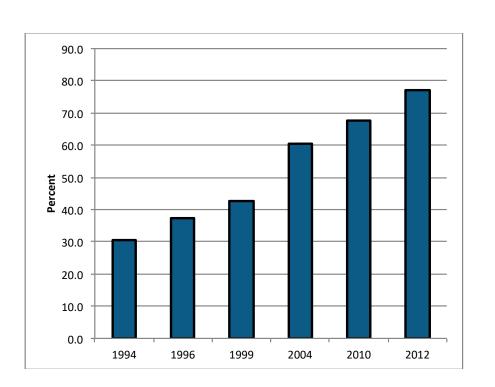




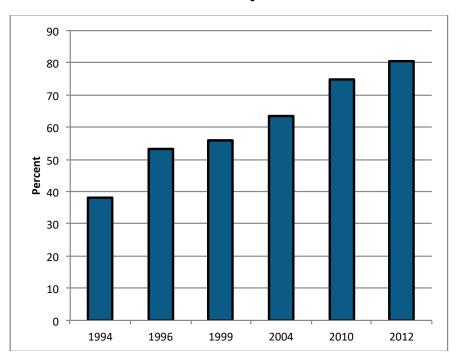
Trend Analysis of Navy Officer Attitudes:

Leadership

7. I would have no difficulty working for a homosexual Commanding Officer.



21. A division officer's sexual preference has no effect on the officer's ability to lead.

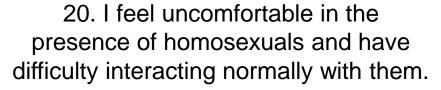


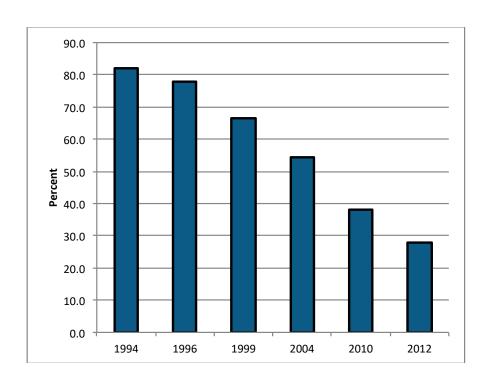


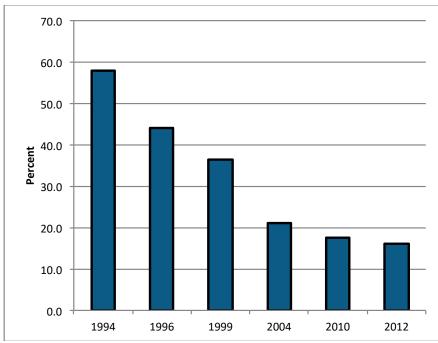
Trend Analysis of Navy Officer Attitudes:

Comfort and Habitability

3. I would prefer not to have homosexuals in my command.

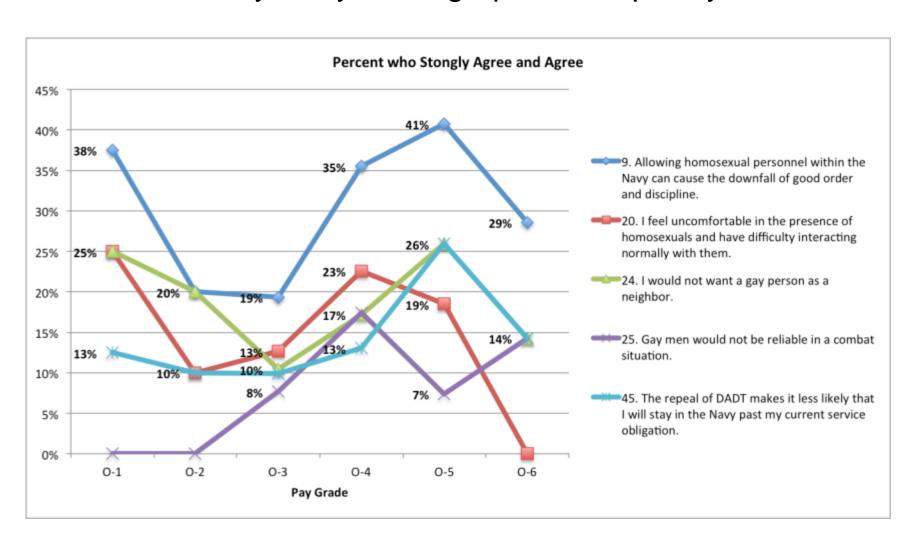








Trend Analysis by Demographic Group: Pay Grade



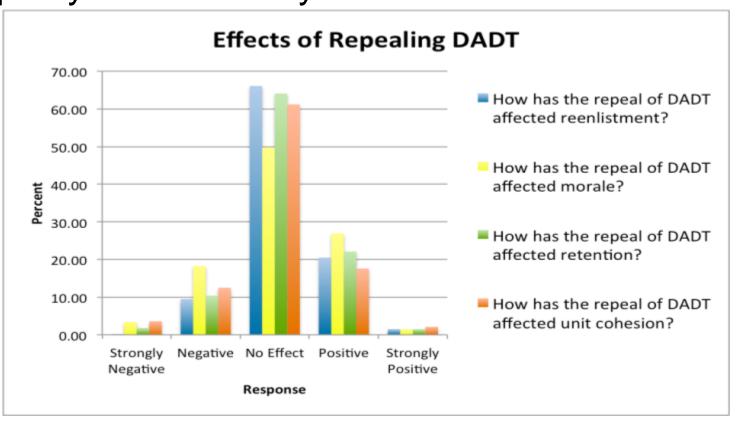


- Major Themes from Focus Groups
 - No adverse effect of repeal on unit cohesion
 - No adverse effect of repeal on morale
 - No adverse effect of repeal on readiness
 - Leadership and professionalism matter
 - Life goes on; mission prevails
 - "Don't ask, Don't Tell, Don't Care"



Data Analysis: Conclusions

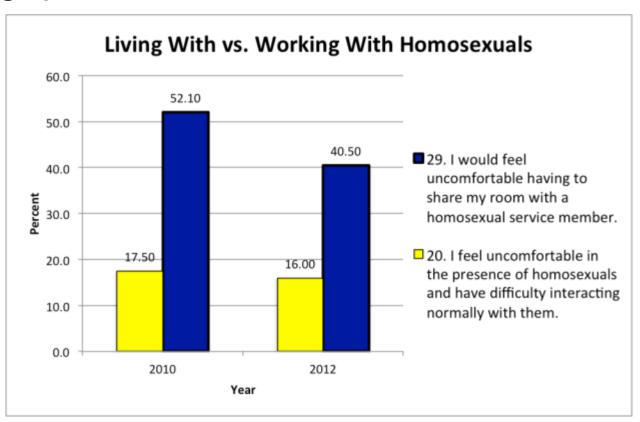
 Views have shifted dramatically since 1994 from strongly negative to strongly positive toward repeal of DADT and homosexuals serving openly in the military





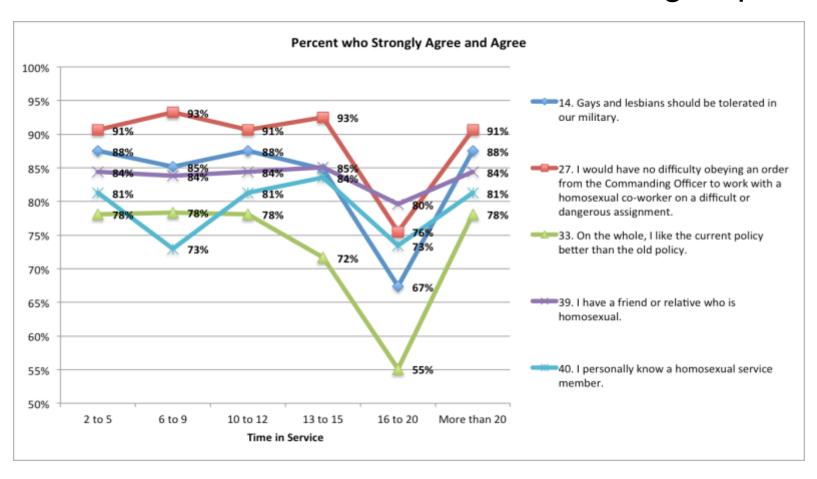
Data Analysis: Conclusions

 A vast majority of Navy officers say they have no difficulty serving with homosexuals, even though a number claim to feel uncomfortable sharing living quarters with a homosexual



Data Analysis: Conclusions

 Higher-ranking officers and officers with 16-20 YOS are less tolerant than other YOS groups





MARINE CORPS OFFICER ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REPEAL OF "DON'T ASK, DON'T TELL"

CAPT Grant W. Callahan & LCDR James D. Paffenroth

Advisors: Prof. Mark Eitelberg &

Prof. Frank Barrett



ABSTRACT

"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) prohibited gays from serving openly in the military from December 1993 to September 2011. The present study, conducted over one year after DADT's repeal, utilized a survey of attitudes toward DADT that was previously administered to Marine Corps officers at the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) in 1999, 2004, and 2010. This survey, re-administered to NPS Marine officers in November 2012, addressed the following areas: policy, cohesion, leadership, tolerance, unit effectiveness, and military readiness. A comparison of results from the four surveys shows a clear trend of increasing acceptance toward homosexuals in the military. Levels of acceptance tended to vary by Military Occupational Specialty and length of service. Additionally, many Marine officers continued to express concern about habitability and personal comfort. These and other issues were further explored with Marine officers in three focus-group sessions. Overall, study results indicated strong agreement that the current policy protects the rights of all Marines, regardless of sexual orientation. Finally, Marine officers expressed confidence that the training they received adequately prepared them to execute the repeal of DADT. The thesis includes appendices with survey trend data from 1999 to 2012 and response frequencies from a concurrent survey of Navy officers. (Published March 2013)

https://calhoun.nps.edu/bitstream/handle/10945/32802/13Mar_Callahan_Paffenroth.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y