

Winter 1-6-2012

# Gender and Leadership: Female ROTC Cadets' Perceptions of Gender and Military Leadership

Darbra J. Mahoney  
*Georgia State University*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/eps\\_diss](https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/eps_diss)



Part of the [Education Commons](#), and the [Education Policy Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Mahoney, Darbra J., "Gender and Leadership: Female ROTC Cadets' Perceptions of Gender and Military Leadership." Dissertation, Georgia State University, 2012.  
[https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/eps\\_diss/90](https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/eps_diss/90)

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of Educational Policy Studies at ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Educational Policy Studies Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@gsu.edu](mailto:scholarworks@gsu.edu).

## ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, GENDER AND LEADERSHIP: FEMALE ROTC CADETS' PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP, by DARBRA JEAN MAHONEY, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the College of Education, Georgia State University.

The Dissertation Advisory Committee and the student's Department Chair, as representatives of the faculty, certify that this dissertation has met all standards of excellence and scholarship as determined by the faculty. The Dean of the College of Education concurs.

---

Richard Lakes, Ph.D.  
Co-Committee Chair

---

Patricia Carter, Ph.D.  
Co-Committee Chair

---

Jami Berry, Ph.D.  
Committee Member

---

Robert Michael, Ph.D.  
Committee Member

---

Date

---

Sheryl A. Gowen, Ph.D.  
Chair, Department of Educational Policy Studies

---

R.W. Kamphaus, Ph.D.  
Dean and Distinguished Research Professor  
College of Education

## AUTHOR'S STATEMENT

By presenting this dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the advanced degree from Georgia State University, I agree that the library of Georgia State University shall make it available for inspection and circulation in accordance with its regulations governing materials of this type. I agree that permission to quote, to copy from, or to publish this dissertation may be granted by the professor under whose direction it was written, by the College of Education's director of graduate studies and research, or by me. Such quoting, copying, or publishing must be solely for scholarly purposes and will not involve potential financial gain. It is understood that any copying from or publication of this dissertation which involves potential financial gain will not be allowed without my written permission.

---

Darbra Jean Mahoney

## NOTICE TO BORROWERS

All dissertations deposited in the Georgia State University library must be used in accordance with the stipulations prescribed by the author in the preceding statement. The author of this dissertation is:

Darbra Jean Mahoney  
965 Copper Mines Road  
Murrayville, GA 30564

The director of this dissertation is:

Dr. Richard Lakes and Dr. Patricia Carter  
Department of Educational Policy Studies  
College of Education  
Georgia State University  
Atlanta, GA 30303-3083

VITA

Darbra Jean Mahoney

ADDRESS: 965 Copper Mines Road  
Murrayville, GA 30564

EDUCATION :

Ph.D. 2011 Georgia State University  
Educational Policy Studies  
M.Ed. 2005 North Georgia College & State University  
Interrelated Special Education  
B.Ed. 2000 University of Alaska, Anchorage  
Elementary Education

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

2004-Present Interrelated Special Education Teacher  
Forsyth Central High School, Cumming, GA  
2003-2004 Interrelated Special Education Teacher  
Hidden Lake Academy, Dahlonega, GA

## ABSTRACT

### GENDER AND LEADERSHIP: FEMALE ROTC CADETS' PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP

by  
Darbra Jean Mahoney

Gender continues to be an impediment for women in military leadership positions, particularly in Reserve Officers' Training Corp (ROTC) training programs in higher education. This study examines the social construction of gender by female cadets in a predominately male military environment. According to Herbert (1998), female soldiers strike a balance between being feminine enough to be considered a woman yet masculine enough to be considered a military leader—sustaining a view that finds these women are viewed as less than competent officers. Achieving equilibrium between femininity and masculinity is a common thread in much of the literature on female military leadership. This dissertation is informed by gender schema theory, role congruity theory, and social comparison theory. The research is narrative in design and uses a structured questionnaire for two to three one-hour interviews with six junior and/or senior female cadets matriculated in the ROTC program as well as four one hour focus group interviews and three one hour military staff interviews. The study determined female cadets manage their gender in a predominately male military environment at a Senior Military College by appearing more masculine than feminine when in uniform. Female cadets often felt they worked twice as hard as their male colleagues, yet gender consistently underscored their accomplishments and leadership. Female cadets who

embraced the patriarchy of the military values appeared to be the most successful leaders in this study. The findings will benefit those who study gender and leadership in higher education.

GENDER AND LEADERSHIP: FEMALE ROTC CADETS' PERCEPTIONS OF  
GENDER AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP

by  
Darbra Jean Mahoney

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the  
Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Educational Policy Studies  
in  
the Department of Educational Policy Studies  
in  
the College of Education  
Georgia State University

Atlanta, Georgia  
2011



Copyright by  
Darbra Jean Mahoney  
2011

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am so very grateful to so many people for their support and contributions to my research and writing. I would first like to thank my dissertation committee members, Dr. Richard Lakes, Dr. Patricia Carter, Dr. Jami Berry, and Dr. Robert Michael for their encouragement and expertise. Thank you for expecting my best work and guiding me in the direction to identify the research needed to make this dissertation possible. I would like to especially thank Dr. Patricia Carter for her exceptional knowledge of gender. Your classes were by far my most challenging and most informative. I am forever grateful for the leadership and knowledge you were willing to share with me.

I would like to also thank Colonel Jo B. Rusin, U.S. Army (Retired). You have always been there for me with wise words of encouragement. You have cheered in my corner and given me the sanity I needed when I felt I was moving in too many directions. I appreciate your phone calls, visits, and continuous support of my research. Thank you for your focus and consistent friendship.

I would like to thank my parents, Dennis and Diana Mahoney, and my brother and sister-in-law, Daniel and Denese Mahoney, for understanding when I could not make it to family gatherings. Thank you for the many phone calls and the words of encouragement I needed to continue my academic journey. I love you all dearly.

Finally, I would like to thank my two children, Trevor and Dennis Carrier. Without your support I could not have completed this program. Thank you for understanding when I missed a play or ballgame. You are the two best children any mom could ever hope for. I am so lucky to have you as my sons. I am forever grateful for your support and love. I am so proud of you and love you with everything in me.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
List of Tables .....		v
List of Figures .....		vi
Abbreviations and Acronyms .....		vii
Chapter		
1	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
	The Problem .....	1
	Gender Studies as a Theoretical Framework .....	4
	Need for the Study .....	7
	Purpose of the Study .....	8
	Historical Milestones of ROTC .....	9
	Definitions .....	12
2	<b>REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</b>	
	Female Stereotypes in the Military .....	14
	Through the Lens of Gender .....	25
3	<b>METHODOLOGY</b>	
	Introduction .....	47
	Research Process .....	52
	Description of Setting .....	57
	Selection of Participants .....	57
	Research Questions .....	59
	Negotiating Entry .....	60
	Researcher Role .....	61
	Confidentiality and Ethics .....	61
	Assumptions .....	61
	Limitations of Study .....	62
	Coding of Themes .....	62
4	<b>RESULTS</b>	
	Findings .....	66
	ROTC Structure .....	68

ROTC Orientation.....	69
ROTC Residency .....	70
ROTC Uniforms .....	71
ROTC Clubs .....	72
ROTC Physical Training .....	73
ROTC Academics .....	74
Honor Code .....	75
Documents and Observations .....	75
Corps of Cadet Admissions .....	76
What Cadets Should Expect .....	77
A Typical Day for Cadets .....	80
Female Cadets Introduction .....	85
Research Question One: Themes.....	89
Conflicts with Self.....	90
Balancing Femininity and Masculinity.....	97
Penalties of Gender.....	110
Analysis of Research Question One.....	121
Research Question Two: Themes.....	123
Perceptions of Military Ratings.....	123
Peer Perceptions.....	128
Analysis of Research Questions Two.....	133
5 DISCUSSION	
Introduction.....	140
Gender Barriers.....	141
Findings and Interpretations.....	142
Suggestions for Further Research.....	147
Summary.....	149
References.....	150
Appendixes.....	160

## LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Male PT Standard .....	73
2	Female PT Standard .....	74

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Flow Chart: ROTC Structure .....	69

## ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

ACU	Army Combat Uniform
ASU	Army Service Uniform
ASVAB	Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery
AVF	All-Volunteer Force
CAF	Canadian Air Force
CAS3	Combined Arms and Service Staff School
Col.	Colonel
DoD	Department of Defense
ESN	Excellent, Satisfactory, Needs Improvement
FTX	Field Training Exercise
GPA	Grade Point Average
JROTC	Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps
LDAC	Leader Development and Assessment Course
Lt.	Lieutenant
MLC	Military Leadership Center
MSU	Military State University – pseudonym
NCOR	Non-Commissioned Officer Report
NGCSU	North Georgia College & State University

NDA	National Defense Act
OSI	Office of Special Investigation
PE	Physical Education
Pfc.	Private First Class
PT	Physical Training
Ret.	Retired
ROTC	Reserve Officers' Training Corps
SAL	Scholar, Athlete, Leader
SMC	Senior Military College
Sgt.	Sergeant
USAFA	United States Air Force Academy
USMA	United States Military Academy
USNA	United States Naval Academy
VMI	Virginia Military Institute



## CHAPTER 1

### THE PROBLEM

#### **Introduction and Significance**

Women have been faced with significant barriers to their employment opportunities since they were first permitted rank in the U.S. Military. Although limited mostly to support positions such as clerical, nursing, and food preparation during World War II, women have continued to commit their lives to the U.S. Armed Forces in spite of the many walls built to dissuade them otherwise (Ives, n.d.). As recently as April 25, 2007, Pfc. Monica Brown, Charlie Troop, 4<sup>th</sup> Squadron, 73<sup>rd</sup> Cavalry Regiment, an Army medic stationed in Paktika, Afghanistan, heroically saved the lives of two fellow male soldiers in a burning humvee. For her bravery and selfless actions she earned a silver star, a promotion to specialist, and offered a position as a White House staff employee. To Pfc. Brown's dismay she was also removed from Paktika and reassigned to a noncombat environment (Scott-Tyson, 2008). Although Pfc. Brown has earned exemplary military recognition as a soldier, her status as a female soldier overshadows her accomplishments in the field. Under the combat exclusion laws currently in place, women are forbidden admission to combat units. Publicity of a female soldier in a combat position forced the military officers to remove her from harm's way. In reality, nowhere is completely safe;

it is often safer when danger is apparent. Currently female soldiers, such as Pfc. Brown, are only 'attached' to combat units. Pfc. Brown represents successful women soldiers who are denied equal opportunities of leadership through combat exclusion. As Col. Rusin (2001) notes, "For those who would debate whether or not women should be in combat, it is worth noting that the days of clearly defined front lines are also over. The enemy, not pundits or doubting male soldiers, will decide who will be in combat when the shooting starts" (p. 157-158). Society and the military have relentlessly viewed females as less competent physically and emotionally than their male colleagues despite their efforts to gain equal opportunities in all professions.

There are only two other occasions when women have earned silver stars in the military. The first was during World War II in 1944; 1Lt. Mary Roberts Wilson, 2Lt. Elaine Roe, 2Lt. Virginia Rourke, and 2Lt. Ellen Ainsworth accomplished recognition for evacuating forty-two patients by flashlight from a hospital at Anzio Beach, Italy. Killed during the attack, 2Lt. Ainsworth received her silver star posthumously (Carson, 2005). The second occasion was March 20, 2005, when Sgt. Lee Ann Hester, Kentucky Army National Guard's 617th Military Police Company, in Baghdad, Iraq, valiantly defended her company against an insurgent attack (Soucy, 2007). Sgt. Hester's decision to engage in direct combat action is an indication of the degree to which women are intricately embedded in combat, despite the inability to achieve a distinction between combat and non-combat roles.

One means of diminishing status differentials for military women is to increase their access to leadership roles. Yet, Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), a

traditional training ground for military leaders, has a long history of conforming to paternalistic biases “fulfilling a powerful American belief: that the military must be subservient to civilian interests for it to truly represent and defend the interests of the society it serves” (Neiberg, 2000, p. 13). However, Lt. Gen. Ann E. Dunwoody, the highest ranking female officer in the military, is one recent example of the government and society recognizing female leadership in the military. Although Lt. Gen. Dunwoody could not attend West Point, as did the other male military leaders in her family, she decided to join a female officer orientation course and commissioned shortly after finishing college. On June 23, 2008, Lt. Gen. Dunwoody was “nominated for appointment to the rank of general and assignment as U.S. Army Material Command commanding general” (Edgecomb, 2008). She is the first woman in the history of the military to earn a position as a four star general. She commented at her promotional ceremony, “I’ve heard from moms and dads who see this promotion as a beacon of hope for their own daughters” (Female Army vet receives 4-star rank, 2008).

The U.S. Census Bureau’s *2010 Statistical Abstract: The National Data Book*, reports a total of 2,840,000 active military, Reserve and National Guard, and civilian personnel. Of the 197,900 active duty female soldiers, 163,600 are enlisted female soldiers and 34,300 are female officers. Female soldiers serving in the armed forces account for 14.35% of the military population. According to the U.S. Census Bureau’s *2008 Population Estimates*, there are approximately 307,600,000 people residing in the United State, approximately 151,800,000 men and 155,800,000 women. Obviously women holding less than 15% of all soldiers and only 20% cadets, their numbers are less

than proportionate (“Army ROTC”). Considering federal efforts to gain equal opportunity employment, one must ask why there is a close to equal number of men to women ratio in civilian employment but a significantly lower number of women employed in the armed forces than men. Are more men attracted to a military lifestyle than women? Are women discouraged to pursue careers in the field? Does society view men and women equitably in a protector role?

### **Gender Studies as a Theoretical Framework**

This research uses gender schema theory (Bem, 1981), role congruity theory (Diekmann and Goodfriend, 2006; Ritter and Yoder, 2004; Jorgensen, Patelle, and Slaughter, 1989), and social comparison theory (Collins, 2003; hooks, 2003; Lee 2005) to explore perpetual gender roles in the military. Gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) provides an explanation for how people learn stereotypical ideals of masculine and feminine traits, and how people conform to fit within these roles. Masculine traits for men include a ‘get it done’ attitude and protector role, while feminine traits for women include nurturing and expressive roles. These preconceived notions of gender are taught through social experiences, such as those from the home, school, and church environments. Gender schemas produce a readiness to categorize men and women into roles based solely upon biology. Gender dichotomy is so embedded in our society that we have become blind to its effects. Through socialization children are sex-typed as masculine, feminine, or androgynous and create their place in society according to the schema they associate with most closely. For example, if a student hears or reads the

word female, she will associate the meaning of that word with other previous experiences of femininity. Gender schema theory, therefore, informs my study of female military leadership education to the extent that it asks how female cadets “do” or potentially change gender to be accepted as feminine yet masculine enough to be considered and accepted as a leader.

Role congruity theory explains that social roles hold positive or negative value, dependent upon whether the role is typical to the group to which an individual belongs. Diekmann and Goodfriend (2006) researched college students to determine their perceptions of how female roles might change over time, 1950, 2006, and 2050. Although both male and female college students believed females would take on more masculine roles in the future, they still believed women would retain the primary role of care-takers and nurturers. On the other hand, men were seen as varying only slightly toward the feminine role. Respondents in Ritter and Yoder’s (2004) research also maintained that women would be less likely to emerge as leaders when conflicting leader stereotypes were present. Dominantly-rated women in their study only emerged when the role of the leader was consistent with a stereotypical feminine role, such as a wedding planner. Ritter and Yoder (2004) found that dominantly-rated women were more likely to relinquish leader authority to a submissively-rated male when the stereotypical role was masculine, such as playing a football game. Ritter and Yoder (2004) claimed “women have less potential to emerge as leaders than do men and will be evaluated more harshly than men when women do assume leader roles” (p. 187). Biernat, Crandall, Young, Kobrynowicz, and Halpin (1998), who found negative stereotypes of female soldiers

increased rather than decreased over time, substantiate these studies of female military leadership. Ritter and Yoder (2004) shed light on why female cadets are rated lower on leadership competency than males who possess the same leadership characteristics. They note women are less likely to emerge as a leader when men opt for the position. Further, Jorgensen, Petelle, and Slaughter's (1989) study found that congruity with subordinates' expectations and experiences in the workplace yielded congruity with their supervisor's expectations and vice versa for non-congruity. When the female employees are expected to portray a feminine facade, they complied with the expectations of their employers. Yet if women in the workplace, such as the military, are expected to perform as caring, nurturing women, the only way they will find congruity with themselves and their supervisors is to remain within the role congruity of gender. Judith Butler's (2008) theory of femininity as performance illustrates that women in the military break traditional gender boundaries by achieving success in this historically masculine domain. But, Butler (2008) also argues that "the distinction between sex and gender serves the argument that whatever biological intractability sex appears to have, gender is culturally constructed: hence, gender is neither the causal result of sex nor as seemingly fixed as sex" (p. 8). Role congruity informs my study to the extent women are negatively valued for moving beyond traditional social roles. I also address the question as to what extent women consciously perform gender to fit in when breaking their socially accepted role. As female cadets experience negativity towards their military leadership position, they compared their leadership value to the majority group of white and male.

Finally, the third element of my research framework, social comparison theory, focuses on how minority groups perceive subordinate roles and devalue their contributions to the group based on their minority status. Women in general, and female cadets specifically, fall into the category of a minority group. Stereotypes of women as being emotional, weak, and physically inferior to men (Mitchell, 1998; O'Beirne, 2006) are no less damaging than stereotypes of minorities as lazy, intellectually inferior, and violent (Collins, 2003, hooks, 2003, Lee, 2005). Collins (2003) states that “[o]ne way to dehumanize an individual or a group is to deny the reality of their experiences” (p. 339). These embedded notions in our Western European-dominate culture continue to uphold being white and male as the most significant characteristics that determine authority and success. Social comparison theory informs my study of how female cadets perceive their value or contributions to the military education program. This study found social comparison theory salient in deciphering how female cadets perceived their leadership contributions within a male dominated group.

### **Need for the Study**

There are a disproportionate number of military female cadets to male cadets and likewise female military leaders to male military leaders. Women have struggled to be accepted in the military and more specifically into ROTC military academies. It was not until 1948 that women gained “ professional military status...when President Truman signed the *Women's Armed Services Integration Act* which limited their number to 2 percent of the total military” (Willins, 1996). Prior to this women earned rank only in

limited female roles. In 1967 Public Law 90-130 eliminated the two percent restriction. In 1973 when the All Volunteer Force (AVF) was introduced, women were given the same family benefits as their male colleagues. Over this time, change also became evident in military academies.

The Air Force admitted women to ROTC in 1969, Army and Navy in 1972, and Coast Guard in 1975 (Stanley, 1993). Datnow and Hubbard (2002) maintain that females' inclusion in ROTC parallels females' increased status in society and higher education. Within ROTC, both the curriculum and pedagogy have slowly transformed to acknowledge the rights of females to assume military leadership roles.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to gain a rich, deep understanding of how female cadets experience gender in an ROTC environment and how their experiences influenced their leadership potential. I wanted to gain knowledge of how female cadets changed their gender perceptions and performance to become accepted as leaders in a predominately male military environment. As the military progressively values female leadership so shall society. Survival of the university systems depends greatly on the ever changing needs of society as well. Democratic values of the United States need to be embodied and enacted in every aspect of society but particularly in its goals. Therefore, university systems mimic new challenges as they arise in society and evolve to meet these challenges. With the military as an integral body within ROTC programs in universities, society's views of female leadership are bestowed upon universities and ROTC programs



alike. Society, universities, and ROTC programs are all structures within themselves, but they must work cohesively to ensure the views of the people are positively accepted.

There is a strong reflection of societal values embedded in universities' preparation of military officers. These officers "reflect the values, beliefs, and interests of their society" (Neiberg, 2000, p. 5) as society asserts pressure within universities to expand to become more inclusive of all its members.

### **Historical milestones of ROTC**

Women have always played a part in the U.S. military. As early as the Revolutionary War of 1775-1783, women engaged in direct combat environments (Military nursing, 2007). However, far more women participated in military roles that involved nursing, cooking, and cleaning. Deborah Samson disguised herself as a man to fight on the front lines as a revolutionary soldier; Margaret Corbin fought by her husband's side firing cannons; Jemima Warner died in battle (the earliest recorded incident); and Sybil Ludington rode more than 40 miles in one night to warn that "British troops were burning the nearby town of Danbury in Connecticut" (Nathan, 2004, p. 13).

West Point was officially opened for ROTC training in 1802. Eligibility was limited to elite, white males (Neiberg, 2000). Prior to the War of 1812, the only public college having any type of military training was the University of Georgia. Norwich University in Northfield, VT, formerly known as the American Literacy, Scientific, and Military Academy, opened its doors to ROTC in 1819 (Neiberg, 2000). The American Civil War of 1861-1865 prompted a demand for even more trained military officers.

From this conflict was born the Morrill Act of 1862 which, aside from building colleges, required all male students who attended these land grant colleges to also enroll in the ROTC program (Nieberg, 2000).

The Great World War of 1914-1918 spurred the government to create the National Defense Act (NDA) of 1916, which expanded the military into three components: active duty, organized reserves, and National Guard. Citizen soldiers were in great demand during this time in history. During World War II, 1939-1945, the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 changed promotions to objective, merit based instead of the previous subjective promotion ladder based on personality. This act made promotions more equitable and encouraged soldiers to remain in the military (Neiberg, 2000).

The Universal Military Training and Services Act of 1951 made ROTC more similar across the branches. The General Military Science program in 1953 further encouraged students to learn more of the broad training necessary by establishing a generalizable curriculum across the various branches of the armed services and not necessarily specific criteria related to one branch of the military. This was successful for the ROTC programs because it gave students an option of their choice of armed services branches and a more uniform general military science format. In 1962, ROTC became a voluntary program for students and altered its focus from preparing reserve officers to preparing active duty officers. This was not only more beneficial monetarily for the government because fewer male students were required to attend ROTC, but it also gave students more options of colleges to attend that did not require mandatory ROTC as part

of their curriculum. As governmental needs and societal needs changed, so did that of universities and ROTC (Neiberg, 2000).

The Vietnam War of 1960-1976 also brought tumultuous change within many aspects of American culture and the military. President Truman declared desegregation of the military on July 26, 1948, yet deep-rooted racial biases continued, and little was done to rectify segregation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 mandated racial desegregation within the military and ROTC. Due to the decline in military enlistment, the ROTC Vitalization Act of 1964 was created to entice more students to join the military. Although there was conflict between the universities and military, a dire need of preparing military leaders escalated. It became so great during the Vietnam War that in 1967 Public Law 90-130 was created to reverse the two percent ceiling of the 1948 Women's Armed Services Integration Act and allow women to freely join the armed forces without restriction of numbers (Neiberg, 2000).

January 30, 1968, during Tet, the Vietnamese Lunar Year, Vietnamese soldiers attacked American soldiers and brought insurmountable doubt to the American citizens about winning the war. Almost immediately ROTC enrollment dropped. Anti-war demonstrations were at an all time high, and ROTC programs were targeted. Many draft-age males enrolled in ROTC as a means of deferring military obligations rather than joining active duty. With the internal problems between ROTC and the universities on the increase, the Benson Report (1969) investigated major issues surrounding ROTC and offered general guidelines for improving and saving ROTC on college campuses, such as giving college credit for ROTC courses (Neiberg, p. 131).

A “zero-draft” military environment became effective in 1973, along with the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) which gave military personnel better wages, housing, and overall military quality of life (Neiberg, 2000). Along with the promise of a better lifestyle also came the encouragement to females and minorities to enter ROTC. Although minorities had gained increased access to ROTC since 1969 when ROTC expanded to black colleges, it was not until 1972 that women were permitted to join ROTC.

It was not until 1975 that women were allowed to participate in *all* branches of ROTC. The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina was the last Senior Military College to accept female cadets in 1995 and only after a long legal battle. In 1999, Nancy Mace became the first female Citadel graduate. Some military colleges, such as the Citadel, wanted to keep the long tradition of an exclusively male-only enrollment. For most colleges, the inclusion of women in their ROTC program drew little attention and was welcomed by the universities.

## **Definitions**

For the purposes of clarity, understanding, and consensus, the following definitions will apply when the following terms are used in this research unless otherwise specified.

### ROTC

Reserve Officers Training Corps is a military program of study through a post secondary institution. Generally speaking ROTC encompasses the gamut of every participating college or university system from the Army War College to locally supported junior colleges. ROTC is a series of military preparatory leadership classes and

field exercises to prepare cadets to be successful leaders as officers in a military environment.

### Senior Military College

There are only six Senior Military Colleges in the United States: the Citadel, North Georgia College and State University, Norwich University, Texas A&M, Virginia Military Institute, and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

### Armed Forces

There are five branches of the military: Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard. This research addressed the first four branches, most specifically the Army. The Coast Guard is a member of the homeland security division of the military, and its policies on female leadership inclusion and career opportunities differ from the other four branches of the armed forces.

### Military Leadership

Military leadership will be defined through Field Manual 6-22. The Headquarters Department of the Army (2006) defines leadership as “the process of influencing people by providing purpose, direction, and motivation while operating to accomplish the mission and improving the organization” (1-6). All references to leadership are based on the Army’s leadership definition.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### **Female Stereotypes in the Military**

In general the research literature related to gender and the military finds that women are viewed as less frequent and competent leaders. This is not surprising since our culture emphasizes male and female role differentiation from birth. Girls are dressed in pink with bows in their hair and given dolls to play with, while boys are dressed in miniature blue sports uniforms and given a truck or sports ball. The notions of male and female roles are so deeply embedded in western culture that even the scientific community debates nature versus nurture. A child is defined as a female at birth due to her sexual organs, but her gender identity is formed through her life experiences. This literature review explores how gender defines and limits experiences of female cadets currently enrolled in a military college and the implications of their future military roles.

Irish (2007) considers possible factors that contributed to gender integration in the U.S. military academies. In 1973, North Georgia College & State University (NGCSU) was the first Senior Military College (SMC) to admit women into the corps of cadets. Norwich admitted women in 1974. Both NGCSU and Norwich became co-ed campuses which made the transition smooth, unlike West Point in 1976 and Virginia Military Institute (VMI) in 1997. Irish's (2007) study focuses on the integration and success of

Norwich, West Point, and VMI “through an examination of enrollment, physical training, academics, military training, and the social and sexual culture” (p. 20). Arguments against integration of the military academies concluded “that the presence of women would despoil the warrior atmosphere at the academies; and secondly, that the purpose of the federal academies was to train officers for combat roles, making the integration of women entirely unnecessary” (p. 21). Neither argument prevailed in court, since in 1975 President Gerald Ford signed P.L. 94-106, which permitted women to join the service academies. But VMI continued to claim that women could not endure their “adversative method” of training, “which involved harsh verbal and physical discipline, causing proponents of single-sex education to claim that, while this system may work for men, it was inherently unsuitable for the way that women learn” (Irish, 2007, p. 22). However, VMI, after fierce legal battles, was the last military college to admit women. The *United States v. Virginia* (1996) concluded “[e]xcluding women from state-supported schools contravened the Fourteenth Amendment” (“Women’s history: United”).

The establishment of differing physical standards for males and females at West Point resulted in sexual harassment of female cadets, such as misogynist cadences of sexual prowess, heckling, and jeering. Irish (2007) claims the administration’s constant pressure on cadets at VMI and Norwich is the reason Norwich and VMI did not appear to have as many problems with the physical fitness tests, but they too are the only ones who did not change the standards of the tests, unlike West Point. VMI and Norwich held male and female cadets to the same standards (p. 35). Female cadets at West Point were not only harassed by other male cadets, but also by the college staff. Sexual harassment at

VMI was also much less than that of West Point due to efforts by the administration. VMI prepared not only the student body of the upcoming female cadets, but also the faculty by “[o]fficial training sessions dealing with fraternization, sexual harassment and the new polices” (p. 31). Norwich avoided the media’s attention “[d]ue in part to its status as a private university and its rural location in central Vermont” (p. 42), while VMI and West Point claimed the media caused more distance between the male and female cadets. Irish (2007) notes “Norwich seemed to find the right combination of circumstances and actions that assimilated women into the corps of cadets and made it the most successful example of gender integration on a military campus” (p. 43). Stereotypes of women caused integration delays and problems at West Point and VMI that Norwich did not fully experience.

Biernat, Crandall, Young, Kobryniewicz, and Halpin (1998) use the “shifting standards model” to determine if white male captains’ perceptions of their female and black colleagues, also captains, shift over the course of a nine-week period while attending the Combined Arms and Services Staff School (CAS3). The shifting standards model suggests that white men will judge as less capable those who are not like themselves, white and male. Biernat et al. (1998) hypothesized that stereotyping should decrease as white male participants are exposed to female and minority members. Using social comparison theory, participants are expected to compare themselves to others in their group “based on social category memberships such as sex” (p. 303). The shifting standards model and social comparison theory are used to show that white male captains’ stereotypes of women and minorities increased over time, while social comparison theory



indicates that women and minorities will internalize their leadership competencies as less successful than their white male colleagues. For example, a lone female soldier in a group of men was more likely to rate her leadership competencies lower than men's, while female soldiers in groups of two or more did not. However, in both groups white male captains rated the leadership competencies of other white male captains higher than that of female or minority members. Thus, the shifting standards theory that exposure to working with female and minority colleagues over time would shift toward more equitable evaluations was not born out in the Beirnet et al. (1998) study. Surprisingly, negative stereotypes about female and minority competencies increased over time. Women were specifically judged by white male captains as less capable than other male captains regarding technical competencies. When male captains ranked their colleagues, "pro-male judgment bias was more evident in rankings than in ratings, particularly for White targets" (p. 301). The authors summarize: "[o]fficers appeared to duplicate Army policy by applying different standards to women and men, yet evaluating Whites and non-Whites relative to a single criterion" (p. 313) of being white and male.

Negatively evaluated stereotype leadership traits addressed in Biernat et al. (1998) are also visible in Boldry, Wood, and Kashy (2001). Their research at Texas A&M asked male and female cadets to evaluate written descriptions of two cadets. The descriptions were exactly the same except one had a male name and the other a female name. The research found male cadets evaluated the description of the female cadet as less motivated and possessing fewer leadership qualities, but of higher character than male cadets. Although female cadets are rated higher in character than typical males, they are

consistently evaluated as “less leader-like, less motivated, less masculine, and more feminine than they judged themselves” (p. 702).

Boyce and Herd’s (2003) research at the United States Air Force Academy suggests the military culture is so identified as masculine that cadets are unwilling to accept the possibility of female leadership traits. Both males and females view masculine leadership traits as the most successful. Although women are able to accept the diversity of female leadership traits, men tend to view feminine traits as less successful and unacceptable. Furthermore, these male views became more pronounced over the time they remained in the service academies.

Larwood, Glasser, and McDonald’s (1980) study predicted men entering into ROTC would evaluate women as less capable to enter combat-related specialties, while ROTC “men who had had more experience in working with women would be more accepting of them” (p. 383). The authors used a “Training Attitude Survey” and “Sex-Role Attitudes in the Army” questionnaire for Study 1. Participants were asked to rate questions such as “[d]o you think the women (in this company or others in this camp) are as capable as the men? (Scale: 1-4, definitely to probably)” and “[w]ould you trust a woman in a command position over you to the same extent that you would trust a man? (Scale: 1-4, definitely to probably not)” (p. 385). Their research of the first study concluded: (1) that male cadets are less likely to feel confident regarding women in leadership positions, (2) women are more accepting of female leadership, (3) men in gender-integrated companies are only slightly more confident of women in leadership potentials, (4) that the longer male cadets are exposed to female cadets, the more negative

their attitudes become towards women cadets, (5) the longer female cadets remained at this camp the less confident they felt, and (6) male cadets with female siblings are more accepting of female leaders than males without female siblings.

In their second study (1980) all cadets were in their fourth and final year of mixed-sex ROTC training. Male and female cadets were questioned concerning “family background, ROTC experience, and attitudes toward women in the leader/subordinate roles relative to the respondent” (p. 387). Participants were asked to respond to questions such as “[d]o you think women cadets will make as effective leaders as male cadets? (Scale: 1-5, definitely to definitely not)” and “[h]ow do you feel about having a female as your superior? (Scale 1-5, very positive or very negative)” (p. 387). The second study concluded: (1) women are more confident than men in female leadership, (2) the longer the exposure to female cadet leadership does not improve male ROTC confidence in female leaders, and (3) men are much more negative towards women in leadership roles than in subordinate roles. Larwood, Glasser, and McDonald (1980) see implications of such negative male attitudes in cohesion and effectiveness in mixed-sex units. The authors conclude that a possible solution would be “to open the two tiers of work classification to both sexes: those who are physically able could then enter the specialties requiring their abilities irrespective of sex, while those who are less capable would be restricted accordingly” (p. 390). By saying this, the authors mean that both men and women who fall below a certain threshold of performance for their respective gender would be limited to certain roles within the military.

Female roles in the military are slowly expanding to include high ranking officers, support to combat units, and Navy ships and submarine duty. Zeigler and Gunderson's (2005) "study examines the reasons for the changes [in the military] that are already underway, considers the merits of more rapid integration, and identifies the inevitable cultural struggle that emerges when the traditional values meet postmodern innovations" (p. 2). Zeigler and Gunderson (2005) reference Moskos, a military sociologist, who suggests the military is moving from a modern military of masculine, war oriented soldiers to a postmodern military smaller in size and reflective of the wider social demographics of Western society. Their study suggests the military be inclusive with standards of equal opportunity commensurate with that of the civilian workplaces. Zeigler and Gunderson (2005) determined the catalyst for change resides in the corps of cadets. The perception amongst the ROTC cadets the authors surveyed remains "that women cannot handle the physically toughest jobs" (p. 28) that are currently not available to them, such Army roles as:

Artillery Mechanic, Bradley Fighting Vehicle Systems Mechanic, Cannon Crewmember, Cavalry Scout, Combat Engineer, Field Artillery Automated Tactical Data Systems Specialist, Field Artillery Firefinder Radar Operator, Fire Support Specialist, Infantryman, M1 Abrams Tank System Maintainer, M1 Armor Crewman, Multiple Launch Rocket System Crewmember, Special Forces Candidate (United States Army, 2010).

Further, the male cadets surveyed "believe that combat positions, especially ground combat, should be closed to women" (p. 37).

An example of women in combat zones and the crucial role they fulfill presently includes being 'attached' to combat units where they are essential for searching female civilians in the Middle East for explosives. Zeigler and Gunderson's (2005) study of

research the Canadian Air Force (CAF) concluded that women's attrition rate from combat units was six times that of their male colleagues. They cited that women left for six main reasons: misleading recruitment tactics, use of quotas, fraternization (inappropriate relations), harassment, isolation, and training injuries. Zeigler and Gunderson (2005) found that CAF women "were met with hostility and resistance from the moment they entered training," and "were not prepared for the social and psychological burdens of service – the resentment they encountered was a complete surprise" (p. 88). Finally they note:

The military's failure to successfully confront the problem of integrating women into the last bastion of masculine isolation has resulted in significant damage to its credibility. Only by accepting the need for change and implementing measures for a smooth transition to a postmodern institution can the military secure continued public respect and support (p. 163).

Morgan (2004) investigated gender differences in leadership at the Military Academy and the inherent male power structure that prevents women from equal opportunities in leadership positions. Morgan's (2004) goal was "to identify the characteristics of the determined female minority at the United States Military Academy that distinguish them as a group from their male counterparts" (p. 2483). Female cadets at the US Military Academy are well-known for "being the most harassed women on record at any military college campus in America" (Francke, 1997). Although female cadets tend to score better on academic tests and their physical fitness tests are similar to their male colleagues, male cadets continue to express less confidence in their female colleagues leadership abilities. Overall female cadets were rated equitably to their male colleagues in all but five of the twelve categories of the Cadet Performance Report:

“influencing others (subordinate and peer), professional ethics (subordinate), supervising (chain of command), planning and organizing (chain of command), and developing subordinates (subordinates)” (p. 2491). Of the six categories identified as statistically significant, only duty motivation (chain of command) favored female leadership characteristics. See Appendix A Cadet Performance Report for summarized definitions of each category.

Looney, Robinson-Kurpius, and Lucart (2004) assessed how gendered military leadership was evaluated at the United States Naval Academy. In this quantitative study of military evaluators and their perceived gender stereotypes, the authors utilized Bem’s Gender Schema theory which “provides a theoretical framework for understanding the potential impact of gender role attitudes on leadership evaluations” (p. 105). Gender Schema theory is linked to perceptions of male and female traits based on generalizations of men being masculine ‘go getters’ and women being feminine ‘helpers.’ The authors asked the USNA midshipmen to rate an officer for an upcoming promotion on a written Fitness Report and then answer questions and complete the ratings. The only difference on the Fitness Report was the name, either Lt. Arthur Reynolds or Lt. Alice Reynolds. Looney et al.’s (2004) Fitness Report determined that “[a]lthough the only variable manipulated in the fitness report was the sex of the leader, female leaders were automatically ascribed emotional characteristics” (p. 112). Participants were also asked to complete the Attitudes Toward Women Scale and Male Role Norms Scale. Looney et al. (2004) found that males and females who possess traditional stereotypic male traits (firm, committed, conscientious, determined) are viewed equitably. However, those displaying

female characteristics (affectionate, cheerful, compassionate, gentle, soft spoken) are believed to be weak and emotional (p. 112). Although successful women leaders are rated as more emotional than successful male leaders, this rating is acceptable to their male colleagues as long as the women also possess strong male characteristics.

Anderson, Lieven, van Dam, and Born (2006) investigated role congruity theory and expectancy violation theory in relation to a construct-driven investigation of gender differences in a leadership-role assessment center. Role congruity theory suggests men and women are expected to engage in society's gender norm expectations, and deviations from the gender norm activities will lead to lower performance ratings of women.

Contrary to role congruity theory, expectancy violation theory concludes that when gender norm expectations are violated, performance ratings of women will increase.

Anderson et al. (2006) hypothesized according to role congruity theory and expectancy violation theory “[t]here will be significant gender differences favoring male candidates on task-oriented leadership dimensions such as impact and problem solving” and “[t]here will be significant gender differences favoring female candidates on interpersonally oriented leadership dimensions such as communication and interaction” (p. 557).

Anderson et al. (2006) concluded although the “study found significant latent mean differences favoring female applicants on the dimensions of oral communication and interaction,” they “did not find gender differences favoring male candidates on impact and problem solving” (p. 562). Therefore their study (2006) found contrary to their hypothesis that males did not rate higher on impact and problem solving than women.

Drake (2006) examined ambivalence towards women in varying military preparatory environments. This study surveyed officers from the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and cadets from the USAFA, USMA, USNA, ROTC to determine to what extent officers, academies, and ROTC cadets are ambivalent toward women's roles in the military. In order to account for additional biases Drake (2006) deconstructed the research to include race, religion, and political affiliation. She found that although "southerners are over-represented in the military (DoD, 2002)" (p. 50), this did not affect the outcome of the study.

Drake asked participants to respond to the following five questions/statements:

1. Even though women can serve in the military, the military should remain basically masculine, dominated by male values and characteristics.
2. If, under present standards, your commander was female, how would you feel?
3. Overall, are men and women held to the same standard in the military?
4. How do you think the military has done in dealing with the problem of sexual harassment?
5. Consider how the military justice system deals with sexual harassment (letting guilty go free vs. punishing the innocent).

Overall Drake's (2006) research found that male soldiers, across the board, believe that the military is a masculine environment, discriminates against women, and that the "military has gone too far in responding to sexual harassment" (p. 55).

Drake (2006) also discovered a high correlation between historically predominate male cultures in the military, such as Marines and Army, and the coveted male dominant



need to maintain this culture. She expects “it will take longer for occupational integration to have an effect on attitudes in organizations that hold a deep reverence for their own (male) history” (p. 48). This research suggests that the more female soldiers interact/integrate in the military environments, the more accepted women are by other male soldiers. Drake’s (2006) “study found the Army units with greater percentages of women were less likely to have a highly masculine culture” (p. 60). Also pertinent to this research is the fact that women are not permitted to join combat units in the Army and Marines, yet they are in most jobs in the Air Force, including pilots, and the Navy in roles such as on ships and submarines. Drake (2006) suggests that males will hold on to the belief women are not considered “real soldiers” until women have engaged in combat. Further, Drake (2006) suggests ROTC students, who attend state colleges and universities, are less likely to be ambivalent towards other female soldiers than Academy students who attend military colleges because they are integrated with other civilian students.

### **Through the lens of gender**

Enloe (2007) analyzes the impact of gender on the military through a lens of feminist curiosity which “involves exploring, questioning – refusing to take something for granted. One is *not* curious about the things one takes for granted” (p. 1). For instance, why it is considered “natural” for women to accept positions of subservience to men? Why are women’s abilities to argue for equal rights and equal pay stifled? Enloe argues that it is not natural for women to be underpaid and that: “[a]nything that is

described as “natural” thus should be carefully examined under the feminist curiosity microscope, because anything that is labeled “natural” is something you are being encouraged *not* to explain” (p. 21). This would include rationalizations which position national security against women’s unencumbered access to military leadership roles.

The presumption according to Enloe (2007) is that national security demands “rational” thinkers and not “emotional” thinkers. Therefore militarization is depicted as a masculinized job because men are viewed as rational and women as emotional (Enloe, 2007, p. 40). Further, war is considered a male domain. Appearing feminine or soft on military support is a fear politicians especially have when engaging in war. Governments sometime have a masculine stand-off with other agencies – such as the investigation into whether or not Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. Enloe (2007) states “[m]asculinization, as we have seen, often is fueled by key players’ anxieties and fears of *feminization*” (p. 52). She argues that the American presence continued long after it was widely considered an unwinnable war and was stoked by a masculine unwillingness to admit defeat. A similar standoff can be seen in the polarization of American agencies as to whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. Masculinization can only be studied while keeping in context with feminization (p. 52). Protected versus protector – the protector is almost always male. In order to be a protector there must be a protected that is almost always female. Protectors are seen as stronger and smarter; protected are seen as emotional, domestic, and in need of being protected. “The idea that the world is a dangerous place is the seed of many militarizing processes” (p. 161), “which in turn

tends to put the mostly male national security elite in positions of exceptional authority” (p. 162).

Arnot and Mac an Ghail (2006) consider ‘individualization’ and ‘self-culture’ as social movements that bring gender equity change to the current social order. Through individualization and self-culture peoples’ lives are “an art form – something to be created” (p. 2). Arnot and Mac an Ghail (2006) state the “new generation of youth are now *‘becoming individual’* through reflexivity” (p. 2), while “[c]entral to this self-culture are the processes of reflexive individualization in which individuals come to see themselves as centres of their own life world” (p. 2). These social movements are visible in schools as well as the military. The authors note that as female students succeed, boys are considered failures, precipitating an imagined masculine crisis. Social fears of the ‘feminized’ schools run parallel to the military. As women prove themselves as worthy soldiers, some fear that the military is being feminized, with discipline and expectations diluted in order for females to realize their goals (Mitchell, 1998). Yet Solaro (2006) argues that women join the military for the same reasons men do: “a clear-cut matter of citizenship and what an American citizen’s responsibilities are to her polity” (p. 342). Lieutenant Colonel Florence Kerins-Murray attributes her successes in leadership in her later careers to her military experiences in the armed forces in the 1940s. Kerins-Murray chose to enter the Army so she too could serve her country, a motivation she observed in male citizens who had served (Desrosiers, 2008, p. 43).

Citizenship and the military are intertwined in American society. As Harris (2004) sees women soldiers as representing the reversal of traditional women’s status “from

oppressed victim to empowered liberator” (p. 274). The military appears to provide a place where women cannot only relinquish their own oppression but also the oppression of other women. Solaro (2006) agrees, suggesting the military provides women a position from which they can rightfully enforce the liberation of the Iraqi and Afghan women. In fact, she argues it is the civic duty of free women to ensure the freedoms of other women in the world. Ideally, women in the military are real life examples to women in oppressed countries that they too can live and fit in a formerly male dominated environment.

Davies (2004) suggests people intentionally look for where they fit in and place themselves accordingly, while abjecting that which makes them appear different from those with whom they align themselves. Davies refers to abjection as a means by which children exclude from their identities characteristics they do not want associated with themselves. She illustrates this concept through interviews with children which indicate their abjection of feminism. She states, “[t]hat which we abject is that which becomes unimaginable for ourselves, that which is removed to outside borders of the subject’s identity” (p. 75). Abjection of unwanted characteristics is also seen in the military academies and colleges. Both male and female cadets align themselves with the military patriarchy and abject all things feminine as weak and unworthy of military inclusion. Mitchell (1998) claims the Air Force Academy cadets resist “[t]he sharing of experiences by men and women in order to mold androgynous warriors [which] would necessarily have made the women more masculine and men more feminine, had not the men resisted this imposition on their inner self” (p. 44). Although not all men feel the unnatural need to profess their masculinity, Mitchell (1998) strongly believes women are not welcome in

the military and should not participate in any way whatsoever. Mitchell (1998) opposes gender transgression in the military, suggesting that it weakens the morale of the male soldiers and strains readiness of the military in times of need.

Davies (2004) sees “acts of transgression” as disruptions in the gender norms (p. 72). According to Davies (2004), children will “recreate the binary and hierarchical gender order once it has been breached” (p. 72). Children align their identity within the gender boundaries and will correct or make fun of other children to ensure that the gender boundaries are not crossed. The same kind of border maintenance occurs in the military but with much higher stakes ranging from diminishing self-confidence to loss of professional status and opportunity as well as sexual harassment and physical abuse.

Some military women are simply rendered invisible. One example is Captain Linda Bray who valiantly served in Panama during the Operation Just Cause. On December 20, 1989, Captain Bray and other female soldiers were caught in the midst of combat fire exchange, as were women who were in aircraft combat during the invasion (Francke, 1997). Since women are not allowed to officially engage in ground combat, it is said they are not in combat, when in fact they are. News reporters in Panama following this story were not allowed to leave their hotel while waiting to interview soldiers in Panama. At first reporters were not allowed to speak to anyone about what happened. Female soldiers were even said to be “off bounds” for interviews. One journalist “accidentally” found out about Captain Bray’s ordeal and was told it was okay to talk with her. He reported that Captain Bray, as well as other male and female soldiers, engaged in direct ground combat fire with the Panamanian militia while securing a dog

kennel where illegal military weapons were stored. At first the Pentagon allowed Captain Bray to tell her story, even encouraged it, but when the Pentagon was informed that she was engaged in combat, they discredited her. They made Captain Bray's military life so unbearable that she eventually opted out of the military. Although the men in Panama received the Combat Infantryman Badge, not one of the female soldiers did. While the larger society did not appear to have problems with women, such as Captain Bray and her female soldiers, in combat, "the military culture would not accept women as warriors in life or in death" (Francke, 1997, p. 72).

Bourdieu (2001) clarifies that the awareness of women's contributions to society have been suppressed historically by a patriarchy that is reproduced through family, church, state, and the educational system. Within families children are taught gender roles at the earliest of their formative years. Church and state, despite claims of separation, work in tandem to encourage patriarchal hierarchies of male dominance and female submission. Educational systems model gender differences in hard and soft disciplines, faculty, and athletics. According to Bourdieu (2001) women are considered on the 'left hand' as caring, social, and nurturing, while men are on the 'right hand' as protectors and providers. These roles are reconstituted outside the family in the workplace where women are often restricted to middle management positions at best. In the military, Francke (1997) states "[t]he cultural issue was not whether women could perform combat roles, but whether women should" (p. 18-19). Female soldiers are stifled in their careers due to combat exclusion and lack of confidence in their leadership abilities (Larwood, Glasser, & McDonald, 1980).

The 'left hand'/'right hand' analogy described by Bourdieu (2001) is also important to Kenway and Fitzclarence's (1997) research on masculinity and violence in schools. With women as the left hand representing nurturing and caring and men as the right hand as protectors and providers, masculinity and violence are excused as 'just the way boys are.' Boys who fear that others will perceive them as feminine may react violently to perceived attempts to diminish their masculinity. Masculinity must have something to compare itself to; it must have something to be dominating over. Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) state:

It is commonly accepted that masculinities cannot be fully understood without attending to their relationship to femininities within the broader scope of patriarchy. It is therefore important to identify the sorts of femininities which unwittingly underwrite hegemonic masculinity. The literature suggests that this particular version of femininity involves compliance and service, subservience and self-sacrifice and constant accommodating to the needs and desires of males (p. 208).

Mixed messages are sent to young boys about violence, and some media directed to a juvenile audience portrays masculinity and physical domination as heroic. The opposite message is sent to young girls that they are to be submissive and supportive of their men. As Bourdieu (2001) points out in his research, family, church, state, and the education system all work in conjunction to inculcate prescribed gender roles. Historically women have been portrayed as more emotional and less mentally and physically capable than men. Despite evidence to the contrary, men are more likely to be thought of in the provider and protector role. When female students, such as the tomboy example in Reay (2001), transgress to a new masculine gender role, they must abject all things feminine and find favor within the masculine community. Some females are

successful with their transgression between gender roles while others are not. D'Amico and Weinstein (1999) refer to gender as “a costume we put on, or a type of camouflage” (p. 5). Women such as Lieutenant Colonel Peggy Bahnsen at West Point believe women could be feminine and masculine simultaneously. She wore skirts, long hair (pinned up according to Army regulation), and ran three minutes faster than the required two mile allotted time by her age group (Francke, 1997, p. 205).

Still others struggle with their feminine identity in a patriarchal military environment. Weinstein, D'Amico, and Lynn Meola (1999) question, “[s]hould women attempt to be one of the guys? one of the girls? the gender-neutral “soldier”? Or should they directly challenge the military system?” (p. 108). What about the fact that as long as “women are still excluded from most combat-related jobs in the military” this will help to “preserve male authority” (p. 108)? Can military women and men be equals as colleagues and friends? Young people are learning how to reflect upon their lives while at the same time connecting and making friends with others. McLeod (2002) argues that boys feel socially awkward due to the shifting gender roles; the sharing of power and control is never given up easily. McLeod (2002) discovers in her research of gendered patterns of research that girls want ‘pure relationships’ of equality; feminization has made women want emotional equality in their relationships as well. McLeod (2002) also discovers that males and females address friendship problems differently. Males tend to rationalize conflicts with peers and move on, whereas girls tend to become more stymied by discord and do not move on as quickly. Each wants to feel connected to their friends and peers. They want to know they are accepted and improve themselves while maintaining



personal relationships. Female soldiers also desire pure and personal relationships with their peers. Solaro (2006) states “the real reason that fraternization can be such a tough problem to solve is that personal relationships are natural” (p. 315). However, fraternization in the military carries a consequence of an Article 15, a non-judicial punishment. Solaro (2006) claims the policy has less to do with sex and more to do with “preventing nonsexual relationships between soldiers that might threaten professional relationships” (p. 316). Nonetheless, soldiers who would naturally be friends outside of the military arena are banned from such friendships within the military.

Sadler (1999) states “[t]oday, although more than 90 percent of Army and Marine Corps *occupations* are open to women, the major combat *units* of infantry, tanks, artillery, and special forces remain closed” (p. 48). Despite the sense that bearing arms is intricately linked as “central to citizenship in the American political tradition” (Solaro, 2006, p. 347), female police officers carry weapons, ready to engage in fire exchange if necessary. Female soldiers will not be assigned to occupations that may cause them bodily harm. Why are women encouraged to defend our country stateside but not in the military? Why is the military a bastion of hyper-masculinity that is slow to relinquish power to female leaders? Pfluke (1999) argues that it is because women are viewed as weak, emotional, and less physically capable than men, not because they truly possess these characteristics, but because to admit they do not is to admit women are equal.

Harrell, Beckett, Chien, and Sollinger’s (2002) study was conducted through RAND’s National Defense Research Institute (NDRI) (2002) who tried to determine “the degree to which women are represented in the military occupations open to them and to

determine whether there are factors that inappropriately hinder or preclude women's opportunities to work within their military specialties" (p. iii). Specifically, Harrell et al. (2002) assess if women and men are given equal opportunities for career advancements, and if the occupations offered to them are limited even though they are purportedly open to women. For instance, Harrell et al (2002) concluded "[t]he Army Artillery Surveyor occupation currently includes 7 percent women but should cease to accept any more, given the lack of future for them" (p. 128).

Although women have been accused of not wanting to work in dirty or heavy lifting environments, Harrell et al.'s (2002) research concluded "[t]he nature of the work, whether it is conducted in field conditions or involves heavy or dirty work, does not drive the number of women who are attracted to an occupation" (p. 128). Due to the combat exclusion laws, women are not currently permitted to select occupations in combat fields. Harrell et al. (2002) suggests "[i]t does not appear to be in the interest of either the Marine Corps or the individual service member to fill an occupation with more women than can have a viable career, given limited assignment opportunities" (p. 130).

Harrell et al. (2002) discovered women are not given equal opportunities of advancement due to the lack of integration in combat related fields, and "[t]o the degree that the services are "hindering" the progression of integration, this research found barriers or resistance embodied only in accession restrictions or assignment (and sometimes resultant advancement) opportunities" (p. 131). Some women score lower on the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) test overall due to lack of exposure to the content on the test, not lack of intellectual capabilities, and the "GAO

findings suggest that women score less well on certain components of the ASVAB because they lack exposure to certain subjects” (p. 131).

Because women are excluded from combat specialties, they “are unlikely to be evaluated as highly and are thus unlikely to experience the same levels of career success” (Harrell et al., 2002, p. 132). Furthermore, “[i]f women are precluded from filling assignments that are considered to be less attractive or even detrimental to careers, women might find themselves resented by their male peers” (p. 132). Military women identify with the restrictions of career advancement due to limitations of combat related jobs.

In her autobiography titled *Too Bad She's a Girl*, Pfluke (1999) identifies as a young, athletic child who was often better at sports than her brother. All her life she was told “too bad she's a girl” and never encouraged to pursue her transgressive dreams. Nonetheless, Pfluke (1999), became determined to enroll at West Point; “I was accepted and entered the U.S. Military Academy in the first class of women on 7 July 1976” (p. 81). Although Pfluke (1999) suffered from harassing and belittling encounters from the male cadets, she persevered and graduated as an officer. She signed up for every military advancement school she could and was successful at each. Pfluke (1999) wrote to Secretary of the Army, John O. Marsh in December 1979, “requesting an exception to the combat-exclusion policy and expressing [her] desire to choose infantry as a branch. [She] was denied, of course” (p. 82). Unwavering, she worked to be mentally and physically fit for the day when the combat exclusion law would be lifted, and she would be permitted to join the exclusive infantry branch. After fifteen years of service to her country, Pfluke

(1999) realized her dreams “of being an Airborne Ranger and an Infantry battalion commander had slipped away” (p. 83), and she retired. Pfluke (1999) believes the best person for the job, male or female, should be the one who ultimately earns it. She is disappointed that “[t]he army was content to choose less qualified men over more qualified women for its key leadership positions because of politics and deeply entrenched and dated attitudes” (p. 83).

Connell (1997) notes how media reinforces male domination as the norm within our culture. Movies such as “Rambo” and “Die Hard” instantiate hyper-masculinity and violence. Connell (1997) notes that, “violence became a specialty. As mass armies were institutionalized so was the officer corps. This became the repository of much of the gentry code” (p. 106). Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) defined war as “an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will” (2007, p. 75). Violence has evolved since von Clausewitz’s classic *On War*; there is now expertise in technological warfare. Although von Clausewitz’ nine volumes of writings continue to be studied as an authority on ‘war,’ technology has changed the battlefield to a great extent since the early seventeenth century. Less face to face combat is required. Indeed, bombardiers rarely even see the extent of the damage they have incurred. Yet women are still considered to need shelter from the tragedies of war. They are yet to be accepted to be as capable as men.

Hoyt, Opstad, Haugen, DeLany, Cymerman, and Friedl (2006) researched sixteen cadets, ten men and six women aged twenty-one to twenty seven years old, in the Norwegian Military Academy during a rigorous seven day ranger field exercise (FTX).

Their research focused on the “quantified total energy expenditure (TEE), food intake, and changes in body composition in male and female cadets” (p. 1068). Both male and female cadets endured the same exercises, food intake, water intake, and sleeping hours during the seven day field exercise. Hoyt et al. (2006) concluded after the seven day ranger exercise “the female cadets maintained a more fat-predominate fuel metabolism and achieved an absolute rate of fat oxidation similar to that of the physically larger male cadets” (p. 1073). Although opponents to women being fully integrated in the military claim women cannot physically do the same work as men, Hoyt et al. (2006), with the support from the U.S. Army Research Institute of Environmental Medicine, the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment, and the Pennington Biomedical Research Center, depict a completely different picture of the physical capabilities of female cadets in a challenging and rigorous seven day ranger field exercise.

Solaro (2006) believes women are just as strong as men, but they need different training to fully reach their physical potential. Women are required to weigh much less than men of the same height, and “[a]ny discussion of female physical abilities, then, must start with the unrealistically low weight expectations female soldiers are expected to meet” (p. 246). Solaro (2006) attributes to Title IX the realization that physically fit, athletic women’s bodies are due to specific athletic training.

Boys and girls in Paechter’s (2003) study are found to “perform gender in secondary school PE” (p. 195). Paetcher (2003) believes the large, and sometimes unsupervised areas of PE, are where boys and girls reify heterosexual masculinities and femininities. Male students in this study are found to be exerting “acts of violence and

aggression aimed at establishing and consolidating the dominance of hyper-masculine young men” (p. 195). The young girls who are athletic have to be more feminine outside of their PE classes to make certain others did not classify them as lesbian. Military women have many of the same experiences as Paechter’s (2003) research subjects. Wilson (1999) recalls women being accused of lesbianism in 1949 when she joined the Air Force. Just the accusation was devastating to some women. She recalls one morning at roll call a female soldier would be there and then the next day she was gone. When asked their whereabouts, they were told “they couldn’t cut it or they were considered lesbians” (p. 56). On another occasion Wilson (1999) herself was interrogated by the Office of Special Investigation (OSI) officers about being a lesbian and whether she knew of others in her squad. They had read her mail, from her sister, and saw it was signed “love.” Because Wilson and her sister, who was married, had different last names, the OSI assumed this signaled a sexual liaison. Although Wilson was able to explain the misunderstanding, she observes that “many fine young women were discharged from the service as a result of the witch-hunt” (p. 58).

Referenced in Solaro’s (2006) book is the 1997 report by the U.S. Army Research Institute of Environmental Medicine (USARIEM), *Effects of a Specifically Designed Physical Conditioning Program on the Load Carriage and Lifting Performance of Female Soldiers*. This study is composed of forty-five civilian women and one female soldier. The research participants worked out an hour and a half a day for five days a week. Thirty-two of the original forty-six women completed the 180 hour training. Their average height was 64.61 inches and average weight 152.9 pounds. They lost an average

of 6.16 pounds of body fat and gained an average of 1.98 pounds of muscle. The end results for the participants were stronger, leaner, more confident women who felt physically more attractive. Only 24% of the women could lift 100 pounds 52 inches from the starting point, but by the end of the training 78% of the women could lift 100 pounds 52 inches from the starting point. They could also carry a 75 pound backpack for two miles at an average speed of 4.4 mph; Army standard is 2.5 mph. All exercises the female participants engaged in brought fruitful increases in their physical abilities: “[t]heir ability to tow a 110-pound trailer, to complete jumping exercises, and to do squats with a hundred-pound barbell all increased; they almost quadrupled the number of squats they could do” (p. 268). This study suggests that if female soldiers were not held to an unrealistically low weight and were allowed to train proactively, they would be more capable to perform the jobs requiring heavy lifting in jobs that they are now barred from entering.

Women who are trained to perform their jobs to standards will be more widely accepted by their male peers. Reay (2001) found that seven year old girls in her research project divided themselves into four groups: spice girls, nice girls, girlies, and tomboys. With the exception of the tomboy group, all of the girls were harassed by the boys in order to keep them in their respective category. The main tomboy was not harassed by the boys or girls; and indeed was considered a boy by most of the students. She acted like the boys, played games with the boys, and was generally accepted as ‘one of the guys’ in her classroom. She abjected all that was feminine and became a member of the male group.

The other three groups of girls did not denounce feminine qualities and were therefore reminded through teasing that they were subordinate to the male classroom population.

Similar to Reay's (2001) research is Kehily and Nayak's (1997) research which depicts how boys use ridicule and cruel harassment to establish and maintain their masculine identity. As in Davies' (2004) research, abjection of all things feminine, through insults, games, and violence, is the course boys use to assert their maleness. The September 1991 Tailhook Convention in Las Vegas, Nevada exemplifies research of abjection and use of harassment as characteristic of hyper-masculinity (Davies, 2001; Kehily & Nayak, 1997; Reay, 2001). The Tailhook Convention occurred every year as a celebration of Navy and Marine aviators. The purpose was to bring junior pilots and senior pilots together in a celebration of their accomplishments. This was originally intended as a learning experience for the junior officers by the senior officers, but as the years passed by the Conventions became skewed toward excessive drinking, strippers, sexual harassment, and other behaviors unbecoming to an officer. Contests were held to see who could throw the wildest parties, and the intensity grew each year. Before women were granted the privilege of combat flight status on May 8, 1991 (Francke, 1997), the Tailhook Symposium was a celebration for and by men. Although female soldiers had attended this event, they had never attended as equal combat aviators. Unhappy with this change in status, male aviators wore shirts that read "Women Are Property" (Franke, 1997, p. 160) and forced women to run through a gauntlet. When a woman exited an elevator, the male aviators would stand at attention in two lines forcing women to walk between them. Once a woman was in the middle of the men, they would crowd around,



stripping her of her clothes, and even sexually assaulting her. Lieutenant Paula Coughlin, Rear Admiral Jack Snyder's aide, was attacked and fought back. Although Lt. Coughlin made a complaint to Rear Admiral Snyder, he chose to do nothing about the attack. Lt. Coughlin decided to appear on the investigation television news show, *60 Minutes* and brought an end to the criminal activity against women. But after several years of trials, "[n]o one went to jail – not even one of the instigators of the gauntlet" (Solaro, 2006, p. 175).

And yet, Webber (1993) writes under a pseudonym for fear of repercussions since she is still in the military on active-duty. For Webber (1993), being a lesbian in the military, exposes the difficulties of being part of an institution that refuses to acknowledge her love for another woman as pure and natural. Remaining in the military means she will never be allowed to have a long lasting relationship. As a medical doctor she moves, or her partner moves, every few years, living a life of "serial monogamy." Although Webber (1993) admits she has had to deal with sexual harassment, she states "[t]he servicemen and women in medicine generally tend to be a little more liberal in their opinions and politics. They also tend to be more highly educated-although education alone is not an inoculation against bigotry" (p. 112).

Military women, like other women, desire to attain social mobility through work and school. Lucey, Melody, and Walkerdine (2003) consider the emotional side of working-class young women who attend colleges to attain upward social mobility. They follow two groups of females from ages four to twenty-one to determine the difficult decision-making they face in a society that tells "young women today [they] can 'have it

all.’ [It] is an idea that had its seeds sown in the 1960s but really took root and established itself in the 1980s” (p. 238). They note that working-class females are not always sure how to make the choices that will provide them with social mobility and whether they want to move from one social class to another. While these girls have a strong desire to be independent, they also desire to remain “closely linked to their parents’ struggle” (p. 241).

Working class girls run the chance of losing their identity within in their families as they continue to go to school. Although their parents want them to be more successful than they are, they become isolated by their differences. This elicits emotional distress and “[a]nger directed against the external world, but which remains unspeakable, is turned upon the self, turned inwards with its full and destructive force, to produce self-denigration, feelings of worthlessness, blame and accusation” (Lucey, Melody, & Walkerdine, 2003, p. 248). Working class girls must find their strength from within. Military women also leave their families in hopes of creating a better life. Gee (1999) left the University of California, Berkeley in 1943 to pursue a career as a female aviator during World War II. Although Gee (1999) subjected herself to harassment as the second Chinese-American woman to be accepted and pass aviation school as a WASP in the Army, she also had to leave her mother and siblings. The isolation brought her grief, but it also built her character and changed her attitudes towards gender and race when she returned from the war. Gee (1999) examines her life and others like her through a different lens, a lens of female equality. Upon returning from her military service, Gee (1999) earned a graduate degree in physics from the University of California, Berkeley,

an opportunity which would likely to have eluded her without her military experiences given her working class background.

Working class young women are often expected to be happy for what they have and are not encouraged to pursue power through education as middle class young women are encouraged to do. Race can also be a confounding factor in women's choices of education and career. Tamboukou and Ball's (2002) investigation of young black women in Britain follows their decisions about post-compulsory education. Like the young women in Lucey, Melody, and Walkerdine (2003), these young black women want change but have not been provided the same opportunities by their counselors as young white middle class women. They are unsure about their future and are cautious of leaving familiar surroundings for the unknowns of post secondary schooling. When they do leave their families for college, they feel unable to fit in with the other students. They are concerned about their body image and what others think of them, but eventually become more comfortable and happier when they find other young women like themselves. Young female cadets face the same conundrums when they leave their familiar 'feminine' world for that of the masculine military lifestyle. Shannon Faulkner's experience as the first female cadet at the Citadel proved disastrous from the onset as she is escorted by two marshals onto the military college she had to sue to be accepted into (Solaro, 2006). Faulkner's 1995 ordeal ended after being "[h]arassed and isolated, with no support in the institution" (Campbell, 1999, p. 76). Hers is just one experience of the many shared by female cadets. Gwen Dryer's episode at the Naval Academy in 1989 was every bit as damaging: she was carried out of her room by two midshipmen and

handcuffed to a urinal, taunted with sexual comments, while midshipmen exposed themselves as though they were going to urinate on her. During this horrific and terrifying experience, other male midshipmen snapped pictures (Francke, 1997). Female cadets at West Point during this time were also subjected to sexual harassment, so severe that “female plebes whose roommates were away [were required] to move in temporarily with other female plebes to discourage male cadets from making unwanted night visits” (Francke, 1997, p. 199). Female plebes were under a “‘No Sleep Alone’ policy and the addition of privacy locks to cadet doors” (Francke 1997, p. 199). During the initial six weeks of Cadet Basic Training when one female plebe failed a road march, it was as if all women were unworthy and failing, yet, if one female plebe did outstanding on the road march, she was the exception. Good or bad the female plebes at West Point just could not win favor with the male plebes.

Herbert (1998) emphasizes “how gender and sexuality interact to shape how women manage life in the military” (p. 5) versus what they experience. Herbert (1998) “examines how women in the male-dominated world of the military manage gender and sexuality” (p. 13). She states, “[t]he military is an “institutionalized arena” in which the masculine is preferred over the feminine, and men are preferred over women” (p. 21).

Many believe the role of ‘warrior’ is gendered as male. To deny the ‘warrior’ role to men is to upset the “natural order of things” where women are to bear children and men are to protect the women and children. Women are seen as unsuitable or to have the ability to perform successfully in a male gendered role, such as the military. The attack is

often on “one’s ability to achieve such goals and still be a “good” or “real” woman” (p. 34). This lends itself to “gender appropriateness.”

Women often use clothing as a way of camouflaging or strategizing femininity and consciously manipulate their appearance and behavior to appear feminine. Female soldiers intentionally engage in relationships to maintain the appearance or manipulate the perception of being feminine. Herbert (1998) affirms female soldiers are “dichotomously constructed as whore/Madonna” (p. 90). Some soldiers choose to be “one of the guys” as a strategy to be accepted in the military. Women in Herbert’s (1998) study used four main strategies to be accepted as masculine: “swearing, drinking, working out, and doing other “guy stuff”” (p. 94). Junior personnel were more likely to engage in strategies to appear more masculine or more feminine than were senior personnel. Women choose strategies to manage gender in relation to how they saw themselves – either as more feminine or masculine. Herbert (1998) contends there are four possibilities to maintaining gender: femininity, masculinity, balanced, and neuter. The penalties for women being more masculine are greater than the other three gender maintaining strategies. The military “views “male” leadership style as the “right” leadership style, therefore women soldiers are “seeking to be feminine enough to be accepted as women, heterosexual women at that, yet masculine enough to be accepted as soldiers” (p. 107). Herbert (1998) contents “[e]ven in contemporary society, many believe that women’s sexuality is to *be* controlled, while men’s sexuality *exerts* control” (p. 111).

Herbert (1998) declares women are doing gender “by consciously engaging in behaviors intended to manipulate both perception and subsequent interaction” (p. 115). Perceptions of gender are used to make inferences of sexuality. Being perceived as masculine often correlated with being perceived as lesbian. Many women found it “was more important to be perceived as heterosexual than as feminine” (p. 120). Herbert (1998) concludes in her research:

When the majority of women can be labeled “feminine,” and anything feminine is viewed as inconsistent with military service, women, as a group, can become viewed as “inconsistent” with, or less than capable of performing, military service. Thus, producing gender at the level of interaction (e.g., enacting femininity) creates and maintains broader institutional arrangements in which women are perceived to be second-class soldiers (p. 120).

Therefore, if women are considered second-class soldiers, they are subordinate to men.

As the review of this literature highlights, women who choose military occupations are at risk for harassment at every level of their career. They must prove themselves worthy of leadership positions time and time again. Greater demands are made upon female cadets who want to become military leaders than of their male colleagues. Although female cadets strive for equity in their work and college environments, they are bombarded with stereotypical expectations about traditional gender roles. The research literature expresses the dilemmas faced by female military cadets and officers in the past and current military setting. While it seems that society’s advancement toward gender equity should also be equally relevant and pronounced in the military, it does not appear to be so.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### **Introduction**

My awareness of how women “do” gender occurred when I read Melissa S. Herbert’s (1998) *Camouflage isn't only for combat: Gender, sexuality, and women in the military*. I had really never thought deeply about how women alter their appearance, behavior, mannerisms, speech, smell, and gender to fit into a male environment. Herbert’s (1998) research on women in the military and veterans opened a completely new idea to me about women and gender. Why do we, women, make these changes to our gender to fit in with various settings? I truly believe this has everything to do with gender schema theory, role congruity theory, and social comparison theory. The pragmatic approach to these theories opens avenues of exploration as to why women and how women feel compelled to experience equality in all social arenas. Gender schema theory explains why males reject women in dominant military leadership positions. Role congruity theory explores the relationship between female military leadership and the rejection and harassment incurred by stepping out of traditional gender roles. Social comparison theory explains how women compare their value and worth as less than that of their male peers. Therefore ‘doing’ gender is one approach women pursue to be

accepted in the bastion of the male military patriarchy.

Herbert's (1998) research subjects included women currently in the military and women veterans. Although she researches gender and sexuality, I limited my research focus to how female cadets in an ROTC military leadership program "do" gender, such as make-up, hair, clothes, not debating with a male peer. Herbert's (1998) emphasis develops the experiences of women and how they intersect gender and sexuality in the military. Her thesis relates to how women strike a balance between being feminine enough to be considered a woman yet masculine enough to be a military leader. Achieving equilibrium between femininity and masculinity is a common thread in much of the female military leadership literature. Schneider and Schneider (1992) speak in a collection of interviews with military women of the hardships of either being considered a slut or a lesbian because of the women's decision to be in the military. Francke (1997) tells the stories of women during the Gulf War and how they enrich the military but are still seen as invaders of the "last intact all-male domain." Williams' (2005) autobiography of serving as an Arabic linguist during the Iraqi War discusses hardships experienced due to male colleagues who consider her less than a leader because of her gender. Her gender and femininity were a constant reminder that she was not one of the men, therefore not fully accepted as a team member. Dean (1999) tells her story of how women who do not conform to the military's masculine ideals of the feminine role are physically and psychologically abused by those they work with and for.

Herbert (1998) addresses four research questions:



First, do women believe that the military pressures or encourages women to be “more masculine” or “more feminine” than might otherwise be the case? ... Second, are there penalties for being perceived as being “too masculine” or “too feminine”? If so, what might these penalties be? Third, do women’s experiences and/or attitudes differ with their sexual orientation? Finally, how is it, if at all, that women employ strategies that allow them to function in the male-dominated world of the military? In what ways do they “do” gender and sexuality? (p. 23).

Addressing the first question if women believe that the military pressures or encourages women to be “more masculine” or “more feminine,” Herbert’s (1998) research discovered there was not a significant difference between the branches of the military when it came to overall pressure to act more feminine or masculine. Junior personnel, moreso than senior personnel, confided they felt more pressure to act masculine. Although the majority of women did not report the pressure to act more masculine, there were a significant proportion of women who did feel pressure to act more feminine, dependent upon sexual orientation. Lesbian and bisexual women experienced more pressure to act feminine than heterosexual women. Hebert (1998) argues if “women could just be themselves, there is little doubt that [they] would observe a reduction in stress, improved individual performance, and a corresponding increase in unit performance” (p. 42). Women in Herbert’s (1998) study who did not conform to the social ideals of femininity found it more challenging to fit in. Considering “[t]he military continues to see femininity as something to be denied or, at the very least, controlled” (p. 45), there is inconsistency with expectations of being masculine enough to be a military leader but feminine enough to be considered a woman.

Herbert’s (1998) second question asks if there are penalties for being perceived as being “too masculine” or “too feminine,” and if so, what might these penalties be? Many

believe the role of 'warrior' is gendered as male (Mitchell, 1998, O'Beirne, 2006).

Women are seen as unsuitable or unable to perform successfully in a male gendered role, such as the military. The attack is often on devaluing a woman's femininity if she steps outside the boundaries of gender appropriateness. Women who join the military are seen as engaging in behaviors outside of gender norms. Therefore women who join the military have their gender questioned on that basis. Penalties for women in the military include limitations in career mobility due to career advancement opportunities, schooling options, and combat exclusion. Women who are perceived as too masculine are labeled lesbian, yet others who are perceived as too feminine find they are not fully allowed to participate at an equal level of their male counterparts. To "do" gender entails a balance of not being too feminine or too masculine, while at the same time not challenging dominating males' positions of authority. Men control women through the intersection of gender and sexuality. Through 'lesbian baiting' women were being isolated from one another, therefore forcing them to keep off 'male turf' (Herbert, 1998). Herbert (1998) decidedly projects:

The military has used homophobia, institutional as well as informal, to maintain a myth of masculinity as a prerequisite for service. At the same time, the ban allows the military to eliminate, or at the very least to control, women who, by virtue of fitting the gendered work role of the military, are perceived to violate expected gender roles (p. 79).

On the other hand, women who were perceived as too feminine were harassed as sluts and failing to achieve the masculine leadership qualities to which the military ascribes. Feminized women were often accused of looking for a husband or seeking a promiscuous advantage within the military.

Herbert's (1998) third question focuses on women's experiences and/or attitudes in relation to their sexual orientation. Women in this study found it beneficial to strike a balance between femininity and masculinity. Experiences of lesbian baiting/accusations or dichotomously being considered weak and emotional slowly wears on one's psyche. Bisexual and lesbian women found it more advantageous to appear more feminine to downplay their sexual orientation, while heterosexual women found they had to appear more masculine to be accepted by men. In all experiences, these women felt they had to mask their gender to be accepted, yet some never felt accepted.

Herbert's (1998) final question considers how women would employ strategies that allowed them to function in the male-dominated world of the military. In other words, in what ways did they "do" gender and sexuality to be accepted in the military? Herbert (1998) found that women often used clothing as a way of camouflaging or strategizing femininity and consciously manipulating their appearance and behavior to appear feminine. Clothing was sometimes used to be perceived as more masculine, but most often it was used to be perceived as more feminine. Also discovered in this research was that female soldiers intentionally engaged in relationships to maintain the appearance or to manipulate the perception of being feminine. Some women chose to be 'one of the guys' as a strategy to be accepted in the military. Four main strategies exposed in Herbert's (1998) research to be accepted as masculine included: "swearing, drinking, working out, and doing other 'guy stuff'" (p. 94). Women chose strategies to manage gender in relation to how they saw themselves – either as more feminine or masculine.

## Research Process

In an effort to dissect female cadets' perspective of how they "do" gender, I referred to Dewey (1938/1997) for my theoretical framework. Dewey's (1938/1997) theory of experience encompasses two main ideas: principles of continuity and principles of interaction. The principles of continuity focus on an experiential continuum. This "principle of continuity of experience means that every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after" (Dewey, 1938/1997, p. 35). Prior experiences influence or modify latter experiences. Dewey (1938/1997) refers to these experiences as developing growth. Dependent upon the type of experience, Dewey asks, "Does this form of growth create conditions for further growth, or does it set up conditions that shut off the person who has grown in this particular direction from the occasions, stimuli, and opportunities for continuing growth in new directions?" (p. 36).

The principles of interaction involve interpreting an experience "with equal rights to both factors in experience - objective and internal conditions" (Dewey, 1938/1997, p. 42). Objective conditions of an experience vary upon the situation and are influenced by outside factors that influence a particular situation, such as nourishment or sleep. Internal conditions of an experience are based on prior experiences of a body of knowledge. Dewey (1938/1997) states that when both objective and internal conditions are present, "they form what we call a *situation*" (p. 42). He further clarifies that when "individuals live in a world [it] means, in the concrete, that they live in a series of situations" (p. 43). Experiences are therefore a series of situations that build upon each other and develop

growth that is dependent upon the equal transactions of both objective conditions and internal conditions.

Narrative research studies lived experiences through stories or conversations. Josselson (2004) states that people “always create the life story in an interpretive and constructive way” (p. 2). Its aim is to gain a deep understanding of the lived experience and the meaning of that experience. Narrative research, according to Clandinin and Rosiek (2007), is grounded in Dewey’s theory of experience. They state that “experience is the fundamental ontological category from which all inquiry – narrative or otherwise – proceeds” (p. 38). Clandinin and Murphy (2009) declare that “narrative researchers begin with an ontology of experience grounded in Dewey’s theory of experience. From a conception of reality as relational, temporal, and continuous, narrative researchers arrive at a conception of how reality can be known” (p. 599). Connelly and Clandinin (2006) define narrative research by stating:

People shape their daily lives by stories of who they and others are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story, then, is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular view of experience as phenomenon under study (p. 375).

For example, to understand what it means to be a female cadet in a military college is to understand the pressures, expectations, and daily lives of the cadets. To fully know what it means to be a cadet one must first understand the support and constraints they experience on a daily basis. Narrative research is a search for those experiences of being a female cadet. What it truly means to be a female cadet can only be expressed by a

woman who has had those experiences. Through narrative research I researched the meaning and significance of how female cadets “do” gender to fit in the patriarchal military.

Moen (2006) details three basic claims about narrative research:

[First] that human beings organize their experiences of the world into narratives. Second, narrative researchers maintain that the stories that are told depend on the individual’s past and present experiences, her or his values, the people the stories are being told to, the addressees, and when and where they are being told. The third claim, closely connected to the second, concerns the multivoicedness that occurs in the narrative (p. 5).

The aim of my research was to bring life to my research subjects’ experiences.

Although phenomenology and ethnography could also bring life to stories, narrative research brought textualized meaning and significance not just to the story but to the deep understanding, the essence, of the cadets’ experiences. Essence, according to van Manen (1997), is a linguistic construction of the description of a phenomenon. It is the ability to interpret the phenomenon of an experience that in other ways would not be understood. Narrative research not only interprets through pointing out an experience but also by pointing to the lived experience and its significance. It asks what the interpretation of the nature of the human experience encompasses. Less important in narrative research is the factuality of a lived experience than the dense meaning extracted from that lived experience. The extent to which an account of the experience is completely accurate is of less value than the ramifications of that experience on one’s lived interpretation of that experience. Narrative research brought a deep, rich understanding of the experiences of how female cadets in a Senior Military College “do” gender to be accepted as feminine enough to be a woman but masculine enough to be a soldier.

Through the narrative interpretations of female cadets' perceptions of how they "do" gender, I developed a discourse of their lived experiences. Mills (2004) explores discourse through Foucault's many works as "something which produces something else (an utterance, a concept, an effect), rather than something which exists in and of itself and which can be analysed in isolation" (p. 15). The discursive framework of being feminine or masculine embodies cadets' perception of themselves as well as how others view them and how they perceive others to view them. Mills (2004) elaborates on the effects of discourse per Foucault to include factors of truth, power, and knowledge. According to Mills (2004), truth and knowledge are produced through society; they are not a transcendental given, and power is given through social relations.

Adams and van Manen (2006) investigate the relationship between writing on-line and phenomenological experiences. They refer to on-line writing as an experience where cyberspace is the "darkness" of the unknown, that meaning which is to be extracted from the lived experience. The "darkness" of on-line writing is also used as an analogy to describe the reflective process of making meaning, finding the essence, of the lived experiences. Adams and van Manen (2006) refer to the "darkness" as the text that is elusive and veiled; it is not necessarily when pen meets paper, but when one enters the space of the phenomenon. The phenomenon of being a female cadet in a military leadership program can also be related to the "darkness" or unveiling of that which is elusive and distant yet close and interpersonal. From a narrative stance, bringing to light the lived experiences of female cadets' perceptions of how they "do" gender can

universally be applied to how women in other male-dominated workplaces perform gender to be accepted and successful in their lives.

Developing a rich understanding of the daily experiences of female cadets involved observation of their activities. Participant observation is one avenue of passive entrance into their lives. Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) concur that we all are participants in lived experiences and observe experiences of daily interactions. Participant observation is a method of participation and observation with the systematic use of recording for research purposes. This method of observation also provides a foundation for “context for sampling, open-ended interviewing, construction of interview guides and questionnaires, and other more structured and more qualitative methods of data collections” (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002, p. 2).

While conducting narrative qualitative interviewing, I did not ask quantitative questions, such as how often female cadets wear a skirt. Instead, for example, I asked why the female cadet chose to wear a skirt, how did others react when she wore the skirt, how did she feel when she wore the skirt, why does she think she felt that way, would she wear a skirt to that occasion again, why or why not, what did she feel were the supports or constraints of wearing a skirt? Rubin and Rubin (2005) refer to qualitative interviewing as a process of listening, hearing, and sharing social experiences. Through qualitative interviewing I was able to “understand experiences and reconstruct events in which [I] did not participate” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 3).

Documents are an important resource in my research. Documents encompass a wide range of tangible items from to-do lists to significant monuments (Prior, 2003). The



military creates and sustains thousands of symbolic documents from enlisted/officer insignia, flags, leadership creed, to NCORs (non-commissioned officer reports).

Considering many of the military documents are phallic in nature, for example the Army Infantry tab with a long sword pointed upright that reads “Follow Me,” I suspected they subconsciously reminded female cadets of their gender and their lower social status than the male cadets. The phallic nature of the military leadership program influenced female cadets’ decisions when considering gender behavior options.

### **Description of Setting**

Military State University (MSU) is one of the top six Senior Military Colleges in the United States. The total co-ed student population is comprised of approximately 6000 students. MSU is nestled in a mostly homogenous, small town atmosphere.

### **Selection of Participants**

I sent recruitment forms in sealable, individual envelopes to all female cadets on campus through the female cadet leader of each residency hall. The sealable, individual recruitment forms were delivered and collected in a larger, sealable envelope to protect confidentiality. I collected the returned recruitment forms one week later from the same female cadet leader of each residency hall. From the returned recruitment forms, I was able to speak with six female cadets who expressed interest in the study and three to five female cadets from each grade level that showed interest in the focus group study. (See Appendixes H and I for the volunteer request form/recruitment form.) The study was

presented to each cadet individually, and she was given the option to participate or opt out of the study. I spoke to the female cadets about what I would be doing and asked for volunteers. I explained that they were free to opt out of the study at any time, and they would not be penalized in any way for their decision to discontinue the study.

The main research participants included six junior and senior female cadets with full-time status at Military State University (MSU). They were recruited through a volunteer request form submitted to all junior and senior female cadets prior to the individual interview process. From the recruitment forms returned, six female cadets were interested in this study for the individual interviews. Out of the six female cadets, three cadets were interviewed two times and three cadets were interviewed three times. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. In the first interview, I asked questions regarding how the female cadets perceive their gender choices while attending ROTC. The second interview asked member checking questions as well as how they felt attending MSU would affect their leadership potential. The third interviews again asked member checking questions for clarity and theme.

Four focus groups consisting of three to five female cadets from each grade level, five freshmen, three sophomores, four juniors, and three seniors, were recruited for the purpose of creating focus group interviews. Each focus group interview ranged approximately one hour. I completed the focus group interviews after completing all of the individual interviews. The focus groups were asked an abridged version of the questions asked of the main research participants. Through the process of asking the same questions in focus

group setting, I was able to establish consistency and validity of the six original individual interviews.

Military staff members were asked to join my research. I requested a one hour interview with each of the following military staff members: Commandant of Cadets, Curriculum Advisor, Cadet Admissions Office, and the Junior Cadet Advisor. I was able to secure one hour interviews with the first three military staff members: Commandant of Cadets, Curriculum Advisor, and Cadet Admissions. The Junior Cadet Advisor was not available for an interview during this research process. All interviews were conducted at MSU for one hour at the military center on campus.

### **Research Questions**

It is easy to disregard female leadership in a military setting when there are more than enough male military leaders to populate the desired positions and when women are restricted from combat engaging units. Women are encouraged to join high risk careers such as police officers, fire fighters, medics, flight nurses, and factory workers where they are at-risk of bodily harm on a daily basis, but they are restricted from the military's available positions that may put them in harm's way of direct combat. Questions regarding the disproportionately low number of women in military leadership positions lend themselves to deeper questions of why women may defend their country stateside but not overseas.

The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of how female cadets experience gender in an ROTC environment and how their experiences influence their leadership potential. Therefore, my research questions asked the following:

1. How do female cadets “do” gender in an ROTC environment?
2. How do female cadets believe these experiences will affect their leadership potential?

By asking these questions, I gained knowledge of how female cadets “do” or change their gender perceptions to be accepted in a dominantly male military environment. (Appendixes E, F, and G include my Interview Protocols.)

### **Negotiating Entry**

In an effort to gain the trust of my female participants, I began my interviews with general questions about their everyday schedule as a cadet. I first learned their routine demands as a cadet and college student before engaging in more personal questions regarding how they “do” gender. I encouraged the cadets to continue speaking on a topic or moving the answer to the question in a different direction. I asked open-ended questions in an attempt to gain the most of their experiences in gender and leadership. If at any point the cadet stopped speaking mid-sentence, I did not pursue a definitive answer or continuance of the question. Through this mutually established respect for each other, the cadets would often come back and clarify their answer at a different time in the interview process.

**Researcher Role**

My role as the researcher was to establish a trustworthy relationship with my research participants. Without a trusting relationship, I could not have gained access to the personal responses and deeper understanding of the gender perceptions of my participants in a military environment.

**Confidentiality and Ethics**

Research participants were protected by having a consent form, having the study explained to them, explaining the study orally, using pseudonyms, and masking any identifying features in my transcripts and reports. The pseudonym key was kept separate from the data in a locked cabinet. The study was explained to the female cadets as noted on the consent form. (See Appendixes B, C, and D.) After an explanation of the study, each female cadet and military staff was given the option to not participate. I explained that they would not be penalized for not participating.

**Assumptions**

As a researcher it was necessary that I “bracketed” (vanManen, 1997) any preconceived notions of women and the military. vanManen (1997) refers to “bracketing” as an intentional effort to disconnect one’s own preconceived ideas about a topic to that of their research participants’ ideas. Living on an Army post as a military wife, I have

experienced military life as a dependent and am familiar with the military lifestyle. My interest in gender and the military not only stem from my prior knowledge but also from my desire to understand how female cadets synthesize their understanding of gender and the military.

### **Limitations of Study**

This study is limited by the few number of participants. By individually interviewing six cadets, my research was limited to 16% of the total female cadet population at MSU.

### **Coding of Themes**

I voice recorded each interview with a hand held voice recorder. The recorder was placed close to the research participant, and all of the interviews were successfully recorded. I chose to interview the six individual cadets first. I asked all of the initial questions to each of the cadets before setting up the second round of interviews. By asking the same questions to each cadet before moving to the second interview questions, I was able to concentrate on a select number of questions and answers before moving to a different set of questions and answers. I transcribed each cadet's interview directly after our meeting and before the next scheduled interview. I completed all of the transcriptions by hand; I did not use any type of software. I found this helped me to stay focused and organized. After transcribing each interview, I read it several times looking for consistency and emerging themes. This also helped me to check questions for clarity.

After completing the six individual interviews, I focused on the four focus group interviews. I conducted the four interviews in groups of two. These were the days the cadets could meet with me. I conducted the junior (#) and freshmen (#) interviews one day and the senior (#) and sophomore (#) interviews on another. By having the interviews back-to-back to coincide with the cadets' schedules, this enabled me to interview the highest number of female cadets. After each of the focus group interviews, I transcribed our discussions before the next two scheduled interviews.

Once all of the female cadets were interviewed, six individual cadets and four focus groups, I concentrated on interviewing the military staff. I intentionally chose to interview the military staff in the following order: Curriculum Advisor, Commandant of Cadets, and Cadet Admissions. Unfortunately, I was unable to secure an interview with the Junior/LDAC advisor. I first interviewed the Curriculum Advisor and transcribed our meeting. By interviewing the Curriculum Advisor first, I was able to gain an understanding from the military staff's point of view of the academic expectations of the cadets. Second, I interviewed then transcribed the Commandant of Cadets' interview. Through this interview I confirmed what the ROTC expectations of the cadets encompass. Lastly I interviewed and transcribed the Cadet Admissions Officer. Through this interview I was able to confirm what this Senior Military College was looking for when admitting cadets as well as their expectations throughout the ROTC program.

While interviewing, transcribing, and re-reading the individual interviews, I was constantly listening and looking for common themes. I determined there were three common themes that emerged through answering my first research question "how do

female cadets “do” gender in a military environment?” The first theme I identified was “conflicts with self.” I realized through our individual interviews that the female cadets had to make a decision if being a woman in the military was truly the right decision for them. They had to decide what about themselves, physically as well as emotionally, they were willing to keep and what they were willing to discard. This conflict with self is one of several factors that influence their decisions. The second theme to emerge was “balancing femininity and masculinity.” Once the cadets were at peace with their inner conflicts, they had to find a fine line of balance between being feminine and being masculine. There is a very fine line of performing gender to appear feminine enough to retain femininity and masculine enough to be considered a military leader. The third theme to emerge during my interviews was “penalties of gender.” Through the balancing of femininity and masculinity, female cadets experience the penalties of not performing gender through traditional societal roles. The penalties of gender also included not being too feminine or too masculine. Over time these themes guide how these female cadets “do” gender in an ROTC environment.

With my second research question “how do female cadets believe these experiences will affect their leadership potential?” two themes emerged: “perceptions of military ratings” and “peer perceptions.” How accurately the female cadets perceived their military ratings/evaluations to be, determined how successful they believed they would be as leaders. An equally important theme I identified in answering this question was “peer perceptions.” Military leadership and promotions take place through one’s



chain of command and peers. How they believe they are perceived by their peers was of equal importance of their perceptions of their military ratings.

After identifying the five themes, I re-read the transcripts searching for the questions and answers for each theme. As I re-read each transcript, I highlighted each question and response that corresponded with each theme. For example, with the first theme identified, conflicts with self, I re-read each of the transcripts and highlighted each question and response in yellow that corresponded with that theme. I would then move on to the second theme, balancing femininity and masculinity, doing the same thing but highlighting in green. I continued this course of action until all six cadets' responses were color coded with a different colored highlighter for each theme identified.

I also re-read the four focus group transcripts and color coded their responses with the same colored highlighter as I did with the six individual cadets. By identifying the themes in different colors, I was able to more clearly incorporate these ideas into my research as well as produce validity of the six main research participants.

The military staff interviews informed my study to the extent of what cadets have to do before applying to MSU in an attempt to gain favor with admissions, what their academic expectations are, and what their ROTC expectations are while attending this Senior Military College. The three military staff interviews were for the purpose of clarifying expectations of the female cadets as well as understanding the culture of this Senior Military College.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH

#### **Findings**

The purpose of this chapter is to discern the compilations gathered through the methodological lens of narrative research to encompass a broader understanding of how female cadets “do” their gender in a dominantly male ROTC environment. In this study I individually interviewed six cadets, consisting of individual interviews with three cadets ranging approximately one hour each, and two individual interviews ranging approximately one hour each with the remaining three cadets. Included in my pool of research candidates were four focus groups consisting of five freshmen, three sophomores, four juniors, and three seniors. Each of these four focus groups lasted approximately one hour. I also individually interviewed three military staff for approximately one hour each.

I first asked of each of the six individual interviewees to “walk me through a typical day as a female cadet.” With this non-confrontational statement, cadets were at ease explaining what they do on a daily basis. This insight also gave me the opportunity to understand more clearly the demands they experience each day. I followed up with a list of questions utilized to discover more of their individual stories of how they do gender. (A list of these questions is located in Appendix E.) After each interview I

transcribed and coded their responses prior to their next scheduled interview. Through this process I developed additional questions for the purpose of a rich understanding of their narratives.

With considerations of my time frame, each of the four focus group interviews was asked similar but fewer questions than I asked during the individual interviews. I transcribed and coded their responses in relation to the individual interviewees' responses to consider any discrepancies. Although the bulk of my research consists of the six individual cadets interviews, these four focus groups added consistency and echoed my findings of my six main research participants.

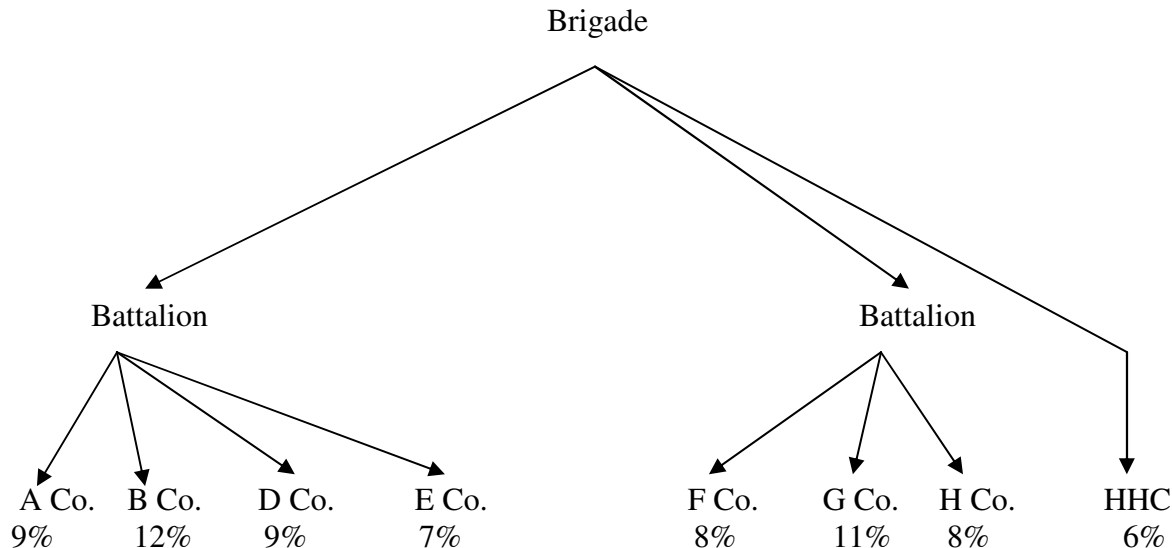
The three military staff interviews were conducted to edify my research regarding entrance requirements, expectations of female and male cadets, and policy of ROTC. I transcribed and coded each interview to obtain a deeper understanding of the demands cadets experience prior to their enrollment as well as their experiences while at this Senior Military College. (A list of these questions is located in Appendix F and Appendix G.)

This research study is explored through a narrative perspective to determine how female cadets “do” gender to acquire success in a military environment. Due to the low number of female military members, as noted in chapter one, this research should provide insight and inform young women considering military careers. This chapter will discuss ROTC culture, the corps of cadets admission standards, what cadets should expect, a typical day for female cadets, introduce all six female cadets, and analyze the themes generated while answering my two research questions:

1. How do female cadets “do” gender in an ROTC environment?
2. How do female cadets believe these experiences will affect their leadership potential?

### **ROTC Structure**

MSU’s structure mirrors that of the Army. Although it is on a smaller scale, the initial structure of brigade, battalions, and companies is the same. The structure of MSU’s ROTC is comprised of one brigade with two battalions. One of the battalions has four companies and the other has three companies, for a total of seven Rifle Companies: A Company, B Company, D Company, E Company, F Company, G Company and H Company. There is also one Headquarters Company. Therefore, there are eight companies in the brigade. Seven are Rifle Companies and one is a Headquarters Company. Female cadets are members of each company including the Headquarters Company. Rifle Companies are non-specialized while companies while the Headquarters Company is a specialized company. Under the headquarters company falls band, color guard, nursing, and the brigade staff. The brigade staff falls under the Headquarters Company for purposes of organization and communication. All other units of the military fall under the title of Rifle Company.



*Figure 1: Flow Chart: ROTC Structure with Female Percentages*

### **ROTC Orientation**

In accordance with the other Senior Military Colleges, MSU has a week of orientation for its new cadets. The purpose of this week is to prepare and orient freshmen cadets with the expectations of the ROTC program. Orientation is a week of challenging physical and mental activities the new cadets must complete in order to be accepted into the MSU ROTC program. This orientation week is run by upper-class cadets. The upper-class cadets consider it an honor to be chosen for the task of orientation week. This week consists of the following:

Day One – freshmen cadets in-process through the college, obtain clothing from the college store, and are assigned a room. They are required to jog at a steady pace everywhere they go and attend several orientation meetings.

Day Two – freshmen cadets start their day before sunrise with a PT test. During day two they attend several orientation classes and meetings.

Day Three – freshmen cadets begin their training with PT every morning from this day forward. They also draw weapons, learn ceremonies, customaries, and college traditions. Their weapons are kept on campus in an armory. Although their weapons are capable of shooting live ammunition, on campus they only have blank ammunition.

Day Four – freshmen cadets are physically challenged through a series of courses such as grenades and rope.

Day Five – freshmen cadets learn to tie ropes for rappelling and bridge crossing, use their rope tying skills to rappel, and endure many miles of road marches.

Day Six – freshmen cadets start out this last day of orientation with a company run of more than three miles. After this run, there is a cadet ceremony, luncheon, and time to spend with friends and family.

### **ROTC Residency**

There are three ROTC residence halls at MSU. All three of the residence halls have been co-ed for more than twenty-years. Male cadets room with male cadets and female cadets room with female cadets. There are separate restroom facilities for the male and female cadets. Cadets do not experience any differences in residency living other than their restroom facilities.

## **ROTC Uniforms**

Male and female cadets wear the same PT uniform: a grey ARMY-marked t-shirt and black ARMY-marked shorts with socks above the ankle and/or below the knee. During the colder months, they may wear the ROTC black pants and grey jacket over their PT uniform. They also have various colored shirts that correspond with the eight companies for company runs.

Male and female cadets wear the Army Combat Uniform (ACU) the majority of the time while attending MSU. This uniform is pixilated in appearance. The ACU for men and women are the same in appearance. Female cadets are not allowed to wear earrings in the ACU. They may wear make-up and nail polish. Other uniforms that may be worn on special occasions include the Army Service Uniform (ASU) and Campus Casuals.

The ASU is similar in style for both the male and female cadets. Female cadets have the option of wearing the skirt or pants when in the ASU. Uniforms also vary by long or short sleeve shirts and whether or not the cadet, male or female, is wearing the jacket. There are slight differences in the male and female ASU. Male shirts and jackets have two front pockets while the female shirts and jackets do not have any pockets. Also the male and female shirts and jackets button on different sides. No tie is required when wearing the short sleeve shirt. When wearing a long sleeve shirt or the jacket, the male cadets wear a traditional styled tie while the female cadets wear a neck tab. Male and female belts also differ by sides when looping around the waist. Men loop their belts clockwise so the tab is pointed towards the right, and women loop their belts counter

clockwise so the tab is pointed toward the left. The belt buckle on the male uniform is larger and squarer than the female buckle which is smaller and more oval in shape. Male dress shoes are larger and have a bigger edge than the female dress shoes. Female cadets who choose to wear a skirt are required to wear closed-toe pump shoes, no more than two inches in height. With the skirt females are also required to wear plain, skin colored nylons. Male and female hats also slightly differ in size and shape.

Occasionally the cadets wear campus casuals. This uniform is the same for both males and females. They are allowed to wear khaki colored pants with a polo collared shirt. Their shoes must be brown or black with a brown or black belt. No hats are worn with this uniform.

Female cadets may wear earrings, make-up, and nail polish when they are in uniform but not while wearing the ACU. Regulations for earrings include small, gold or silver, diamond or pearl, and must be a stud. Only neutral colored polish on their real nail is permitted. Fake nails are not permitted. Female cadets may wear make-up in neutral colors: base/foundation, lipstick, eyeliner, and mascara. The general rule of make-up is that it should not be obvious that it is being worn. Female cadets must also wear their hair completely up in a "bun." It must never touch their collar.

### **ROTC Clubs**

There are thirteen ROTC clubs available in which cadets may participate. The choir is the only one of the thirteen clubs restricted to male cadets. Female cadets have



the option to participate in a choir through the Fine Arts Department. All of the clubs are approved through MSU's Student Life Committee and are unique to MSU. The clubs at MSU must be approved by the Student Government Association and Student Life Committee. All clubs at MSU have constitutions, by-laws, and assigned faculty advisors.

### **ROTC Physical Training**

Cadets appear to rate themselves and others' competency as soldiers through their PT tests. Those who score low or do not pass their PT tests are looked down upon by other cadets. The opposite effect occurs for those who do well or far exceed PT test expectations. As was discussed by the research participants, sometimes as a female cadet, no matter how well you do on the PT test, it will never be good enough if you are not male. Below are the PT standards by age and gender that cadets strive to exceed ("2011 army (apft) standards ," 2011).

Table 1: *Male PT Standard*

MALE						
Age Group	Push-up		Sit-ups		2-Miles Run	
	60%	100%	60%	100%	60%	100%
17-21	42	71	53	78	15:54	13:00
22-26	40	74	50	80	16:36	13:00

Table 2: *Female PT Standard*

FEMALE						
Age Group	Push-up		Sit-ups		2-Miles Run	
	60%	100%	60%	100%	60%	100%
17-21	19	42	53	78	18:54	15:36
22-26	17	46	50	80	19:36	15:36

### **ROTC Academics**

MSU's Military Sciences courses and books, including their handbook, are created and approved through the Army ROTC's Military Science & Leadership Development Program in Fort Knox, KY. The ROTC military science courses are sequential and must be successfully completed before moving to the next course. There is one military science course offered each semester. It is mandatory that cadets take this course each semester, fall and spring, for a total of eight courses. Each of these classes is a Military Leadership course that prepares cadets for different styles of leadership, such as situational leadership, transformational leadership, briefings, team building, Army structure and duties, and problem solving, to name a few. All ROTC colleges and academies follow the same structure and manuals. Military Science professors are given academic latitude to enhance or include more material for leadership purposes. All students also possess the Regulations for the Corps of Cadets and are expected to know and follow all rules and regulations at all times.

## **Honor Code**

Included in the Regulations for the Corps of Cadets is the Honor Code. Cadets will adhere to the Honor Code at all times. MSU's Honor Code "is based on the principles *that a cadet will not lie, cheat, steal, evade the truth, conspire to deceive, nor will he/she tolerate those who do*" (Regulations for the Corps of Cadets, 2008, p. 97). MSU's Honor Council is elected through the body of cadets. The Honor Council Chair is appointed by the Commandant of Cadets and the Honor Council members.

Most issues that arise are addressed and resolved through the cadets' chain of command. Upon determining a cadet is in violation of the Honor Code, the Honor Council and Military Staff are informed of the infraction. A hearing will be set to include the Honor Council, Military Staff, accused, witness. If the cadet is found guilty of the infraction, depending upon the severity, the cadet may ultimately be removed from institution and lose the opportunity to commission as an officer.

## **Documents and Observations**

During the research process I reviewed documents and observed male and female cadets in their ROTC environment. By reviewing documents such as the Military Science course manuals, the Regulations for the Corps of Cadets, and numerous Internet sites for the service academies as well as the military in general, I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the expectations and challenges cadets in general, and female cadets specifically, encounter on a daily basis. These documents helped to inform my research on gender and leadership in an ROTC environment.

I also observed male and female cadets during PT, while moving across the common areas on campus, during the Sweetheart Review, and while marching in parades during community social events. All were very informative to the social interactions of male and female cadets.

### **Corps of Cadet Admissions**

The Corps of Cadets Admissions officer stated that they are not looking specifically at gender for purposes of admissions. Since the Army is composed of approximately 14-16% female officers, he strives to admit the same percentage of female cadets. MSU currently has enrolled 13% female cadets. He commented when asked what the college is looking for when recruiting cadets

What we look for is a scholar, athlete, leader. We are looking for the total package, somebody who has good grades, good SAT scores, is physically fit to the point that they will enjoy the physical training in the corps of cadets. We are looking for those who want to be leaders. The primary purpose of the corps of cadets is to produce officers for the United States Army. And in order to be an officer in the Army, you have to be in good physical condition to be able to lead soldiers, be able to operate effectively in austere environments. So that is what we're looking for, what we call a total package – S.A.L. – Scholar, Athlete, Leader.

He states that they recruit personally through the school as well as through other organizations. MSU is not short of applicants, both male and female. He stated there is no difference between how they recruit male and female cadets and believes that the atmosphere of the college as well as their reputation is why so many high school seniors want to attend MSU. When asked if new students come to MSU or if they intentionally recruit, he stated:

We have an extensive plan. We have an admissions funnel (he shows me graphic). Most colleges and universities use this funnel. We have to reach out and touch 23,000 high school students who would be interested in a military or Army ROTC college. If we reach out and touch 23,000, we believe that of that 23,000, 3,000 will be interested enough in [MSU] to ask us for additional information. We call that our inquiry pool. So 3,000, if we have 3,000 inquiries, that will probably generate 1,000 applications to the university. That is 1,000 for the year. If we have 1,000 applications, we believe we will have 650 who will complete their application admission to the university and be accepted for admission. And of that, half of them will come. So we are looking at only 350 or so new cadets every year.

I also asked if he felt many women want to attend [MSU]. He stated:

In our inquiry pool, we have an access data base here where we can sort. So right now we have 2261 high school seniors, who just started high school, in our inquiry pool. We have six months to build it to 3000. There are 680 women out of 2261. So one-third of our inquiries are women. The percentage of women who came to [orientation], well, we had 251 new cadets who came to camp. Of those, 33 are women. So 13% came to [orientation], meaning 13% finished the process and decided to come.

### **What Cadets Should Expect**

The Commandant of Cadets stated that cadets usually sign up for their military commission between their sophomore and junior years, “but they can sign up any time after they have thirty hours.” Although cadets can complete all four years of ROTC and never sign a contract, most do choose to commission. Upon signing up, cadets will receive a monthly stipend that he states “starts from the time you sign your contract. It starts at about \$300 - \$350 and goes up. It is significant.” Cadets do not receive medical benefits until after they commission. They do “receive special benefits in the area of military uniforms.” Although contracts vary, cadets who sign a contract are required to give eight years of service to their country. During their eight years of service, they must

give a minimum of three years' active service. The remaining five years vary depending on their contract. They have three options: Army National Guard, Army Reserves, or they "can be in the individual ready reserves which means your name is on a list in case you were to be recalled in the case of a national emergency." All cadets who earn a bachelor's degree and commission will be second lieutenants in the U.S. Army. There are few exceptions to their commissioning rank.

Incoming freshmen cadets are manually assigned to squads. The Commandant of Cadets stated,

We try to make as diverse of a squad as possible. In each squad we would like to have an international student, a woman, as diverse as we can get it. So we do not put all of the women in one squad and all of the international students in one squad, all of the Arabic majors in another squad. It is just as diverse as possible. We only have 12-13% of the corps that are women. So some companies may not have any women. We will always try to put six to eight women in one company so that they will have associates in that company of the same gender. Every unit may not have women in it, but the units that have women in it will have more than one woman in it.

When asked how the female cadets are chosen or accepted for their ROTC program, the Commandant of Cadets stated:

There are no differences between the males and the females. There are only two differences: that is the Army readiness physical fitness test which we give several times a year around here. The standards for the males and females in the Army are different. The test is just the sit-ups, push-ups, and 2-miles run. The standards and numbers of repetitions you must do based on your age are different for males and females. We use the exact same standards as the Army uses. The only other difference between the male and female cadets is the personal appearance standards. Obviously, ladies are allowed to wear earrings. Their blouses are different; their tailoring is different. But the two differences are PT tests and uniforms. Everything else, if we're doing our job right, is the same across the board.

I then asked if other than PT, if there were any circumstances where the male and female cadets were held to different standards once they commissioned in the military.

The Commandant replied:

There are some occupations that females can still not be in by law. There are laws that state a woman cannot be in the Infantry. But women can fly helicopters; they can be military police; they can be ordinance officers. In the corps of cadets we have women in different military clubs and co-curricula's. [Named different clubs in ROTC], women are authorized to try out for any of these. I've never seen more than one or two women in some of these groups because they are very physically demanding. But once they try out and get in, they are in just like the guys; they go to the field with the guys. They will fit in quite well. There is a bonding that takes place.

He continued this answer by stating:

Most of the ladies are extremely focused when they come here. If they miss that focal point, that will usually trigger immediately and they will drop out during [orientation] week. We have them in very high positions. It is routine that women will perform superbly while [they are] going through the corps of cadets. We have honor graduates and ladies who are commanding companies all the time. Their focus is amazing. Many of them put a lot of pressure on themselves. They work harder than the males because they want to out-perform the males, and they know that on day one. Of course, there is a big difference between an 18 year old male and an 18 year old female. God just built them differently. The ladies are always more focused, but the military ladies focus like a laser sometimes. They put a lot of pressure on themselves, and they hang in there.

The Commandant of Cadets believes the reason MSU's cadets are successful is because of their training while attending this Senior Military College. He spoke in detail of LDAC and why his cadets succeed.

It is important because when you go to LDAC, it is the first time in your career that you get to see the level of professionalism and training of all the 270 some odd universities in America in ROTC. It is a national curriculum. Everybody is kind-of-sorta teaching the same curriculum in the classroom. Then since [MSU] and five other schools are Senior Military Colleges, we do a lot of meat to the bones and a lot of other stuff. But the reason it is important is because it is usually

the first time you go into an environment where fellow cadets from all the other schools are in your outfit. You do not go together as a [MSU] cohort. You're assigned to a platoon that has 35-40 cadets in it that are from schools all across the nation. So, the reason it is important is because that is where the light comes on. You realize how much more training you have received at [MSU] than the average cadet. Many times, and this is a beautiful comment to hear, when you're doing something in LDAC, you've already done it ten times here. So, you can be bored with it. Usually we send about 15 regiments. LDAC is a 29 day course, and a new regiment of several hundred cadets starts every Monday morning. We send cadets from [named state] in every regiment. We don't just send them once. We send them all summer long. So I see people coming back to school in mid July, and the first ones I see, I'm saying so how was LDAC? And almost always the response is there were just things out there that bored me to death. I have done this 50,000 times, and I went to LDAC and had to do it again. I had to sit there and wait patiently while my peers learned it for the first time. Some of the hardest things about LDAC were keeping my attitude up and not being bored and just getting through it. So that is called over-training. Whenever I hear that, I'm saying touchdown. It is exactly what are alumni want us to do.

### **Typical Day for Cadets**

Female cadets experience the same schedule as their male colleagues. Speaking with the military staff as well as the cadets, a typical day for them is as follows:

6:45 am	First Call
7:00 am	PT/Inspection
8:00 am	Personal Hygiene
8:30 am	Breakfast
9:00 am – 2:00 pm	Academics
3:00 pm – 5:00 pm	Drill on Mondays
5:00 pm – 6:00 pm	Dinner
7:00 pm – 8:00 pm	Commanders Time
8:00 pm – 11:30 pm	Quarters



11:30 pm – 12:00 am	Personal Hygiene
12 am (midnight)	Taps
12 am – 6:45 am	Sleep
6:45 am	First Call

For junior cadets who are preparing for the Leader Development and Assessment Course (LDAC), their day starts an hour earlier than the freshmen, sophomores, and seniors. They said they get up between 5:00 am and 5:15 am every morning to prepare for their LDAC physical training (PT) that starts at 6:00 am. The curriculum coordinator of the military staff also added that the cadets will have their military science class at some point in their day on Monday as well as “a laboratory in preparation to attend the Leadership Development and Assessment Course out in Fort Lewis, Washington. That is Wednesday afternoon as well, so they will have military training then. And then occasionally there are also weekends when they will do military training too.”

When asked what classes or activities were mandatory for each grade level, the Curriculum Coordinator answered:

They have the option, both males and females, when they come to the university to be in the Corps of Cadets. It is optional for them. So when they come here to be in the Corps of Cadets, the participation policy is that they must be in the ROTC program. We are somewhat separate from the university, if you will, because we're DOD federal employees that are here. And we have the ROTC attachment, and we have the ROTC department with military science courses. So if they are in the corps, they have to take the hour military science courses. There is one course offered each semester of each year that they are here. So for example their freshman year they will take a course each semester on up through their senior year so there is a total of eight military science courses that they take, and there are a couple of additional options or courses that they can take. It is mandatory that in the Corps of Cadets that all cadets take the one military science course each semester. They have to participate in physical training, like I said, three days a week on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. If they can't do that because they

have class conflicts, they can take afternoon physical training on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. That kind of accommodates that piece. And then like I said on Monday afternoons, from 3:30pm – 5pm, is drill and ceremonies out on the drill field. Then they will have mandatory, we will take them out, depending on whether or not they are contracted to be a lieutenant or not, we'll take them out in the field, out in the woods, for training for two overnights. We get to do that once a year. And those that are in volunteer co-curricular organizations go out maybe once a month, and then when they contract to be a lieutenant that junior year, at least, about two or three times a semester. That is about it as far as mandatory things.

I also asked if cadets were rated for curriculum purposes by their peers. He stated:

That is more applicable to when they are in their junior year. So then they are on contract, and we put them in a program that is called pre-camp. That prepares them to go to camp at Fort Lewis the next summer. A lot of that curriculum is based upon what you do and how you perform as a leader. And then you always have your technical knowledge and skill. But how you are able to apply those in leadership skills are assessed by our cadre, instructors, plus their peers. There is a lot peer involvement and experience for when they go to camp next summer. So if you're looking at how ratings are going on, the military science three instructors are the ones who are teaching the juniors and have this going on, because then they do physical training five days a week, Monday through Friday. And there will be military leadership opportunities for males and females then. They will have peer ratings then. During the labs on Wednesdays, the same thing then; there will be leadership opportunities and there are peer ratings that go along with that. So that is really the only environment when we do the peer ratings.

The Curriculum Coordinator stated that males and female rate generally the same across the board. Specifically “there is nothing distinguishing to say males perform better or females perform better. There is consistency. They perform about the same.” He also stated that male and female cadets “have to show up to class in military uniform.”

There are restrictions regarding cadets openly dating or being in a relationship while in ROTC. The Curriculum Coordinator stated:

There are restrictions based upon if it could be considered fraternization between supervisor and subordinate. That you can find in the [Regulations for the Corps of Cadets]. So, as long as there is not that conflict of interest, proper supervisor and

subordinate relationship going on, they are allowed to date. But there are restrictions on public displays of affection. It is what it is. Out in public, no groping. They are not allowed to hold hands. They have to do the arm in arm type of thing?

I asked if that also applied to a female cadet, if they could be arm in arm while in uniform with a civilian. He stated:

A female cadet with a male civilian, generally, well, we rarely see a female cadet being escorted by a civilian male. Well, they are busy and doing a lot of stuff. They have a lot on their plate, so, well, now, what happens off campus, is off campus. We're not out patrolling around. We don't have jurisdiction to do that. Who knows what happens. As long as it doesn't reflect where we can see it here on campus or in public or anything.

I also asked how their leadership classes are expected to shape their leadership and what they are learning that will shape their leadership when they leave. The Curriculum Coordinator responded:

The first year they learn about the Army. How the Army is organized, what some of the traditions are. We introduce them to some of the Army values and what leadership is, so what is already in the developing curriculum. Because we have a higher headquarters, if you will, that develops our curriculum. We have text books and everything, and it is laid out as a program of instruction, each and every class that they should take. It builds from what we give them, the base knowledge of here's what the Army is about, here is what leadership is about, and then their junior year is when they actually apply it. Like when they are in leadership roles. We put them in leadership situations. Then they are evaluated or assessed by their cadre or their peers. Then they go off and have to perform this again at the camp. Their junior year is more fine tuning and education and preparing to be an officer in the Army. Plus at [MSU] since it is a Senior Military College for cadets, they get to practice these skills daily in the Corps of Cadets which is different than a regular college where they go to an ROTC class once, twice, three times a week, and they only get to practice that in class. Here they are living it 24/7. They may go home and get a break, but that is why it is unique and why it is a better experience for them. We produce better leaders, and when they graduate, they become better officers. Because of the experience of not only being in our classrooms, but because they are in the Corps of Cadets, it is just a building block thing. It is like a leadership laboratory.

When asked who is in charge at each of the levels to make sure the cadets are staying on track academically and if they have both college advisors and ROTC advisors, he stated:

Principally they have their college advisor aligned with whatever their career field is going to be. So they set their plan of study for them. And they know what our requirements are. So they make sure they do both, their military science requirements and their normal academic requirements in order for them to graduate within 4-5 years. Five years is becoming more the norm. But then we kind of back-stop that with, especially when we have individuals on ROTC scholarship, they must maintain a 2.0 cumulative G.P.A. each term. And if they don't, then we bring them down here and do individual counseling with them and find out what is going on. We work with their academic advisors as well, with well, ok, try to come up with some plans of strategies to get them help to make sure they get what they need. We have an academic center here with guidance and tutoring and skills and all these classes that they have. If they continue not to meet the standard, and they are contracted on scholarship, we can dis-enroll them from that part of the program. They can still be a cadet here, but if they can't maintain their grades with a 2.0, generally in a three semester period, when they continue to fail, we will dis-enroll them, and they can't be an officer, and they have to be in to be a 2<sup>nd</sup> LT. So, we'll back that up, and then we will have activities with the academic advisors where we will bring them down. Each one of the cadet companies has about three advisors assigned to it that work with the cadets and companies' academic advisor itself. We will have a cadet who is in charge of looking out for the whole company and where their G.P.A.'s are going and where they are struggling and help bring in some help that way as well. It is covered in multiple areas.

Finally, I asked about their military science books. When asked who makes or distributes the books for the military science courses, the Curriculum Coordinator responded:

It is from the Cadet Command. They are basically two levels up. We have the headquarters at Fort Knox, KY. They support us administratively and budgetarily. But the standards, programs of instruction, and the curriculum, primarily come from Cadet Command. They have a whole division up there that shapes and forms the curriculum. And then they have an ROTC blackboard for all of the curriculum and how it is set up. You can go in to each level and there will be PowerPoint presentations for each class. Everybody (ROTC ) uses the same

books. You can personalize based upon your own experience and knowledge. Some instructors do that. They might find it too vanilla, so they add to it. You want to make it your own class, but you have to stay within certain standards.

### **Female Cadets Introduction**

The six main participants in this study are juniors and seniors attending a Senior Military College and are pursuing an active military career upon commissioning. These women range between the ages of 20 – 22 years old. They are from varying family backgrounds and regions of the United States. For purposes of confidentiality, and in response to the low number of female cadets attending this Senior Military College, fictitious names and specific information that may lead to their identity has been removed from the findings. Following is a broad description of each of the six cadets' backgrounds.

#### **Cadet Abernathy**

Cadet Abernathy was reared in a traditional family consisting of her father, mother, and a sibling. She feels her childhood playtime was evenly distributed with both boys and girls. Growing up with a military background, she claims "I always wanted to do something productive in my life, like help others and do something for my country." When circumstances occur that she cannot control, she prays or speaks with female friends. Since cadets spend the vast majority of their time together, she finds it easier to speak with female friends who are not involved in ROTC. Cadet Abernathy describes herself as a mix between feminine and masculine. She states:

I think I'm a mix between. I'm feminine but not to the point of being girly in front of everyone, but I'm not like masculine. I can keep up with the guys, but I'm not the girl that hangs out with all the guys and acts like a guy. I play rugby which is

masculine, and I'm in the corps, but I also have [named specific group of girls]. I like going out on dates. I like going to parties. I like to dress nice. I have that balance. I would say feminine because I'm a female, but I have a balance between masculinity and being feminine.

#### Cadet Bahret

Cadet Bahret grew up the majority of her life in a traditional family consisting of her father, mother, and siblings. She was reared in a military environment and lived near a major military installation. She was involved in two sports growing up: one was all female and the other predominately male. After attending the National Leadership Challenge for a weekend, she decided the military was right for her. She states that families she worked with while instructing taekwondo "told me I was somebody who could definitely be an amazing military officer. I thought about it, and it really hit home. So I looked at it. Then I came here for National Leadership Challenge for a weekend and loved it! And I'm a very outdoorsy type of person, and I love being out. So I was like, yes, this is for me." Although the first few years of college she relied predominately on her mother's support, she says she now relies more heavily on her ROTC buddies. When asked which she would describe herself as, feminine, masculine, or androgynous, Cadet Bahret answered "I think I'm more androgynous. I don't want to appear more feminine or more masculine when I'm in uniform. I just want to be a soldier. Obviously, outside of uniform I'm more feminine than I am when in uniform."

#### Cadet Chambers

Cadet Chambers was reared in a non-traditional family. During her childhood she predominately played with her male siblings. The male influences in her life were all in the military. Although in the beginning she did not intend to join the military, she states

“I had wanted the dream scholarship for athletics, but I didn’t get it. So rather than settle and play a local college basketball or softball team, I just said I’m going to think long run and play sports when I graduate. I needed the consistency in my life.” For support Cadet Chambers relies on her roommate because she says they are always together either “doing homework, studying, you’re trying to lie down and go to bed, you’re whining about a day.” When asked how she would describe herself, feminine, masculine, or androgynous, she stated:

I would say androgynous because yes I’m feminine, but I do workout so I have more muscle than the average woman. I am a tomboy, but it is because I’m not afraid to get my hands dirty. I’m not a prissy girl who thinks I can’t dig a hole, because yes, I can. I can dig a hole just like a guy can. In all of that, I still want people to remember yes, I am a woman. So I would say androgynous, but I do want people to remember that I am feminine. I don’t ever want to be seen as masculine. When I sit in a chair, I don’t sit all prissed. I sit comfortable. Some people will think oh, you don’t sit like a woman. Well, no, but I don’t sit with my legs wide open, chilling, like a man either. I’m just comfortable. I’m not feminine in what the word typically means, but I am feminine. I don’t do my nails and get my hair done every weekend. I don’t wear a dress everyday of the week, and I don’t put make up on every single day, but I’m still a woman. I do take the time to take my hair down and put make up on and dress up when I want to. I consider myself androgynous because of the definitions. I’m not feminine by definition, but in my eyes there are things that I do that are feminine. I want people to see those things and remember, yes, I am a woman. But by definition I am androgynous because I don’t do all the girly-girl things, and I’m a tomboy and stuff like that.

#### Cadet Davidson

Cadet Davidson comes from a traditional family with both male and female siblings. She says she grew up playing Army mostly with her brothers. Although she comes from a strong military background, she states that she is a very competitive person and wanted the challenge of pursuing a military career. In times of extreme stress, Cadet Davidson relies spiritually on God and prays often for guidance. Outside of her

spirituality, she states “As far as people on this earth – my parents. I call them, and they usually give me pretty good advice. They help me get through things, help me get level headed, and they kind of tell me to suck it up, and get over it, this is what you need to do, and it is usually right. It is right on.” When asked how she would describe herself, she stated:

I think I have a good mixture of both. I know when to be serious, and I know when to get the job done. I can be hard, and I can talk in a manly voice when I’m really serious. I can drop all my feminine tones. It is kind of like that, you know. But I can also be really feminine. It just depends on the moment, the time, if it is appropriate or not. I think I have a nice mixture, whether it is masculine in a male type, well, no, I think I’m feminine. I think I can be female and masculine. It is just part of the job. I’m capable of doing both, and I’m very athletic, and I think that makes me masculine, but I can make decisions under pressure, and I know I’ve really developed that in myself lately. I think that falls under the masculine category, but it’s wrong to think that only guys can be decisive. But I think it can be either/or, feminine or a man. But I know how to be feminine, and I have proper manners. I let guys open doors for me, and I look nice. I know how to do both. So I don’t think I’m either/or. I think I’m both.

#### Cadet Eastman

Cadet Eastman was reared in a traditional family consisting of a father, mother, and a sibling. She states she spent her youngest years around other girls, but as she got older she spent more time with boys, specifically her father. They worked on cars, went fishing and hunting, and generally spent a lot of time together. Cadet Eastman was raised in a military setting and has lived in many places due to her military background. For emotional support she relies on both parents, one for “personal stuff” and the other for “company problems.” She also has friends within the corps “for company level stuff if we don’t know what’s going on we ask each other, hey, what are you doing with this? And we figure it out.” When Cadet Eastman was asked how she would describe herself,



she responded “I think I’m a pretty good balance. In uniform I’m pretty neutral. But when I’m out of uniform I like to be girly, because that is my time away from being the mean one.”

#### Cadet Fairburn

Cadet Fairburn was raised in a traditional family consisting of a father, mother, and sibling. She says she spent most of her childhood playtime with boys. There was only one female in the neighborhood she played in, and she was much younger. She did not mention growing up in a military family or environment. Cadet Fairburn’s influence to pursue a military career she says was in middle school when

the local JROTC came by and I missed the demonstration, but I wanted to see it. So I went to the open house at school. They had videos and spinning rifles. I just thought that was the neatest thing ever! I wanted to learn how to spin a rifle so I joined. I learned how to do that. Then I just got more involved with the program and raised to the top. I really just loved everything about it.

She says for emotional support she relies on her roommate and her best friend. She states “they are always around and kind of understand what is going on with everything. They listen and talk and things.” When asked how she would describe herself, feminine, masculine, or androgynous, she replied “I would probably say more feminine, but I guess, yeah, more feminine. I guess I’m more girly. Yes, more feminine.”

#### **Research Question One: Themes**

Three themes surfaced from the analysis of the answers: How do female cadets “do” gender in an ROTC environment? The themes are arranged in order: Conflicts with Self, Balancing Femininity and Masculinity, and Penalties of Gender. Within each

of these three themes are the cadets' responses and an analysis of their response in relation to the theme. Each response is in alphabetical order by last pseudonym name of each cadet.

### **Conflicts with Self**

To delve deeper into the research question "How do female cadets "do" gender in a ROTC environment, I asked a series of questions to each of the six aforementioned cadets. During this portion of my research, I asked if they felt they could be themselves as a female and as a cadet and then followed with asking if they feel there is a conflict between being a woman and being in the military. Some of the responses appeared contradictory.

#### **Cadet Abernathy**

Cadet Abernathy commented "yes, definitely" when asked if she felt she could be herself. She discussed her barracks room décor as "so, I have like ridiculous, random, ridiculous things that you would walk in and say 'wow! This is sort of like a sorority room and not in the corps,' but at the same time, my room is like standard. You can't come in my room and be like, say, that's wrong, and that's wrong. It's all right."

Although out of uniform she wears bright colors, paints her nails, and wears earrings, she says in uniform everything must be to standard. Cadet Abernathy is feminine in uniform but only within the military standard. She feels she can be herself to the extent of military standard while in uniform. Yet, when asked if she ever felt a conflict between being a woman and being in the military, she commented:

Well, sometimes you have to work twice as hard to be seen, but besides that I don't feel like I'm lower than anyone else. I don't feel inferior because I'm a female. It might be that someone is better at something than me, but I don't feel inferior. For instance, I took the PT test last week, and I maxed it out. I didn't feel I was going to do good at all. I thought I was going to do a just passing, but I maxed it out. But I really don't feel that I have a conflict with being a female. It is more how people see you, and how you let them see you. If you let them see you insecure then they will use that insecurity to their benefit. A lot of people use the insecurity of females like with PT and that kind of stuff. But I'm not insecure about anything about me or being a female or being in the military.

The conflict is not so much that Cadet Abernathy doesn't feel she can be herself in uniform as it is what she has to do to be noticed as an equal cadet. She is comfortable with the military standard and adheres to its regulations. She feels she can express her femininity outside of uniform. Yet, in uniform, Cadet Abernathy has to always show people that she is secure and max her PT test. As she noted above, to do any less will be used against her. Cadet Abernathy commented that she completed 84 push-ups in the allotted two-minute time frame.

Cadet Bahret

When I asked Cadet Bahret if she felt she could be herself as a female and a cadet, she commented:

Yes and no when you're in uniform, if you want to be respected within the corps and taken seriously. When you are in uniform, you are completely professional. You have to act like one of the guys. When the day is over and you're in civilian clothes, which is usually around 5pm, you can be as girly or tomboyish as you want. There are several females within the corps that are feminine in uniform.

With the last comment about several females within the corps that are feminine in uniform, I asked what she meant by that comment. She answered:

They act very, uh, very, very girly to the extreme. Heavy make-up, being a complete ditz on purpose just to get guy's attention. They are laughed at behind their backs. They are made fun of by girls and guys alike because they act that

way. You have the girls who are feminine but not ditzy. They are girly but still doing the military thing. They are respected but don't seem to get as far in the corps because they aren't seen as one of the guys. Then you have girls that act like one of the guys. They hurt, they suck it up. They just act like one of the guys. Those females tend to get further in the corps. I don't know what it is. I guess the guys see them as one of the guys so they don't wonder if you can do this because you're a girl. If you step up and say I can do this no matter what, then you do it; they are going to respect you for it. They are going to give you the opportunity. Once you're out of uniform nobody really cares.

What Cadet Bahret appears to be saying here is that when female cadets are not in uniform, they can be themselves, but when they are in uniform they must be seen as one of the guys. At the same time as being seen as one of the guys, the female cadets must balance their femininity to not be too feminine and risk being laughed at behind their backs, yet at the same time be masculine enough to be accepted as one of the guys.

Cadet Bahret did not feel she experienced a conflict between being a woman and being in the military. As previously noted, Cadet Bahret describes herself as androgynous. She stated that she does not wear make-up, earrings, or nail polish while in uniform and seldom does outside of uniform. Cadet Bahret attributes her lack of conflict to being accepted by her peers. She states:

I feel like the people that are around me, that I call my friends, which are the same people who I work with on a day to day basis, accept me. If I act one way they are going to treat me the same as if I act another way because I've already established myself as who I am and what I'm going to do. You can like it or leave and not talk to me. I don't care. Once you have that established that I'm going to be me and if you don't like it, just don't talk to me, they tend to accept it a lot more. You just have to establish it first.

## Cadet Chambers

Cadet Chambers does not feel that anyone can truly be himself or herself while in the corps. She states that it is harder for females than males most of the time. She commented:

I don't think anyone can, male or female, but moreso if you're a female. You can't be yourself because we tend to be more understanding and caring. We don't want to cuss people out or hit people. We're just like, wow, you need to talk to somebody. I had a really crappy childhood so I'm really independent. So being myself is like, hey, do what you have to do, or I'm going to tell you about yourself kind of thing. But I did find that overall you can't be yourself. You have to put on kind of a masking because if you're too nice then people, like if you do act yourself which is an easy going person, then people take advantage of you because you are a female and people, like, make you into a push over. So if you act normal like guys would, then they don't respect you because it's not good enough. So you have to go over the top, and be a hard ass to everybody and put your foot down and prove to everybody hey, I can do PT just as good as you can, and I can do that. So there is nothing you can say to me that makes me less than you because I've proven myself to you.

For Cadet Chambers it is more than just not being herself. She feels she has to go over the top to prove to her male peers that she is just as, if not more, tough mentally and physically than they are. Interestingly, she refers to this as masking. She is masking her real self, which she considers understanding and caring, in order to be accepted as a hard-nose. By masking her real self, Cadet Chambers feels she will not be taken advantage of or considered a push over. Hence, she is stating that she must appear more masculine than men because women are seen as weak and unworthy soldiers.

With this in mind, I asked if she felt there was a conflict between being a woman and being in the military. Surprisingly, Cadet Chambers did not see a conflict. She said:

I wouldn't necessarily say it is a conflict. It is just the same as the culture thing. In a role, females are seen as weaker, like, less-abled people. So I don't think it is as different, but in the military PT is something people harp on. So if you suck at PT, people care more in the military than they do in the real world. So it is also, well

you can't blame the Army fully because when I signed up I knew it was going to be hard. I knew there were going to be standards. So, I mean, it is kind of like you put yourself into it. You're up for the challenge. You can't always say I suck all the time and it hurts my feelings.

Cadet Chambers refers to societal values of women being seen as weaker, less-abled people as the conflict. She connects societal values with that of the military. Because she was already expecting to be seen as less as a woman, she chooses not to put blame on the Army but on herself because she feels she already knew what to expect and put herself into this situation. Although Cadet Chambers sees herself as wearing a mask to cover her real self and appear as tough as the men, she also commented that she does wear a little make up occasionally because she "do[es] want people to remember that yes, I am a woman."

Cadet Davidson

Cadet Davidson says she feels she can be herself as a female leader within a military setting. She feels she bears a balance between being feminine and still achieving the results expected. She comments:

It would be very hard to be someone other than yourself for a long period of time holding a position. I do adapt and change things. I've had to get thick skin and not be so emotional about things and be level headed. But through that I've incorporated that in myself as a female. It has helped develop me, but I can be myself in my leadership position as a female because that's who I am. I'm not going to change just because of my position. I'm going to be true to me and what I believe is right, and I think it is important that I show my feminine side. I am feminine, but it is important to me that people know I mean business, that I'm correct, that I'm military. I'm a person just like everyone else, but at 5pm when I do take off my uniform, I show people that I'm still the same person, but I'm also a female. This is me. I'm just like any other girl. But the only difference is I can put my hair back and wash off my make up and get results at the end of the day just like anyone else. I guess it's not that I'm a different person; it is that it is a different setting. It is important that you have military bearing. Sometimes people think it is hard to be a female and have military bearing, and it's not that you're

not being yourself. It's just that you have to suppress some of that so that you can kind of be level with everybody else.

When asked to further clarify what she means by having to suppress being a female, Cadet Davidson responded:

Because being a female people tend to talk a lot, and you don't want people to notice you as a female; you want them to notice you as a soldier. Or you don't want people to notice you as a male; you want them to notice you as a soldier. So you do have to suppress. It goes the same for men, but men are the basis. I think it is important that you still keep your feminine side because I still paint my nails in uniform as long as it is the right color and standard. I still want people to know I'm a female. I want them to know and also see me as a soldier and not a female.

Although Cadet Davidson wants other cadets to see her as a female, she stresses that she wants to be seen as a soldier first. She claims men must suppress who they are, yet they are the basis of a successful soldier. Therefore if males are the basis, Cadet Davidson must suppress her femininity in accordance with the male basis to be accepted as a leader. The conflict she encounters in her daily life as a cadet corresponds with being a minority within a predominately masculine environment. She remarked:

Well, we are a minority. Sometimes because there are so many males, they tend not to consider females because they have the mindset that if a male is capable of doing it, why give it to a female because they [male cadets] are dominant and more capable and have more military bearing, but I think here in this setting, we as females tend to be as much if not more capable of leading others. This is a leadership school. We're not putting on [battle attire] and marching into battle to do drills and missions. Here it is a leadership school. I can be a leader, and I can lead people just as much as another guy can. But sometimes people forget that this is what it is, and [think] that women shouldn't be on the front line and with infantry and armor and that, but that is a different setting. This is a school for leaders. We're leaders, and females can lead just as much as a guy can. Sometimes it is difficult to make people realize that and there's not a difference with us. I can do the same job you can. It doesn't matter if I'm a female or a male. The most important thing is that we are a leadership school and we're going to learn what we are here to learn.

Cadet Davidson's conflict between being in the military and being a woman stems not from what she is capable of doing, but from that which others view her as capable of doing. She adamantly professes her knowledge and experiences as a leader, yet feels that since she is one of few women, men see her advancement as a military leader as a waste of opportunity for a more capable male soldier.

#### Cadet Eastman

Cadet Eastman feels she is the same in and out of uniform. She commented that she wears a little make-up some of the time but not very often. She pointed out

I'm the same person I was before I joined the ROTC. I've just gained a lot more confidence. Before I was really shy and didn't want to talk to people. Now I'm more out there and more confident, and I'm not afraid to tell people what to do. Yes, I do feel that I can be myself as a female and being in the military.

Cadet Eastman feels she too must not only exceed her PT tests to prove she is worthy of being a soldier, but she must also consistently compete with males within their PT test scores. She replied when asked of conflicts that

There are always going to be the guys in the military that look down on you because you are a girl, and they don't think you can do it. I beat out most of the guys in PT. Our last PT test, I did more pushups than 90% of the guys. I did 61 pushups. They can think they are more macho. They are going to be stronger than me, but I don't think they are better than me.

Cadet Eastman uses her PT test scores to show she is not a weak female, and that she is just as capable as any male cadet to get the job done.

#### Cadet Fairburn

Cadet Fairburn describes herself as a tomboy when she was growing up. She feels she has always gotten along better with males than females. She feels she has not really



been accepted by other females. When asked if she felt she could be herself as a female cadet, she responded:

Yeah, I've always been somewhat of a tomboy. Actually I think I sort of fit in better with the guys because they accept that. I don't really have any female friends outside of the corps, but I just joined a sorority to find more friends. I'm trying to branch out because I've always been a tomboy. I don't want to just be a tomboy all the time. I want to be girly if I can. I'm pretty low maintenance so it is interesting going through this right now. Trying to separate myself from always being military, but I did fit in better with the guys and the military life.

Cadet Fairburn feels that she is viewed as more masculine than feminine. She is interested in meeting new friends outside of the corps, but she does not feel they are accepting of her. Surprisingly, even though Cadet Fairburn feels she is accepted as a tomboy by her male cadet peers, she comments that her conflict between being a woman and being in the military is that:

Sometimes I feel like guys have that opinion that girls just don't try, or they try to give them that image. Sometimes it is conflicted, but the major thing is that you're a girl, and you can't do as much. We just had a PT test. And sometimes the guys grade the girls easier. That kind of bothers me because I don't like feeling like they treat me differently just because I'm a girl.

Cadet Fairburn, she does not feel connected with other women outside of the military, yet inside the military, where she is most comfortable, she feels she is still viewed as less capable because she is a woman.

### **Balancing Femininity and Masculinity**

Looking to answer how female cadets “do” gender and keeping with the same ideas of conflict and being one's self, I asked the female cadets if they change things about themselves when around their colleagues, both male and female, if they prefer

contact sports, do they want to be seen as one of the guys, do they want others to know when they have a significant other, and if any of these behaviors or choices are a conscious attempt to ensure that others perceived them as more feminine or more masculine.

When asked if she changed things about herself when around male or female cadets,

Cadet Abernathy responded:

Sometimes. Not my personality, but it is how I talk to them. For example I'm not going to sit there and curse at my military instructor. But if it is like my squad being horrible, I'm not going to just blow up on them every minute. But you will respectfully curse at them. You might say that 'you're doing shitty, you know.' You let them know that you're pissed off, but at the same time you're not blowing up on them, but at the same time I don't tell my sorority sisters that they look shitty. It is like a choice of words, how you talk. I don't change my personality. It is situational. If we're in the field, it is training. I'm not going to talk down on them, but I'm not going to talk to them like I'm their friend. If I'm talking to my squad, like someone that I hang out with on weekends or play rugby with, I'm going to talk to them like they are my squad then, but on the weekends I'm going to talk to them like they are my friend. But on go time on Monday when we're doing PT, I'm going to tell them that they are sucking. I'm going to change my demeanor, but at the same time not talking down like they are a piece of garbage. It is like a different kind of discipline.

When in uniform, go time as she called it, Cadet Abernathy is aware that she is much harder than when out of uniform. Her demeanor changes to that of the males she must lead. She feels she is respectful to her squad, yet at the same time never defaults her authority.

Although Cadet Abernathy is tough in uniform, she wants others to see her as a woman. She is comfortable wearing small amounts of make-up, nail polish, and earrings. She commented that when out of uniform she prefers to wear her hair down, dress in bright colors, and paint her toenails unusual colors. When asked if she keeps her toenails

bright because no one can see them, she responded “yeah, I like to wear flip-flops in civilian clothes, and then it shows. It’s not a big deal, but people will say [Cadet Abernathy] do you think your toenails are bright enough? And I say no, not at all. Haha! It is just something I do.”

Cadet Abernathy was also asked if she preferred contact sports since she plays rugby for her college team. She said “I don’t really do football because I don’t want to, well, like we have intramurals. Every company has intramurals. And we play football, basketball, soccer. I don’t like to play football because I get too aggressive actually. I end up trying to tackle somebody in flag football, so I just cheer – haha! I’m better at that.” Cadet Abernathy likes contact sports or she wouldn’t play for the college team. She claims she is not good at it, but in actuality, she is most likely better at it than her male peers. To be more aggressive in a contact sport than the male cadets is to be seen as more masculine. She wants to be seen as feminine. When asked if she wants to be seen as one of the guys, she replied

Not really. I don’t want to be seen as one of the guys. I’m seen as one of girls but can hang without a problem. Haha! I can chill with them. But they know I’m a girl. There is a fine balance. I have the balance because I can hang with the guys but still be seen as feminine.

Cadet Abernathy doesn’t cheer on the side because she is better at it, but because she wants to appear feminine and maintain that she is only masculine acting when she is in uniform.

Cadet Abernathy also made it clear, when asked if she has a significant other if she wants other people to know about, that she doesn’t want people to really know about any relationship that she is in, but it is important to her that they know she is straight.

Because she plays rugby and is in the corps, she says others assume she is lesbian. She says “guys don’t care. I think the majority of the time, the guys don’t care if the female is gay or not. If she can do her job, that is how they see it. If she can do her job, then who cares?” She continues to say that “it’s more with the females that you want to know, I’m not like that. Then they are ok.” At the same time she says guys don’t care, and it is important to her that girls know she is straight, she says, when asked if any of the above behaviors are a part of a conscious effort of how she is seen,

People will always think you are sleeping with someone. You have to be careful. But then again if you don’t care, well, I’m just over it. I’m just tired of people wanting to know. I don’t understand why they are involved in my life. If I want you there, then you will be there. I’m just over it. Think what you want to think because it is obvious you don’t know me, and I don’t want to know you if you’re making assumptions. People just say things that aren’t true. If you want to think that, then think that. I’m not going to sit here and try to argue with you. If you want to be seen as perfect, the girl next door, the one who always does everything right, well, then you better not talk to any guy. If you are seen with one guy long enough, just hanging out, like I was seen just hanging out with one guy, one of the guys in my company, and I don’t mind chilling with him and being friends with him, and everyone was like oh my god they must be dating. No, we’re really not, we’re just friends. That’s how it is. I just let people think what they want to think, especially when people are always like so what is up with you and [named male cadet], and I’m like nothing, but you can think whatever you want. And then they are like oh. When you sit there and try to tell them nothing is happening, then they think there must be something there, but if you just say whatever, then they don’t bother you as much. I just tell them I’m not going to sit here and try to make you believe me, and then they are like whoa, whoa, don’t get an attitude. But I don’t have to say anything when they’re not going to believe me.

Cadet Abernathy wants to be seen as feminine in a masculine domain but also has to be careful who she is seen socializing with for fear of rumor mill repercussions. She walks a fine line between femininity and masculinity.

## Cadet Bahret

Cadet Bahret claims she does not change things about herself when around other male or female cadets. She feels she is “the same all the time.” She does not wear make-up in uniform and only seldom when out of uniform. She does not paint her nails or wear earrings and prefers to wear dress pants over the dress skirt. She will wear her hair down occasionally when out of uniform but prefers not to really dress up when out of uniform. When asked if she prefers to play contact sports, she said “yes, I love to. I can handle it! Haha!”

Cadet Bahret likes and desires to be considered “as one of the guys when I’m in uniform, but I also want to be seen as a girl when I’m out of uniform.” She says she socializes more with guys than girls “because there are more men. There just aren’t that many women. I socialize mostly with guys or girls that hang out with guys. I’m tomboyish. That is just the way I am. We just get along better.” Cadet Bahret will socialize only with others who are not going to get into trouble. She says “I will hang out with anyone as long as they aren’t doing bad things. I don’t like to put myself in bad situations.” When asked if she wanted other people to know when she has a significant other, she responded “I don’t really care one way or the other. I just don’t date here.”

Cadet Bahret feels she does not do anything consciously or subconsciously to appear more masculine or feminine. She wants to be seen as androgynous, stating “I don’t want to appear more feminine or masculine when I’m in uniform. I just want to be a soldier. Obviously, outside of uniform I’m more feminine than I am when in uniform.” Although Cadet Bahret claims she does not do anything consciously or subconsciously to

appear more feminine or masculine, she intentionally wants to be seen as androgynous. She consciously does not wear make-up or anything that would feminize her in uniform and usually out of uniform. Cadet Bahret just wants to be seen as a soldier. Since the majority of soldiers are men, Cadet Bahret downplays her feminine side to the extent of not even dating anyone around her college. Although very friendly and easy to talk to, she is obviously a soldier first.

#### Cadet Chambers

Cadet Chambers does not feel that she changes things about herself when around other male or female cadets. She answered:

Well, personally, I don't. Around males you kind of, well, no, I'm just going to say no. I act the same around all people. If I'm in uniform, I keep the hard ass attitude. I make sure I have everything and myself in check. I maintain my military bearing. But if I'm in civilian clothes, technically off duty, then no matter who it is, if they are my friend, then I'm going to act like [Cadet Chambers]. It is a little different if I'm around instructors. No matter if you're in uniform or what time of day it is, you always have respect for them. So I would say, no, I don't.

Although she started to comment about being around males, she quickly changed her mind and said no, she didn't change things about herself around them. Cadet Chambers wears a little make-up some of time in and out of uniform. She says "it isn't all of the time, just some of the time. I don't want to draw attention to myself." She wears her hair down occasionally and prefers to wear dress pants to dress skirts. She says she would wear earrings "if I had pearls or studs, I would, but I don't. My roommate does. It gives you the most femininity that you can have in uniform. So if I had them, yeah, I guess I would. But I don't have pearls or anything like that so I don't. There are restrictions on everything. We can only wear earrings in the dressier uniforms."

When asked if she prefers to participate in contact sports, Cadet Chambers smiled and replied

I do. I play rugby. I absolutely do prefer it. I feel like if you're just there by yourself, you're really not involved in a team. There is no strategy, so it is not a sport. I think cheerleading is an athletic thing, but I don't think it is a sport. I prefer it [contact sports] because if I'm going to be out there wearing my body down, I'm going to be wearing somebody else's body down too – haha!

Although Cadet Chambers is very athletic, she states “I don't want to be seen as one of the guys, but I want to be respected for what I do. I don't want them to think that oh, well, she is good for a girl. I want them to think that I am good at what she does. So no, I absolutely do not. I want to keep my femininity, but in uniform I want to be respected just like a male would if he did the same thing I did.” Cadet Chambers balances on a fine line between being seen as muscular, masculine, and aggressive and being seen as feminine. She wants to be seen as a woman but respected as a soldier.

When asked if she consciously attempts to ensure that others perceive her as more “feminine” or “masculine,” she commented:

I would say in a sense yes, because I say I don't wear make-up that often. Well, I say I don't do it every day, but I do do it often. The only reason I wouldn't do it is if I were in a hurry to go to class. I think I do do it in a way so when people look at me, even though it is not a lot, they are like, oh, yeah she's a girl. I don't do it to get attention. I don't want people to come up and hit on me. But I do want people to remember that yes, I am a woman. There is a certain level of respect that I expect from people. Even though I want to be treated equal, I also, well, it is like an elderly person in uniform, you treat them with respect because they have the uniform on, but there is a different level of respect because they are older and higher rank. I'm in uniform so I want to be treated equal because of that, but yes, I am a woman, and I would never do anything that would... (stopped talking)

Cadet Chambers' balance of masculinity and femininity are not due to how she does her job, but as how she wants others to perceive her. She wants the respect of being a soldier

and a woman. When asked if she wanted to be treated like one of guys, she commented that she does and doesn't, that there is a fine line. Upon further detail of the fine line, she said:

I don't want people to open my doors. But if someone sees me, it clicks in their head that I'm a woman, then it is like thank you. It is nice. So no, I don't want it, but if it happens it is nice and flattering. I guess, wanting to be treated like one of the guys, well, I'll just put it this way, I want guys to be comfortable enough around me to act like themselves, and not think I'm going to go run and file a sexual harassment claim, so if they throw out an inappropriate joke, I don't care. I have [siblings], but at the same time, I don't want them to be so inappropriate that they are comfortable talking about the girl they [explicative] last night. That is where you draw the line. I'm still a woman. You can joke, but there is a certain point where you can have immature conversations around me, and I don't care. But don't talk disrespectfully about a woman around me and think it is ok with me. That's the best way I can put it.

The fine line for Cadet Chambers involves blatant disrespect for women. She wants to be seen as a soldier first, balancing femininity and masculinity in an androgynous state, but at the same time, she holds true to herself what she deems inappropriate. With this in mind, it is obvious to see why she would also keep her personal relationships, such as significant others, to herself.

#### Cadet Davidson

Cadet Davidson does not feel that she changes anything about herself in uniform or out of uniform. She says she does not usually wear nail polish in uniform, but is "not opposed to having my fingernails polished as long as they are to regulation." When in uniform, Cadet Davidson "will wear make-up, if I have time. Sometimes it is just a rush in the morning, and I don't. I just run out the door with my uniform on, but if I have time to do so, I will." She says she almost always wears make-up outside of uniform and her hair down "as much as possible. I like to show my feminine side when I'm not in



uniform. I have pretty hair. So I like to wear it down and show it off when I can. I just don't get to very often." When out of uniform, Cadet Davidson prefers to dress up about half of the time. She says "I don't mind putting on a nice outfit and showing people that yes, I am a female." Cadet Davidson also prefers to wear earrings and the dress skirt to the dress pants. Regarding the dress pants, she answered "the pants come up past your belly button. It's not very feminine. I feel more comfortable and I feel better in the skirt."

Cadet Davidson prefers non-contact sports. She says she likes football, but "I don't really like getting tackled. I am smaller than most people who play contact sports. If you had to choose one or the other, I think most people would choose the non-contact sports just for the fact that you're going to get hit. But I love basketball. I'll be the first out there playing with the guys." Cadet Davidson also responded when asked if she wanted to be seen as one of the guys "I want to be seen kind of like myself. It shouldn't have to be guys or girls, but as a soldier. I just want to be seen as soldier. I don't want to be one of the guys. I don't want to be seen as a female either. I just want to be seen as a soldier." Contradictory to that statement, when asked if she would say that she socialized and identified more with the guys or more with the girls, she answered:

I don't really hang out with a lot of females because there aren't a lot of females at the level I am. I'm surrounded by guys all the time. I would say that I'm more on the guys' level of looking at things. Not to say that I couldn't be with the females as well, but I see myself more as a tough girl. I'm different from a lot of the females because I don't believe that females should be, well, like oh, that is unfair, if you get where I'm going with that. I have a different mindset. I just do my job. I want to be looked at as a soldier and not worry about anything else. A lot of people sometimes can, well, I don't know. I don't want to put them all in a category. I guess I'll just say that I get along more with the guys than the females.

Although Cadet Davidson says she just wants to be seen as a soldier first and not as a female, she is feminine in uniform, yet at the same time, she goes to great lengths to distance herself from other females, so much so that she refers to other females in her second to last sentence as “them.” The other women in this study are just as tough, if not tougher than she is, but she points out “not to say that I couldn’t be with the females as well, but I see myself more as a tough girl.” Although everything about Cadet Davidson from the outside appears feminine, she abjects all that is feminine in other female soldiers to be accepted by the male soldiers as an alpha female.

Cadet Davidson says she is very careful about whom she hangs out with and where she hangs out. As a high ranking female cadet, she feels she must lead by example. Therefore, she does not attend parties, go to bars, or hang out with the lower classmen. She says “it would be very inappropriate for me to do that. I just omit it from my life completely.” When asked if any of her behaviors are part of a conscious attempt to ensure that others perceive her as more “feminine,” she commented:

That is just a part of me. I would do it in uniform or out of uniform. I think it is appropriate. You aren’t going to see me altering a uniform or doing anything that would be considered inappropriate. They aren’t going to take away from me being a soldier. I’m still going to do my job. I can still do this (small, chopping motion like she is telling someone something serious) with nail polish on my hand. I can still counsel people, give instructions, and be firm and look at you and say you’re messed up. This is what you need to fix. And I can have nail polish on my hands. I don’t think it is going to affect the way they take me. It’s not going to make a difference, but it is still going to show people that I’m a soldier, not a female. I am feminine out of uniform, but I can still be feminine in uniform and do the job. But I don’t want people to consider me as a female. I want them to consider me as a soldier. There are some things that I wear in uniform because I am a female. But it is because it is who I am. It is what I do outside of uniform as well because it is appropriate in that setting. I don’t wear things to show people I’m a female. I wear things because I am a female. It’s not that I wear make-up and nail polish and now people see me as a female. I want them to see me as a soldier first, but it

is ok if they see me as a female as long as I'm being a soldier first. Just because I have nail polish on my hands doesn't mean I'm going to slur my words and act all feminine and play around.

Again Cadet Davidson equates femininity with being less than a soldier: slur my words, act all feminine, play around. Wearing nail polish is feminine. If it weren't feminine, male soldiers would also be permitted to wear it. When asked if she would describe herself as feminine or masculine, she replied:

I think I have a good mixture of both. I know when to be serious and I know when to get the job done. I can be hard and I can talk in a manly voice when I'm really serious. I can drop all my feminine tones. It is kind of like that, you know. But I can also be really feminine. It just depends on the moment, the time, if it is appropriate or not. I think I have a nice mixture, whether it is masculine in a male type, well, no, I think I'm feminine. I think I can be female and masculine. It is just part of the job. I'm capable of doing both, and I'm very athletic, and I think that makes me masculine, but I can make decisions under pressure, and I know I've really developed that in myself lately. I think that falls under the masculine category but it's wrong to think that only guys can be decisive. But I think it can be either or, feminine or a man. But I know how to be feminine and I have proper manners. I let guys open doors for me and I look nice. I know how to do both. So I don't think I'm either/or. I think I'm both.

Cadet Davidson does play both sides of femininity and masculinity, but it is obvious in our interviews that she does. She contradicts herself often by saying she is feminine, then saying she is masculine. She does not spend time with other females, but instead surrounds herself by male cadets and abjects all that other females do to fit in. Cadet Davidson sees herself as the top female. She does gender by being feminine enough not to appear to intimidate other males, yet she is masculine enough to be accepted into their circle.

### Cadet Eastman

Cadet Eastman does not feel that she changes things about herself when in uniform. She seldom wears nail polish, earrings, or make-up in or out of uniform. She wears her hair down occasionally when out of uniform, and prefers to wear the dress skirt to the dress pants. She stated, “for the dress uniforms I like my dress and heels; it adds more femininity to the uniform and separates us a little bit.” Cadet Eastman says she is not really into contact sports and believes “I already am seen as one of the guys because I do guy things. I go hunting; I go fishing; I’m the only girl in the corps right now that goes out and patrols for fun. The boys I’m close to see me as one of the guys. Those who don’t know me, they wouldn’t see me as one of the guys. You have to know me. I’m ok with that.” She wants her male cadet peers to see her as one of the guys but not all guys. Cadet Eastman feels she socializes more with men because there are female cadets at this college. She tries to keep any significant other to herself and says she hangs out with whom she wants to hang out with.

When asked if any of her behaviors are a conscious attempt to ensure that others perceive her as more “feminine” or more “masculine,” she commented, “I don’t think so. I don’t really see anything with like applying with if you’re more feminine or more masculine than what you do. I think your personality gives off more of your image than what you are wearing in uniform.” Cadet Eastman also did not feel she did anything to make herself feel more masculine or feminine in or out of uniform. She feels she is true to herself and is doing what she loves. She believes her personality is what people will judge her on moreso than what she wears or how she acts. Although Cadet Eastman does

not go out of her way to be feminine, such as wearing make-up and earrings, she also doesn't feel she goes out of her way to be masculine. She feels comfortable being herself in this setting.

#### Cadet Fairburn

Cadet Fairburn does not feel she changes things about herself when around other male or female cadets. She commented that:

I kind of think if we're all in the corps; we are understanding. I'm still tomboyish. It's not like me and civilian girls. It is different. Then I'm trying not to be so guy-ish, especially like our run in the woods. I know I'm going to be cussing more than usual and joke around more. It's just a different atmosphere entirely. As far as cadets we're all going through the same thing. We all know what is going on. We all go through the stuff together.

Cadet Fairburn said whether in or out of uniform, she only wears mascara. She almost never wears nail polish, earrings, or dresses. She prefers the dress pants to the dress skirts, seldom dresses up, and only occasionally wears her hair down. Cadet Fairburn says she prefers not to play contact sports. When asked if she wanted to be seen as one of the guys, she commented:

Well, yes and no. When I'm in uniform I want to be seen as one of the guys. I hold the door open for the guys. Sometimes they don't want to go through it, but I tell them you go through it now. Haha! Sometimes when I'm in civvies I want to be seen as a girl. I want them to recognize that I'm a girl. But I would say that on a day to day basis I try to be seen as one of the guys. I socialize more with men than women because that is who I see all the time. I live there. I'm always on the hall and that is who I'm hanging out with. They are always around me. My room is across from the boys' restrooms so I always see boys walking around. I do have my best girlfriends that I talk to. But the majority of people I talk to are guys. Girls sort of seclude themselves with who they talk to. Like they don't like this girl so they won't talk to her, or they don't like that girl so they won't talk to her. It's not like you are friends with all of the girls. And there are a limited number.

Cadet Fairburn has been dating the same person for more than two years. She says she likes other people to know she has a significant other and that it keeps people from hitting on her. Because everyone knows she is in a relationship, she says it makes it easier for guys to know they are just friends.

Cadet Fairburn says she wants to be treated more masculine in uniform and more feminine out of uniform. When asked if any of her behaviors are part of a conscious attempt to ensure that others perceive her as more “feminine” or more “masculine,” she commented:

Definitely. When I’m in uniform I want people to treat me more as an equal and one of the guys and not just a girl, oh she can’t do that. It is kind of like an on/off thing. There is a time and place for each one. I am a girl but that is not going to affect my professional behavior. Don’t let that affect how you perceive me in uniform.

Cadet Fairburn makes a conscious attempt to be seen as one of the guys. She prefers to be less feminine in and out of uniform; she spends more time with guys than girls, and will hold the door for other male cadets and insist they walk through. Although she laughs when she discusses this, it is her way of demanding to be treated equally as a soldier and as a woman.

### **Penalties of Gender**

Each of the six female cadets in this study balance femininity and masculinity. For some this appears to come naturally due to their prior military experiences within their family units. For others it is learned through trial and error within the corps.

## Cadet Abernathy

When asked if she thinks women can exercise power and authority while retaining their femininity, Cadet Abernathy stated “yes, I do that myself.” Yet when asked if she thinks there are penalties for military women who may be perceived as being too feminine or too masculine and if so, what those penalties may be, she stated:

I don't think there is a penalty. I just think people, like, well, there is this girl in the corps, but she is just like ditzy. Everyone calls her Barbie just because she acts stupid. She's really not stupid, but she acts stupid around the guys. I don't know why. Nobody really knows why because she is really smart but she just acts like and gives the appearance of a Barbie doll. People just look at her like she is dumb. They just look at her like why is she here? I'd say, especially leadership, people are, like, 'I don't want her to be my platoon leader if she doesn't even know what she is doing as a squad leader.'

Although Cadet Abernathy originally stated there are not penalties for being too feminine or too masculine, she then tells a story of a female cadet who the other cadets call “Barbie” and do not respect or follow because she is too feminine. It is well known that she is smart and can do her job, but because she “gives the appearance of a Barbie doll, people just look at her like she is dumb.” So then one must question whether she truly does act ditzy or if because she is considered too feminine for the corps, she is discredited before she really has a chance to show her potential.

Cadet Abernathy answered, when asked if she thinks that women in the military should do their best to eliminate their feminine or masculine qualities while on the job,

I don't think so. I don't think being feminine should be involved in your job. Just do your job, whether you are feminine or not. It shouldn't matter if you wear make-up or someone doesn't wear make-up as long as you're not the girl who is asking others to do something for you. As long as you can do what you're supposed to be doing, then I don't feel like it should matter if you're more feminine or not. Like if [name of Barbie cadet] knew what she was doing and didn't give the appearance of being a Barbie and fake, then I wouldn't care if she

was feminine as hell. As long as it isn't interfering with your job you signed up for. You could be as masculine as you wanted, and I don't care. As long as you can do your job and I can trust you, then that is fine. It doesn't matter to me.

Cadet Abernathy says in her first statement that she doesn't think women should do their best to eliminate their feminine or masculine qualities while on the job, yet her second statement is that she doesn't "think being feminine should be involved in your job." At the same time she is saying that it doesn't matter, she is also saying not to be too feminine. She stresses that you have to be able to do your job and be trusted. It appears that Cadet Abernathy associates this with being masculine because being feminine makes others wary of whether or not one can successfully perform her job. If being feminine corresponds with others not following your leadership, then the feminine soldier will not be a successful military leader.

Cadet Bahret

Cadet Bahret also stated that she feels women can exercise power and authority while retaining their femininity and that she does that herself. She feels that the penalties of being too feminine or too masculine have more to do with being accepted within the corps. When asked what those penalties may be, she replied:

Acceptance, I guess. But there are so many people around here that you will always be accepted by somebody. It is more that when you get in that position of having to have that authority, they don't listen because you're seen as an airhead or whatever, so it is more that than not being accepted.

Although Cadet Bahret first states that the penalties of being too feminine or too masculine have more to do with being accepted within the corps, she then states "they don't listen because you're seen as an airhead or whatever, so it is more than not being accepted." If a female cadet is seen as too feminine or "an airhead," all of a sudden it is



much more than not being accepted. To not be accepted means to not be seen as a successful military leader. Everyone will find a group who will accept someone, but acceptance by the whole is key to success. If someone is too feminine, she will not achieve that acceptance by the whole.

Cadet Bahret continues that women in the military “don’t need to necessarily eliminate their qualities [of femininity or masculinity] as much as finding their balance.” Female cadets must find a balance between being too feminine yet masculine enough to be accepted as a female military leader.

Cadet Chambers

When asked if women can exercise power and authority while retaining their femininity, Cadet Chambers readily replied:

Yeah! I do. The way I control my company is, well, I’m a bitch when necessary, when they start acting up, I get mean and I start saying words and get a command voice and a command presence. They know, oh shit, we had better straighten up, but if at the same time they are doing what they are supposed to do, I know I can get up there, and I can joke around, and I can be goofy, and I know they are going to maintain that bearing because they know I can change real quick. But that goofy sense is kind of like me being a girl, not taking it too seriously, just chilling. So I think you can, there just has to be a balance. They have to know that even though you are feminine, you mean business.

Cadet Chambers feels she can be feminine and exercise power and authority because she first established that, although she is a woman, she is also just as tough as any other male cadet. Once she commands the respect of her company, only then will she allow them to see her in a more relaxed manner. She considers this relaxed state as being feminine, as “that goofy sense is kind of like me being a girl, not taking it too seriously, just chilling.” Cadet Chambers correlates “goofy,” “not taking it too seriously,” and “just

chilling” as “being a girl.” Commanding the respect of her company involves not being seen as a woman. She states she is “a bitch when necessary,” “get mean,” “saying words,” “get a command voice and a command presence.” All of these are masculine qualities. If Cadet Chambers wants to gain the respect of her company, she must first appear masculine. Once she has achieved that respect, only then will she allow her company to also see her as feminine.

When asked of the penalties of being seen as too feminine or too masculine, Cadet Chambers stated:

I think if you’re in the Army and you’re seen as too feminine, there is a subconscious thing going on. Like people won’t ask you to do things. You will miss out on good opportunities because they don’t think you can handle it, or they got a target on you so they can catch you doing bad stuff so they can get you out of the Army. But if you’re seen as too masculine, I think females, well for their career, it is better for females to be seen as too masculine than too feminine. Because if you’re too masculine, then it is like oh yeah, she’s just one of the guys, which means if you go on a mission, they know you are going to have their back. They know they can count on you to do some hard labor, physical exercise that a prissy girl can’t do.

Cadet Chambers does not think there are penalties for being too masculine.

Actually if you are seen as masculine or even too masculine, “then it is like oh yeah, she is one of the guys, which means if you go on a mission, they know you are going to have their back. They know they can count on you to do some hard labor, physical exercise that a prissy girl can’t do.” The penalties therefore are being too feminine. It is interesting that she would call it a “subconscious thing going on.” It is so ingrained in the military that it is a masculine world, that it is subconscious that feminine women are discriminated against. They are not asked “to do things,” “miss out on good opportunities,” thought of not being able to “handle it,” are a “target” so “they can catch

you doing bad stuff so they can get you out of the Army.” The consequences of being too feminine are quite severe.

Cadet Chambers does not feel that women should eliminate their feminine or masculine qualities, but instead they need to be neutral. She states:

I don't think that people should change their person, like who they really are when in uniform, but I think at the same time, when you are in uniform you are doing a job. So every job is politics. You do have to somewhat be a nicer person or a meaner person. If you're typically a nice person then you are going to have to be a hardass because people aren't going to take you seriously. They will just walk all over you. But if you're typically mean in uniform, you also have to show that you have a nice side or people are going to think that it really doesn't matter what they do because you are going to be rude all the time. I say no, women shouldn't do their best to eliminate their feminine or masculine qualities, but at the same time, you have to be neutral. That seems to be my general answer to everything. You have to be neutral. Well, if you're too feminine then yes, you need to eliminate some of those qualities and be more neutral so people take you more seriously, but if you're too masculine at the same time you need to eliminate some of it and be a little more lenient so people don't think you are just going to be stuck up all the time. I personally am neutral anyway so I would say no to that because I don't think I'm too feminine or too masculine. But if you're referring to people who are that way, then that is what I would say.

Although Cadet Chambers says female cadets should not try to eliminate their feminine or masculine qualities, she does believe they should be neutral. Yet, in the previous conversation, she said not to be too feminine and it is better to be too masculine. Cadet Chambers states “I personally am neutral anyway” which means she does not feel she is too masculine or too feminine. Cadet Chambers feels she has achieved the balance between being feminine enough to still be seen as a woman and being masculine enough to be seen as a successful military leader.

Cadet Davidson

Cadet Davidson believes women can exercise power and authority while retaining their femininity. When asked if there are penalties for women who may be perceived as being too feminine or too masculine, she stated:

I don't think there are any [penalties] for being too masculine. It depends. Obviously if you're in the halls trying to start fights all the time that would be a problem. But as far as being too feminine, I don't think it [this college] is necessarily the school. You just have to teach them how to act and when to act. When it is a proper place to be seen and when it is a proper place to be a soldier. Obviously they are going to be counseled if they continue on not knowing how to act as a soldier. They have been taught how to fix your tone a little bit, know how to drop your emotions, this is how you need to act. But guys can do it to. Guys can be very, very sensitive, girlish in nature sometimes. They have been momma's boys and sat on the couch their whole lives and never done any exercise, and they do the same thing. It's not just the females; it's the males too. Not all males were born gods or naturally great at everything. They have to be mentored and taught too. Either/or they all have to come to this natural level. If not they are just mentored or counseled, and eventually, if they continue on doing it, then maybe it needs to be looked into if this is the right place for you. Are you really sure you should be in the military? So I hope that answers it. I really don't know.

Cadet Davidson states in her first sentence that "I don't think there are any [penalties] for being too masculine." Although she addresses being too masculine as a problem "if you're in the halls trying to start fights all the time," she sees being too feminine as a problem that needs counseling, and if not fixed and "they continue on doing it [being too feminine], then maybe it needs to be looked into if this [college] is the right place for you." She questions if a soldier is "really sure you should be in the military" if they cannot eliminate some of their femininity. Being too feminine in her opinion is a problem that warrants whether or not a soldier is truly making the right decision to be in the military.

When asked if women in the military should do their best to eliminate their feminine or masculine qualities while on the job, Cadet Davidson replied that:

People might take you more seriously. Some have the perspective that you're a female, you can't do anything. But if you can prove yourself that you can get the job done and be just as serious and act as a soldier, it will build more team work, and you can accomplish more things. Masculine, too. If you're so masculine that you don't want to give a female a chance, you're not, well, just because she is a female, not because of what she does or how she acts, you don't even want to give her a chance, then obviously as a team, you're not going to be able to fulfill the mission, whether that be completing a PowerPoint or whatever that might be. If you're too masculine, and you're hot headed, and you don't want to bring yourself down a little bit, then there can be repercussions as far as getting the job done.

Cadet Davidson believes to be taken seriously female cadets should eliminate qualities that are too feminine or too masculine. She then discusses that some men "have the perspective that you're a female, you can't do anything." In response to this stereotype, Cadet Davidson says female cadets must prove themselves to the males "that you can get the job done and be just as serious and act like a soldier." By soldier it appears that she means male. For the female cadets to be considered soldiers, they must first not be seen as women. To be seen as a woman is to not be taken seriously. She continues on this thought when referring to other male soldiers who may be seen as feminine or a momma's boy, as previously noted. For a male to be seen as feminine is also just as devastating for him as it is for the females. She previously states that "not all males were born gods or naturally great at everything." Therefore if not all are, then most or many must be?

She then states that "it can be a distraction" if a woman is too feminine and she needs to toughen up. I then asked if a man is too masculine if it is the same thing and if

he needs to soften up because everyone needs to come to a neutral point. Cadet Davidson answered:

Yeah. Not that there is anything wrong with being too masculine, but within that I'm also putting hard headed, not wanting to work as a team, I'm the best, lots of pride, lots of ego, hard to teach, that is what I'm putting into that category. For those kind of characteristics, yes, those kind of characteristics need to be dropped. We need a natural line so that we can get the job done better. We are going to work together better as a team than we will as an individual. Whether you are hard headed or want everyone to do everything for you because you're female and you can get away with that.

Cadet Davidson only sees being too masculine as a problem if it interferes with teamwork. She states "we need a natural line so that we can get the job done better."

Cadet Davidson's natural line depicts her opinion that teamwork can be accomplished if men not be "hard headed" and women don't "want everyone to do everything for you because you're female and you can get away with that."

Cadet Eastman

When asked if she felt women can exercise power and authority while retaining their femininity, Cadet Eastman responded "yeah, I do. There is no question about that one." Yet when asked to respond if there are penalties for military women who may be perceived as too feminine or too masculine, Cadet Eastman said:

I think if you're too feminine then people are going to get that image that you're ditzy, and they won't listen to you. Then if you're too masculine or butch then I think the guys would be scared of you and not want to talk to you. They would be like oh, get that thing away from me.

From Cadet Eastman's perception female cadets cannot be too feminine and risk getting the "image that you're ditzy, and they won't listen to you." Yet at the same time, female cadets must be careful not to appear "too masculine or butch." The consequence

of appearing too masculine is isolation because “the guys would be scared of you and not want to talk to you.” Cadet Eastman believes women who are perceived to be butch not only will be isolated but are also referred to as “thing” instead of by her name or gender.

Cadet Eastman commented when asked if women in the military should do their best to eliminate their feminine or masculine qualities while on the job:

Yeah. You should be neutral that way people don't judge you one way or the other. It is better for people to have a neutral respect for you. The benefit would be respect because they wouldn't think of you as being weak, or think that you're some testosterone monster or something – haha! Being neutral is the best option for a female.

Cadet Eastman sees being neutral, not too feminine or too masculine, as the best way for female cadets to be accepted in a male dominated military environment. She states “it is better for people to have a neutral respect for you.” Neutral in the eyes of Cadet Eastman is maintaining a balance of femininity and masculinity. The consequence of being too feminine includes being seen as weak, yet the consequence of being too masculine is to be seen as “some testosterone monster.”

#### Cadet Fairburn

Cadet Fairburn feels some women can exercise power and authority while others cannot. When asked, she responded that sometimes this is difficult for her:

I'm not sure. I have such difficulties having a command presence. Some females yes, they can switch it on and off. There's one I know who can just turn it on and off. She can yell and then see me and say hey how are you doing? I can't do that. I have trouble with that.

Although Cadet Fairburn feels she has difficulties having a command presence, I did not see that at all. During one of our interviews, a male and female cadet walked in the room and sat down. She appeared very much at ease while telling them they would

have to leave and could come back when we were done. The two cadets immediately jumped up, said yes ma'am, and apologized for interrupting. From an outsider's point of view, Cadet Fairburn did not appear to have any difficulties exercising power and authority.

Cadet Fairburn does not believe there are serious penalties for women who are perceived as too feminine or too masculine. The only penalty she spoke of was people making comments about being too feminine or too masculine. She stated:

No. People will make comments, but anybody is going to make comments. I'm sure people talk about me and some about girly-girls. It just depends on, well, it's not like an overall thing. It is just some people, but that is with every aspect of life. You're always going to be talked about by somebody.

She does not see this as a severe penalty but moreso as a nuisance. In her experiences there is always going to be someone who comments if you are too feminine or too masculine. She believes there is always going to be somebody who talks about you, so she puts on a rigid shell and goes about her job.

With this in mind I asked if women in the military should do their best to eliminate their feminine or masculine qualities while on the job. Cadet Fairburn answered "I think they should not make a point to show off as a girl. Just do your job as best you can. Don't try to stand out for this or that. Stand out for your work and how you act." Cadet Fairburn does not want to stand out as a girl. When she states not "to stand out for this or that," she understands that to be accepted, she must not stand out as too feminine or too masculine. She hopes to be seen as a soldier first and to stand out for her work and actions.



### **Analysis of Research Question One**

Female cadets at this Senior Military College “do” gender by creating a balance between femininity and masculinity. They intentionally “mask” their femininity. As one of the focus group members discussed,

I think being a cadet there is no other option but to put your femininity aside because you might not get the leadership experience if you don't because they are not going to look up to somebody who is all dolled up in uniform, hairs all done up, and nails are done. I'm not going to look at that person and think hey let's put that person in charge. You kind of have to put on like a mask and be out-going and be able to tell the guys. And most people, if they are all dolled up, are not going to want to get in front of guys because guys aren't going to think hey that makes a good leader. You just have to blend in and that mask that you put on, they have to be able to relate to it. Then you've got make-up on that's two inches thick, and all this stuff, like jewelry. They are just not going to be able to relate to that and throw you into the idea of being a leader. How your uniform looks is a lot more important than how your face looks.

The three main themes addressed in answering research question one, conflicts with self, balancing femininity and masculinity, and penalties of gender, expose how female cadets “do” gender in an ROTC environment. First and foremost, female cadets must resolve any conflicts they have with themselves. They must make the decision of how they will “do” gender while in uniform. They learn who their friends are, and what they must do physically and emotionally to be accepted as women in the military. As one of the focus group members explained regarding being one's self,

As a cadet in a uniform, you have a standard to uphold and a way to conduct yourself and things to do a certain way. Yourself as a civilian is different, you can't put them in the same sentence. Even though you stay true to your feelings and your integrity stays the same, being yourself as a cadet, they don't really go together at all.

Second, female cadets learn to find their personal balance between femininity and masculinity. As noted earlier, some of the cadets found it easier to appear androgynous while in uniform. Their balance was to be neither feminine nor masculine but to give the appearance of “soldier first.” As one focus group member commented,

When you’re in uniform, you are a group. There is no individual gender. Yeah, we do get some special treatment because as a female we don’t have to have as high a PT score and stuff. But other than that we are treated no differently. There is not supposed to be a difference. Now when we are outside of uniform it is completely different. That is when we express our feminine side and we wear make-up and jewelry and the clothes.

Each cadet must find harmony amidst being too feminine or being too masculine.

Third, there are clear penalties for cadets who do not “do” gender successfully. These penalties range from comments and being talked about behind their backs to being intentionally targeted by other cadets to be removed from the cadet program. Another focus group member commented:

I think the guys try to say that we don’t have such high standards. I’ve heard that multiple times. I find it incorrigible that because of the way the standards are now, that they lowered the standards so that females would pass. It’s never because the males suck at all. It is always that the female gender, the reason is that when females started coming in the military, that is when the standard went down and that is why there are problems in the military. I’ve heard that one a lot from a lot of males. But on the opposite hand, I’ve had females, friends I’ve had myself that have done amazing as females in the military. They are never talked about around the guys. They will overlook them. They will say, oh, well, she’s only one out of how many females? Or that kind of stuff. So sometimes in that case.

Female cadets quickly learn the penalties they will encounter and adapt to their male dominated military environment. Through their adaptation or balancing of gender, female cadets are able to successfully “do” gender in an ROTC environment.

## **Research Question Two: Themes**

Two themes emerged while answering research question two: How do female cadets believe these experiences will affect their leadership potential? The themes are arranged in order of Perceptions of Military Ratings and Peer Perceptions. Within each of these two themes are the cadets' responses and an analysis of their response in relation to the theme. Each response is in alphabetical order by last pseudonym of each cadet.

### **Perceptions of Military Ratings**

For a richer understanding into the research question "how do female cadets believe these experiences will affect their leadership potential," I asked a series of questions to each of the six cadets. During this portion of my research, I asked overall, how would you describe your military ratings/evaluations, and how accurately do you believe these ratings reflect your performance?

Cadet Abernathy

Cadet Abernathy feels that sometimes male cadets rate female cadets harder just because they are female. She feels that "some guys will be dicks on purpose to females. They'll be, like, excuse me, that's not the standard!" When referring to male cadets rating female cadets on PT tests, Cadet Abernathy states:

When cadets rate cadets, yeah, sometimes. It actually depends on the male. Because when I take my PT test, my graders are the Military Leadership Center (LDC) Staff. They grade at standard. Some of them, their standards might be skewed like that is a push up, when it's really not. That really doesn't bother me. The way I look at it, if they are going to grade me harder, it is because they want me to train and work harder. Not that I keep trying to go back to it, but it is that we have to work twice as hard to be seen. It depends on the party who sees you. Some guys are like no just because you're a female, but some guys, well, it is just

how they look at you. It is just the way some have been raised towards females. Some guys, as long as she can keep up and keep the same standard as guys, they don't see why not. But some guys are like no not at all because she's a female. Not at all. It is just how they look at it. I can't really help on how I'm graded or how I'm evaluated by my peers. I can't really do anything about it but do my best. They don't see me for who I am, but who I'm not. Like my next goal for my PT test is to max out the male standard. I don't care if they look at me like oh she's a female. She can do the best of female standard. It's like oh, I'll max out the male standard, and you can come back and tell me good job! Some guys are like good job; you maxed it, but others are like it is female standards. They think females have it easier when they don't understand our bodies are built differently. Some people are not good at doing pushups, some people are not good at doing sit ups, we're different body types. Some people just have a hard time realizing that females are just as good as males. Some people are brought up that males are better than females. There is really nothing I can do except try my hardest to do the best I can every day.

Cadet Abernathy comments that some of the male cadets "don't see me for who I am, but who I'm not." Although her next PT goal is to max the male standard, she knows to some males, she will always be referred to as a girl, and therefore not good enough because she isn't a male. She accepts that some male cadets will never view her as an equal soldier, yet she continues to do her best every day. When asked if she thinks her evaluations are equal to what she thinks they should be, she commented "as much as I would like to think that, I guess sometimes they haven't been just because of who evaluated me. But I would like to think that most people accept me equal to the male standard. I don't slack on anything." No matter how hard Cadet Abernathy works, she is aware that, depending on who is evaluating her, she may not receive the rating she deserves.

Cadet Bahret

Cadet Bahret feels her military ratings are accurate. She stated when asked "my military ratings do reflect my performance. Yes, during [orientation] week I was named

the meanest instructor by the [incoming freshmen]. Most of the time, the guys get that honor. I loved it that I got it. I surprised the [incoming freshmen] because I can turn it on and off.” Cadet Bahret corresponds her military rating in this instance to that of the freshman orientation members. She sees being rated as the meanest instructor as an honor only given to male cadets. For her, as a female, to receive this rating, means that she is recognized as being just as tough as any of the male cadets.

#### Cadet Chambers

Cadet Chambers feels her ratings reflect her performance, but that as a female she has to work harder before she is actually recognized. She responded:

I think at first when you're a female and you first come in, you don't get a lot of credit for the good stuff you do. You kind of have to build a reputation, and if you build yourself up with that reputation then people start recognizing you. Then you get evaluated where it reflects what you actually do. I've been in the Army for about three years now. When I first came in I was the same person. I did everything I was supposed to do. I had to go a little farther to do things to help people out. Then people just see you for what you do. You don't get a lot of recognition. But then in the Army, and the corps, just doing the same thing, just having a good work ethic, like not trying to get a double standard because I'm a female, and trying to live and like bring up the female standard, people start recognizing you. Last month I got recognized for soldier of the year for the entire unit, and I went to the board, and I actually won, and I was against other guys. The people who graded us, evaluated us on the board, were a Command Sergeant Major and four other first sergeants, so I think it just takes time. For guys if they do good stuff, well, you're supposed to do good stuff, so you get immediate good credit for it. But for women you have to build a reputation. I think that would be the right word.

Cadet Chambers feels she has to work twice as hard as any male cadet. She sees guys as automatically getting credit for their work because they are male. It is expected that males will be successful, but for females, they must “build a reputation” of being a good soldier before they will receive recognition for their efforts.

## Cadet Davidson

Cadet Davidson feels her ratings are comparable to her skills and leadership. She commented:

I think staff ranks me pretty high because I am a decisive and on point female, but also because in my junior class I am one of the top cadets. I've come this far, and I've done really well. When they are considering me for a position next year, they aren't considering me because I'm a female. They are considering me because I'm a good cadet. I'm capable of doing the job. Whether I get the highest position possible or the second highest position possible, it's not because I'm a female. It is because I'm the best cadet, because I've done a good job this year, because they know I'm capable of handling more pressure. I think my military staff ranks me relatively high. As far as my peers, they rate me on tactical. It really isn't my strong point, and I don't concentrate on it as much as I do my studies. As far as being able to do a raid, it really isn't at the top of my priorities, but I'm ok at it. I have a lot to learn. But how well you do at that depends on how well your peers rate you. In this last year I was rated 6 out of 11, which means I was at about the half way mark with my peers. I think it was a good rating for not being good at everything tactical wise, that is good. Peer ratings really aren't about my leadership skills. They are about my tactical knowledge. In the corps I think I would be rated pretty high just because people know I am good and can get the job done. As far as everybody liking me, haha, probably not because I have to yell a lot and make people feel like idiots, because they aren't doing their job, but it is just part of what I do. I think people respect me enough because I try to do the right thing, because I try to look out for people, but there isn't a peer rating for that.

Cadet Davidson's highest ratings come from the Military Staff. She feels six out of eleven is a good enough score from her peers since military tactics is not her strong point. Although Cadet Davidson states that "when they are considering me for a position next year, they aren't considering me because I'm a female. They are considering me because I'm a good cadet," in a previous question she stated "I have to work twice as hard I feel sometimes just to get people to respect me because I am a female." Cadet Davidson's comments often contradict each other. She acknowledges that she has to

work twice as hard to gain the respect of others since she is a female, but then she comments that her ratings and promotions have nothing to do with her gender.

#### Cadet Eastman

Cadet Eastman is very secure in her evaluations. She does not feel there is a difference in ratings whether the evaluator is male or female. When asked how accurate she felt her ratings were, she answered:

One level up evaluates you every semester. Like when I was a squad leader last year, I was evaluated by my platoon sergeant. It was on the ESN scale [Excellent, Satisfactory, Needs Improvement]. I usually did pretty well. I take my job pretty seriously, and I want to do good at it. So I put a lot of effort into what I do, and people notice that too.

Cadet Eastman feels her evaluations are accurate because she takes her job seriously and does the best job she can. She believes because of her efforts, people recognize her achievements. When asked if her evaluations were similar to male cadets, she responded “haha! I get better evaluations than some male cadets.”

#### Cadet Fairburn

Cadet Fairburn also feels she is evaluated accurately by her peers, but at the same time, she feels she is not doing her personal best. She commented:

I scored really, really well on the pre-camp, and I feel like I could do a lot more studying military tactics. I know I could do a lot better. I just don't put the time into it because I'm busy with education stuff all the time. In my free time I like to do things that help me stay sane. I don't want to sit there studying tactics in my free time. So I guess people see me like I do really well, but I think I could do a lot better.

Cadet Fairburn appears to be harder on herself than the other female cadets are on themselves. Although she does fine on her PT scores, evaluations, and ratings, she continues to bring up how she could always be doing better.

## Peer Perceptions

Military evaluations are completed by each soldier's boss or next highest military officer. It is of utmost importance that these evaluators believe their soldiers are completing their jobs to the best of their ability. The soldiers' offers of promotion and duty stations are dependent upon excellent evaluations. Answering how female cadets believe these experiences will affect their leadership potential, I asked each of the cadets if they feel their male cadets think they do their job as well as they do. And also if they feel other female cadets think they do their job as well as they do.

### Cadet Abernathy

Cadet Abernathy feels her female colleagues know she can do just as good of a job as they can. She feels that some guys know she can, but that others refuse to acknowledge she is just as good as the men are strictly because she is a woman. She stated:

I know like female colleagues think I can. When I was a freshman my team leader said to another guy to shut up because every time she ran I was keeping up every time in formation, and I hadn't fallen out one time. The guys know we can be just as good as them, and they don't like it. It is kind of hard to explain. I feel like my female colleagues they know I do a good job and am to standard. They are ok with that. But some guys see that and some guys don't.

The male cadets see that Cadet Abernathy not only exceeds female standard but also is to standard with the males. It is not that male cadets do not see her success; it is that they refuse to accept a female soldier as an equal.

### Cadet Bahret

Cadet Bahret feels her male colleagues only think she does her job as well as they do when she proves herself to them. She feels that as long as she is doing a good job then



others will know it. When asked if she feels her male colleagues think she does her job as well as they do, she responded:

This weekend hit that one home a lot. In previous years the [her job title] when we go on FTX is in charge of tracking people and how many each group is supposed have. It has pretty much been a shit-show until this year. So this year it wasn't as much as one. All the commanders this year are male. And they all at first were kind of like, well, when they first started talking to me, they were talking down. And it wasn't because I'm a female; it was because it is a [her job title] position, and they didn't respect it at all until they saw exactly what happened this weekend. Then all of their demeanors changed for the better. When you do a good job you can tell in the way they talk to you. Same as when you do a crappy job, you can tell if they are talking down to you.

Cadet Bahret proved to the other male commanders that she knows her job and can successfully exceed expectations. Although "all the commanders this year are male," she doesn't accredit this to them talking down to her. Instead she blames her position. She acclaims her success and acceptance to doing a great job. Cadet Bahret does not feel gender had any bearing in their initial treatment of her.

#### Cadet Chambers

Cadet Chambers feels that she has to prove herself to both males and females to be seen as an equal. When asked if she felt her male and female colleagues thought she did her job as well as they do their jobs, she answered:

For males I would say, unless they are very secure with themselves and they are willing to accept a good female, they don't recognize it. I think internally they can say hey they do their job pretty damn good. But some aren't willing to say hey that female is as good as I am, unless they are secure with themselves and they appreciate hard work in general no matter who you are. As far as females, it is different. If you're a female who tries to keep up to standard like myself and other ones, and you respect them for keeping up the female standard, but at the same time you kind of, well, some females that are like that are kind of full of themselves. Then you respect them because they do good stuff, but they boast about it. I don't. I'm not one of those people. If I do something good and people find out, great, but I don't really care. But there are some people in this corps

especially will boast about themselves, and it is just very annoying. But I think they are willing, to answer your question, to say hey they do their job well, but they always want to find something that you do worse than them so that they feel better about themselves.

I asked if that would be for both males and females, and Cadet Chambers responded:

I think more females. It also depends on the individual person, but I think we want to do good and respect other females who do, but at the same time we want to be that better female. So sometimes it is like oh she's pretty good, but I can do this better. And with males it is like all the way they will respect you, or all the way they won't. It doesn't matter because they really don't think females are on the same level anyways in general. Guys always ask what you got on your PT test, and if a girl says well I got a 300 and 300 is the max, then the guy will say well, I got a 280. It is true that the female standard is different than the male standard but that is because our bodies are different. It isn't because we can't do it. That is an example of how guys like to throw it out there, and then they get defensive like oh yeah, you scored higher than me, but it is on your standard. So then I'm like oh, well how many pushups did you do? And they are like oh, 60, and I'm like well I did more than you. Because it doesn't matter what I got on my scale, I still did more pushups than you did.

Keeping on the same thought, I asked Cadet Chambers if she thought it would be better for females in general if the standard was the same. She answered:

I think it would be in a sense because if you can prove yourself on a male standard, the guys will respect you a lot more. Even if you say, hey let's convert my numbers to your standards and see what score I get. Then they say it doesn't matter because I get evaluated on my scale. I run a 14 minute two mile, so I max that, but on the male standard I would just be passing, so that is why it is different. I disagree with the female pushup standard. I think if a female can't do at least 30 pushups in two minutes; that is ridiculous. But I don't set the standards – haha! Guys just say you're doing good for a "female." Girls are always trying to one up each other.

Cadet Chambers does not believe her male colleagues feel she does her job as well as they do their job simply because she is a female. Even though she scores within their PT standard, she is still discredited as a female. She also feels competition with the

other female cadets. For Cadet Chambers, she is either considered “doing good for a female” by her fellow male cadets or “trying to one up each other” by her fellow female cadets.

#### Cadet Davidson

Cadet Davidson feels her colleagues, both male and female, as well as the Military Staff believe she does her job as well as her peers. She stated:

Yes. I think my male colleagues who are above me do their job well because they are seniors, and they have been doing their job longer, but I think they would say I do my job pretty well with the leadership that I've had. They are considering me for their jobs next year, and they wouldn't be considering me if I didn't do my job well. I think they do respect me in that regard. As far as females go, I think they do respect me because I'm representing the females. I'm on top of the list. I can prove to people that you can still be female, hold a higher leadership position, and still do it just as good as being a male. And I think they respect me for that. It gives them hope that they will be ranked equally among the ranks. Whether female or male, they can still have that position as long as they know what they are doing. The same with the Military Staff, they wouldn't be considering me for next year if they didn't think I was doing a good job or was capable and if they didn't respect me. The board consists of Military Staff and senior cadets.

Cadet Davidson is secure that she does her job well and is recognized for her hard work. She is expecting to move up in the rankings next year and believes she will be equally recognized as a successful female soldier among successful male soldiers.

#### Cadet Eastman

With the exception of a few, Cadet Eastman also feels her male colleagues think she does her job as well as they do. She answered:

Yes, I think so. Some are a little biased because I am a female, but I outperform them, and that makes them jealous. I guess that takes me up a little in their eyes too. Some females wish they could have had my job. There are only so many higher up positions, and if some female gets up there, then it is an accomplishment. There are way more guys than girls, and in paid positions, there are only three of us right now. I think that is an accomplishment, and they should

be proud of that. I know most of them. They say that they are, but you know, you can't account for everyone.

Cadet Eastman has worked hard to prove to her colleagues that she is a successful female military leader. Although there will always be the few who will discredit her accomplishments, she feels certain that most view her leadership potential in a positive manner.

Cadet Fairburn

Cadet Fairburn says in the past she has felt that males did not feel she could do her job as well as they do, but that her current job is less competitive, and she feels they work together to help each other out. She answered saying:

It depends on the guy. Some guys are just oh I can do this better, blah, blah, but some when I say I stink at this, they say no you're doing great! My job right now is more like counseling and academic stuff so it's not like competitive, even though I'm the only girl on the staff. It's about helping people out, not about oh let me yell at you. In my current position no, but in my previous position I always felt like, well, I know that females are given jobs, but I wish it was more based on performance. But it is that they need a female here or there.

I asked Cadet Fairburn if she felt some females are given positions just because they are female. She commented:

I feel that way, yes. They have to have one or two in each company. Some get the job because they are female. Even so, our PT standards are lower. And we get graded overall easier on some things. And that affects your overall rating, so your evaluations are a little bit lower than the guys. They aren't supposed to be, but that is just kind of how it works out.

I followed up with if she felt her female colleagues thought she did her job as well as they do. Cadet Fairburn responded:

Well, that is difficult because we are all in different positions. The girls you are interviewing, well, we are all upperclassmen. We respect each other. But the lower classmen, well, I don't know how they perceive us. Some just hate for no

reason. But I really don't associate or talk to them unless I'm counseling them, so I'm really not sure how I am perceived.

Cadet Fairburn believes some of the female cadets are given their jobs because they need females for certain positions with other female cadets. At the same time, she commented that female "PT standards are lower," and therefore females are "graded easier on some things." Although when asked if she felt her military ratings were accurate she felt they were, she then follows that question by replying that lower PT standards for women adversely affects overall ratings, hence males score higher than females.

### **Analysis of Research Question Two**

In an effort to dissect how each of the six cadets personally perceived their military leadership training at MSU, I individually asked them how they believed their experiences here at Military State University will affect their leadership potential in the future. Their responses were very similar in nature.

Cadet Abernathy

When I asked Cadet Abernathy how she believed her experiences at Military State University will affect her leadership potential, she answered

I can talk to people. If I need to chew someone out, I do it. And then we can get back to business, and it's fine. I think it is just how it reflects my personality. I can be who I am and at the same time still have authority, but at the same time, I can still be nice. It is really hard to do because people who are really mean just suck. But if you can have authority and are strict and fair and be nice about it, it is just like switching a switch. You don't treat your friend different than anyone else. Some people when they are promoted are just hard, hard, hard, all the time. But it really depends on the person. You can't mentor every person the same way. I realized that my first semester, not everyone you can talk to the same way. Some

people you have to say, hey, let's sit down and talk about this because obviously you're not getting it through your head. But some people you can just yell at them and tell them they need to get this done. And they are like ok, and they do it. It has to do with your leadership mentality and aspects. It is funny because I feel like I can change who I am with my clothes. When I change into [sorority] clothes for my sorority meetings, then I'm a sorority girl. When I change into my uniform, then I'm a military soldier, but when I'm in civilian clothes, it depends on who I'm with. It has to do with my mindset I guess. It is pretty funny. You also have to know that you never speak of what happened on the weekend with other people in the military, whether they were there or not. You have to keep your rank. Some people you can speak with. You have to know which ones can flip the switch and which ones can't. For me, probably because of the way I grew up. It just comes natural, but for some people it doesn't.

Cadet Abernathy feels the leadership training and positions she has held within the corps have empowered her to speak with confidence. She feels she has kept her same personality, but the corps has enhanced her into a leader. She has learned when and how to speak to a variety of people. She associates how she dresses or looks with who she is at that time. Cadet Abernathy attributes her success to the corps as well as her previous military experiences growing up.

Cadet Bahret

Cadet Bahret believes her potential as a leader has been enhanced at Military State University because she now has the confidence to lead people and not worry with what others are saying about her. She responded:

It is proven true to me that instead of just thinking it, I know it. I've had so many of my male counterparts come up to me and say hey you did a really good job. I know you were a bitch, and you may not have liked the fact that you were, but you did what you had to do to get the job done, and we respect the fact that you did that. So it is very, well, the experience of thinking what was right is shown that it was right, and that it will work. You just have to make it work, but you have to make them see the other side of you. And make them see that hey you may not like me when I'm doing my job, but I'm ok with that. As long as you realize that that is not the whole me, it is just one part.

Cadet Bahret acknowledges others may not always like her when she is leading them, but she feels confident she is doing her job the way it needs to be done. She feels that validation through the other male staff that tell her she is doing “a really good job.” Military State University gives her the opportunity to think about how to solve the problem and then solve it. Through the positive reinforcement she receives from her peers and Military Staff, she has grown as a leader.

#### Cadet Chambers

Cadet Chambers believes Military State University has given her the opportunity to lead. She attributes her success and potential success as a commissioned officer to her training at this college. She commented when asked how she believed these experiences will affect her leadership potential,

I think it absolutely will because like I said, I have the opportunity to lead here. I go to a board, and I got chosen out of everybody to be the 1Sgt, and next semester I'm pretty sure I'm going to be a commander. And I will have been chosen out of everybody to do it. So I've obviously proven myself enough to get the opportunity to be the 1Sgt. And as a 1Sgt everything you do here, that you experience here, helps you for the next one. As a platoon Sgt. I dealt with all types of issues. Now I'm Accountability - where people are, why they are there, are they in the hospital, send somebody with them. I keep people updated. You deal with both sides. I know as a commander I'll deal with even more because I'm dealing with the same amount of people, but I'll have greater amounts of responsibilities as far as paperwork and planning and stuff like that. And all of that on top of being a female succeeding in a male dominate prestigious environment, it almost makes it even more like, ok, she's a hardass. She has succeeded in the best military college in the world, outnumbered by males. So you can see how it will affect my leadership. It will make me a well-rounded leader who will be able to react very quickly to anything that may come my way. Whether I encounter it or not, I should have a reasonable idea of how to handle it.

I told Cadet Chambers it was surprising to me that the cadets I am interviewing all have close to the same responses. She said “it really isn't surprising. Although we are all

different people, we have, because we are here, a similar mentality. We're going to be similar since we've all succeeded here." Cadet Chambers' experiences here have given her the confidence to lead and think through problems with a military bearing.

Cadet Davidson

Cadet Davidson correlates both gender and leadership into her success at Military State University. She responded:

I think it is going to help me and set me up for any situation. To be able to be successful in any job I'm put in because I don't think it is going to be harder than it is in this kind of setting. As far as gender and balance, it develops you by learning how to do the job. I don't think there is any job harder than trying to get your peers to respect you by seeing you as a soldier and not seeing you as a female. Gender is about balance. It is important to be seen as a soldier. Outside of uniform it is important to be seen as a female because guys don't necessarily respect the girls that are so hard they want to be guy. Like when they cut their hair really, really short and try to be a guy. Because they look at them like you're a girl. You're just trying too hard. That's why it is good to have that balance so when we're in uniform and we're going to get the job done, we're not going to be seen as a guy. We're going to be seen as a driven female, a driven soldier. That's who we are. Now outside of uniform we are still feminine. We still wear make-up; we still wear earrings; we paint our nails; it is a good balance.

Cadet Davidson feels the hardest part about her job involves her peers seeing her as a soldier and not necessarily a woman. She feels Military State University has given her the exposure and skills to curtail her gender to be more in line with military expectations. As a driven female soldier, Cadet Davidson feels she will be a successful military officer upon commission.

Cadet Eastman

Cadet Eastman feels her experiences of being a female cadet have positively affected her leadership potential because it has made her stronger. She said:



I think it makes you a stronger leader because you have so many more obstacles that you have to overcome. And you have to portray this stronger image just because you are a female. It makes you work twice as hard. After you go through a hard struggle, you feel so accomplished. You're getting the results you want.

Cadet Eastman's experiences have taught her that being a female soldier means she will have to work twice as hard as her male soldiers to be accepted. Military State University has given her the opportunities to overcome these obstacles as a cadet. She feels by overcoming these obstacles early, this will have a positive effect on her leadership potential.

#### Cadet Fairburn

Cadet Fairburn attributes her experiences at Military State University to having a positive effect on her leadership potential. She has learned how to achieve respect from her colleagues by doing her job in the most professional manner possible. She stated:

I guess just trying to get respect but also not losing respect by being a ditz in uniform. It is playing the part, doing the job, doing what needs to be done. Out of uniform it is different. It is a whole other side of you. But in uniform you are more professional in what you say and do. There is a big discrepancy in how you act in uniform and how you act out of uniform. How you are seen out of uniform depends on how you will be seen in uniform.

Through Cadet Fairburn's experiences at Military State University she has also learned that how she is seen outside of uniform affects how she will be seen in uniform. Although she can be more like herself outside of uniform, she is consistently conscious of her actions.

The four focus groups validated the six main research participants' perceptions of how their experiences at MSU will affect their leadership potential. They made comments such as,

I think you have to have a tough skin. I know I had to develop a tough skin early. It makes you grow up. You're basically thrown into the water and you have to work your way out of it, and that is the best way to learn it. You can't just creep in you know. You have to learn from your mistakes and others' mistakes. It develops our leadership and our future leadership. It really does.

Through their experiences at MSU, these cadets' perceptions of their potential leadership are dependent upon how quickly they "have a tough skin" and learn from mistakes. They feel by learning to be good leaders, they will also be able to help new soldiers who have not yet had the experiences they have had. One of the focus group members said she felt MSU had prepared her to be the leader other soldiers would see as an example of how to act as a soldier.

We know both ends. We know what it is like to be a female in the Army or the corps so we have that perspective. We also know what it is like for the guys because we work with them on a daily basis. We go through everything that they go through. So we've got that perspective, and we've had to be political about it. We know what is acceptable and what isn't, and the fact that we do place soldier first, mission first, etc., that is in the Army Code. That is how it is here. So you should start at it here. And the better you get at it, the more informed you'll be, the more experience you'll have for when you get young soldiers in for the first time who don't know how to act. I mean we have four years, but they are just in it. I really think this is for the betterment of our leadership skills.

Another focus group member who is new to the corps, but not new to the Reserves, commented that the leadership skills she has learned while in her first semester at MSU has greatly improved her leadership confidence while attending drill. She commented,

I've only been in the corps for a semester. I'm in the Reserves so I go to drill once a month in the actual Army. This has already helped my leadership. When I first joined the Army, I was very shy. I didn't want to get in front of my company, in front of my squads, and now being in the corps has thrown me in it. I had to do it. I've been learning, and I now take that to work with me once a month. It has helped with my leadership. I've seen an improvement. So the corps overall helps

you out. It may not seem like it at first, but the longevity of it is what you are looking for.

MSU's female cadets believe their leadership potential has been enhanced by the opportunities and experiences they have encountered while attending this Senior Military College. The individual cadet interviews as well as the four focus group interviews all concede the training and focus of MSU's ROTC leadership program continues to benefit their leadership potential.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

#### **Introduction**

I am indebted to Herbert's (1998) scholarship of gender and leadership. My research builds on and validates her research on gender and sexuality from the perspective of soldiers and veterans. Using an abridged version of Herbert's (1998) survey, I was able to obtain information about how female cadets "do" gender to be accepted in an ROTC environment. My research confirms that ROTC women develop new ways of enacting gender performance prior to commissioning or enlisting. Thus, I extended Herbert's findings to incorporate into my own study of the gendered culture of female ROTC cadets.

This chapter discusses the results of the research of how female cadets "do" gender to be accepted in a male military environment and make recommendations for future studies. The interpretation of the findings and recommendations shed light on the major themes that emerged during this study. This discussion is organized around my two main research questions: How do female cadets "do" gender in an ROTC environment? and How do female cadets believe these experiences will affect their leadership potential? These two questions lend a clear and focused framework from which five themes emerged: Conflicts with Self, Balancing Femininity and Masculinity, Penalties of

Gender, Perceptions of Military Ratings, and Peer Perceptions. The analysis of my research indicates women not only have to work twice as hard as their male colleagues to be noticed for their good work, but also that no matter how well they do their jobs, they are still viewed as second class soldiers strictly due to their gender.

### **Gender Barriers**

As noted previously, women continue to face employment barriers in civilian jobs as well as military jobs. Although women are slowly overcoming the glass ceiling, there are still many obstacles they must hurdle. My research shows this is still prevalent in a military environment. The military historically promotes hyper masculinity through the myth that its role is the protection of women and children (Biernat et al., 1998). Through this hyper masculinity, males have dominated the military while feminizing all that is different from it. It is evident from societal values that women and children are treated as weak and therefore must be protected and subjected to male expectations. Entrenched in our societal values lies the culprit of perpetual discrimination against women. Society has relentlessly viewed females as physically and emotionally inferior to their male counterparts despite efforts to gain equal opportunities in all professions.

Female soldiers serving in the armed forces account for less than 15% of the total military population. With femininity associated with passive characteristics such as dependency, submissiveness, emotionality, and physical inferiority, and masculinity associated with aggressive characteristics such as strength, courage, independence, and assertiveness, it becomes obvious how female characteristics are viewed as incongruent

with military bearing. Those women who demonstrate that they possess the same qualities of strength, courage, independence, and assertiveness as men are still diminished or considered an exception to the rule. As long as women are seen in this light, gender discrimination will continue within the ranks of the military and universities will be culpable for its perpetuation.

Incessant stereotypes of women have devastating consequences. Biernat et al. (1998), Boldry, Wood, and Kashy (2001), Boyce and Herd (2003), Larwood, Glasser, and McDonald (1980), and Morgan's (2004) research on stereotypes of women in a military setting show that females are consistently evaluated as less leader-like and less capable than their male colleagues. Blatantly obvious are the ingrained ideals that men and women are expected to engage in society's gender norm expectations, and deviations from the gender norm activities will lead to lower performance ratings of women. Enloe (2007) states "[m]asculinization, as we have seen, often is fueled by key players' anxieties and fears of *feminization*" (p. 52).

### **Findings and Interpretations**

The purpose of this study is to gain a rich, deep understanding of how female cadets perceive gender in an ROTC environment and how their experiences influence their leadership potential. Before applying to MSU, each of these cadets engaged physically, academically, and socially in their high schools. To be considered as an applicant, each cadet had to first prove she was a scholar, athlete, and leader in addition to having outstanding grades and SAT scores. Upon acceptance into MSU's ROTC

program, the real work of being a scholar, athlete, and leader begins. A typical day for female cadets in their junior or senior year begins around 5 am with LDAC PT and ends with lights out around midnight. Every aspect is consistently inspected from their rooms to their personal appearance.

The first research question I examined was “how do female cadets “do” gender in an ROTC environment?” The first of three themes I identified with this question was conflicts with self. Each of the six cadets in my study had to decide how much of their femininity or masculinity they would retain and how much needed to evolve to be seen as a soldier first and female second. Although overall the cadets felt they could be themselves, they struggled with having to “work twice as hard to be seen” and often felt they would rather be seen as androgynous than as a woman when in uniform. There was a clear distinction between what was acceptable in uniform and out of uniform. Women who appeared feminine in uniform were often criticized and talked about. Each of these female cadets had to make a conscious decision of how they would “do” gender in an ROTC environment. Their conflict with self centered on how much of their femininity or masculinity they were willing to suppress. All six cadets responded that they wear little to no make-up, suppress their femininity, exert masculinity, and use PT as a means of proving their strength as women.

When all things male are praised and a female encroaches upon that territory, she feels she must assimilate to the male standard. Although these six cadets feel they can be themselves when in civilian clothes, they are often cautious about repercussions they may encounter for what they wear, where they are seen, and who they are seen with. As

gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) explains, people learn stereotypical ideals of masculine and feminine traits and how people conform to fit within these roles. Female cadets break these gender roles by being in ROTC and often feel they must change aspects of their femininity to correspond with their male colleagues. Their conflicts with self include finding the balance between femininity and masculinity.

Once the cadets have come to understand their conflicts with self, they then move into how to balance femininity and masculinity. In uniform they feel compelled to be seen as masculine, soldier-like. They raise their voice to a command level and demand respect from the other cadets. They are as tough as any male in uniform and are quick to hide anything that would feminize their leadership style. Often they keep their significant other a secret in order to downplay any rumors that would make them appear submissive in any way. The cadets who feel they are always themselves also commented they want to be considered one of the guys. It is important to these cadets that they do not draw attention to themselves as being female.

Davies (2004) suggests people intentionally look for where they fit in and place themselves accordingly, while abjecting that which makes them appear different from those with whom they align themselves. Abjection of unwanted characteristics controls the perceptions of being feminized while in uniform. Female cadets balance their gender by aligning themselves with the military patriarchy and abject all things feminine as weak and unworthy of military inclusion.

Within the balance of femininity and masculinity is the construction of the penalties of gender. Female cadets are well aware of the penalties of gender. To be too



feminine risks name calling, such as the “Barbie Soldier,” loss of respect and promotions, a bad reputation, and others who will not follow your lead. Only one of the six cadets saw being too masculine, or butch, as she stated, as having penalties. Although they are confident in their abilities to exercise both power and authority as women, they must appear more masculine than civilian women to reach the level of respect necessary for them to be successful leaders in a military environment.

Judith Butler’s (2008) theory of femininity as performance illustrates that women in the military break traditional gender boundaries by achieving success in this historically masculine domain. There are penalties if female cadets do not carefully balance femininity and masculinity. Reay (2001) also illustrated this concept in her research of four groups of girls. The only seven-year-old female who was not harassed by the boys in her classroom was the tomboy. By abjecting all that was feminine, she was accepted as “one of the guys” by the other boys. She did not experience the penalties of gender that her other female classmates experienced. My study shows that the female cadets in my research have learned to avoid the penalties of gender by being accepted as “one of the guys.”

The second research question I examined is “how do female cadets believe these experiences will affect their leadership potential?” The first of the two themes I identified with this question is perceptions of military ratings. Rating or evaluations are of the utmost importance while training for LDAC. All but one of the six cadets said they felt their military ratings/evaluations accurately reflected their performance, but then they immediately made comments that they have to “work twice as hard” and that male cadets

“don’t see me for who I am, but who I’m not.” When female cadets are working twice as hard as their male peers to be considered “good enough for a girl,” then their ratings/evaluations are not an accurate portrayal of their work.

Role congruity theory explains that social roles hold positive or negative value, depending upon whether the role is typical to the group to which an individual belongs. This theory is substantiated in the studies of female military leadership by: Biernat, Crandall, Young, Kobrynowicz, and Halpin (1998) who found negative stereotypes of female soldiers increased rather than decreased over time. As Ritter and Yoder (2004) also discovered, women are less likely to emerge as a leader when men opt for the position. Female cadets are negatively valued for moving beyond traditional social roles.

The second theme identified in my research question “how do female cadets believe these experiences will affect their leadership potential” is peer perceptions. Here the focus is on how the female cadets believe other cadets view their leadership. All six of the female cadets said, at one point or another, that they have to work twice as hard to be recognized as a soldier because they are female. Peer perceptions, although much wider in scope, are closely related to peer ratings/evaluations. Five of the six cadets in this research again said there are many males that do not value their leadership due to their gender.

Social comparison theory focuses on how minority groups perceive subordinate roles and devalue their contributions to the group based on their minority status. Female cadets in this study do not feel they experience equality within their military setting because of their gender, because their contributions are overlooked or devalued. As long

as their male peers continue to view them as “good enough for a girl,” they will continue to compare themselves to the male standard. As Collins (2003) states that “[o]ne way to dehumanize an individual or a group is to deny the reality of their experiences” (p. 339).

### **Suggestions for Further Research**

Although my research on gender and military leadership is valid, there are aspects that could further validate my findings. If I continued this same line of research, I would try to interview more female cadets. Possibly instead of my main research participants consisting of only six juniors and seniors, I could interview several female cadets from all class levels freshmen to seniors. I also believe this would help to show a progression of how female cadets gender progresses through the course of a four-year ROTC program.

While conducting my research, there were many shifts that could have been taken in the research focus. Sexuality as an indicator of gender biases was briefly mentioned during my interviews by some of the cadets I interviewed. Since this was not part of my focus, I did not concentrate on this prospective aspect of gender discrimination. With the recent repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” possibly more cadets and/or soldiers would be forthcoming with their experiences along this line of research.

Since my focus was on gender and leadership, I did not probe deeper into the attrition of female or male cadets. Further studies at this college, or others that are similar in nature, regarding the attrition rates of both female and male cadets may also lend to issues of gender at the earliest of stages at Senior Military Colleges.

Another research focus might be to compare whether female cadets in a regular ROTC environment/Senior Military College versus a Military Academy environment assess their gendered experiences similarly. Women enrolled in ROTC in state colleges and universities are not held to the same strenuous standards as the military academies. ROTC colleges are required to take military science courses and wear their uniform once a week. In the military academies, cadets are immersed in the culture of the military.

Studying the same topic of gender and military leadership, but from a male cadet perspective may also prove illuminating. One focus would be how males who do not view themselves as hyper masculine “do gender.” Is this a learned characteristic or does the military attract soldiers who already have these characteristics embedded in their values?

Researching gender and leadership from the perspectives and experiences of Junior Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (JROTC) cadets may help to determine how early these characteristics of hyper male dominance begin. How are male and female gender roles negotiated at this level?

Finally, this research could be extended by following these six cadets from their Senior Military College environment to their duty stations when commissioned as officers. It would be interesting to distinguish any differences they experience in the Army versus in their Senior Military College. Is gender discrimination less or more pronounced once they are officers? Do they notice a difference between the female officer and the female enlisted? Do their peers feel they are their equals, or still just “good enough for a girl?”

**Summary**

This study sought to determine how female cadets “do” gender in a military environment and how they believed their experiences would affect their leadership potential. After interviewing each of the six individual cadets and members of the four focus groups, I determined that female cadets “do” gender by suppressing their feminine characteristics and incorporating traditional male characteristics to appear more masculine than feminine. Feminine qualities are incongruent in a dominant male military environment. Female cadets who appear feminine are criticized and lose opportunities for leadership advancement because they do not possess the values both society and the military deem necessary to be a successful military leader. All six of the individual cadets and four focus groups also attribute their training at MSU as the reason they will be successful leaders in their future military roles.

## References

- 2011 army (apft) standards* . (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.apft-standards.com/>
- Adams, C., & van Manen, M. (2006). Embodiment, virtual space, temporality and interpersonal relations in online writing. *College Quarterly*. 9(4). Retrieved October 7, 2009, from [http://www.senecac.on.ca/quarterly/2006-vol09-num04-fall/adams\\_van\\_manen.html](http://www.senecac.on.ca/quarterly/2006-vol09-num04-fall/adams_van_manen.html)
- Anderson, N., Lievens, F., van Dam, K., & Born, M. (2006). A construct-driven investigation of gender differences in a leadership-role assessment center. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(3), 555-566.
- Army ROTC: legacy & value: with strength comes responsibility. (n.d.). Retrieved on November 20, 2010, from <http://www.goarmy.com/rotc/legacy-and-value.html>
- Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.). (2006). *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education*. Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Axe, D. (2007). *Army 101: Inside ROTC in a time of war*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Bem, S. L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*. 88(4), 354-364.
- Biernat, M., Crandall, C. S., Young, L. V., Kobrynowicz, D., & Halpin, S. M. (1998). All that you can be: Stereotyping of self and others in a military context. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 75(2), 301-317.

- Boldry, J., Wood, W., & Kashy, D. A. (2001). Bias in the Evaluation of Women Leaders: Gender Stereotypes and the Evaluation of Men and Women in Military Training. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(4), 689 – 705.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). Masculine domination: Permanence and change. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghaill, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education*. Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Boyce, L. A., & Herd, A. M. (2003). The relationship between gender role stereotypes and requisite military leadership characteristics. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research, 49*(7-8), 365-378.
- Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Campbell, D., & D'Amico, F. (1999). Lessons on Gender Integration from the military academies. In D'Amico, F., & Weinstein, L. (Eds.), *Gender camouflage: Women and the U.S. military* (pp. 67-79). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Carson, B. J. (2005, August). Vet news. Retrieved on June 23, 2008, from Veterans Affairs Office of Lexington County Web site: <http://www.lex-co.com/departments/VeteransAffairs/Documents/VetNews200508.pdf>
- Clandinin, D.J., & Murphy, M.S. (2009). Relational Ontological Commitments in Narrative Research. *Educational Researcher, 38*(8), 598-602.
- Clandinin, D.J., & Rosiek, J. (2007). Mapping a landscape of narrative inquiry: Borderland spaces and tensions. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 35-75). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Collins, P. H. (2003). Toward a new vision: Race, class, and gender as categories of analysis and connection. In Kimmel, M. S. & Ferber, A. L. (Eds.), *Privilege: A Reader* (pp. 331-348). Cambridge, MA: Westview Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1997). The big picture: Masculinities in recent world history. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (101-114). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Connelly, F.M., & Clandinin, D.J. (2006). Narrative inquiry. In J. Green, G. Camilli, & P. Elmore (Eds.), *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (pp. 375-385). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- D'Amico, F., & Weinstein, L. (Eds.). (1999). *Gender camouflage: Women and the U.S. military*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Datnow, A., & Hubbard, L. (Eds.). (2002). *Gender in policy and practice: Perspectives on single-sex and coeducational schooling*. New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Davies, B. (2004). Identity, abjection and otherness: Creating the self, creating difference. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (72-90). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Dean, D. M. (1999). Autobiography: Warriors without weapons. In D'Amico, F. & Weinstein, L. (Eds.), *Gender camouflage: Women and the U.S. Military* (90-95). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Desrosiers, M. M. (2008). Lieutenant Colonel Florence Kerins Murray path to leadership. *Minerva Journal of Women and War*. 2(1), 39-51.



- Dewalt, K. M., & Dewalt, B. R. (2002). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Dewey, J. (1997). *Experience & Education*. New York: Touchstone, (Original work published 1938).
- Diekman, A. B., & Goodfriend, W. (2006). Rolling with the changes: A role congruity perspective on gender norms. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30 369-383.
- Drake, M. J. (2006). Ambivalence at the academies: Attitudes toward women in the military at the federal service. *Social Thought & Research*, 27, 43-68.
- Edgecomb, Lt. Col. A. (2008, June 23). Army.mil/News release. Retrieved on June 25, 2008, from <http://www.army.mil/-newsreleases/2008/06/23/10287-lt-gen-dunwoody-nominated-to-receive-4th-star/>
- Enloe, C. (2007). *Globalization & militarism: Feminists make the link*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Female Army vet receives 4-star rank. (2008, November 15). *The Clarion-Ledger*, p. 5A.
- Francke, L. B. (1997). *Ground zero: The gender wars in the military*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Gee, M. (1999). Compiled by Ziaojian Zhao. Oral history: My silver wings. In D'Amico, F., & Weinstein, L. (Eds.), *Gender camouflage: Women and the U.S. military 200-205*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Ives, D. (n.d.). Combat in an age of terror: The military necessity of women in combat roles in Iraq and Afghanistan. Retrieved from [http://www.wcl.american.edu/gender/wlp/documents/2008082\\_Ives.pdf?rd=1](http://www.wcl.american.edu/gender/wlp/documents/2008082_Ives.pdf?rd=1)

- Harrell, M. C., Beckett, M. K., Chien, C. S., & Sollinger, J. M. (2002). *The status of gender integration in the military: Analysis of selected occupations*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- Harris, A. (2004). Citizenship and the self-made girl. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (268-281). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Headquarters Department of the Army. (2006). *Field manual 6-22: Army leadership: Competent, confident, and agile*. Washington, DC: Headquarters Department of the Army.
- Herbert, M. (1998). *Camouflage isn't only for combat: Gender, sexuality, and women in the military*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- hooks, b. (2003). Class and race: The new black elite. In Kimmel, M. S. & Ferber, A. L. (Eds.), *Privilege: A Reader* (243-252). Cambridge, MA: Westview Press.
- Hoyt, R. W., Opstad, K., Haugen, A., DeLany, J. P., Cymerman, A., & Friedl, K. E. (2006). Negative energy balance in male and female rangers: Effects of 7d of sustained exercise and food deprivation. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*. 83(5), 1068-1075.
- Irish, K. (2007). What's this about a few good men?: Gender integration in the U.S. military academies. *Minerva Journal of Women and War*. 1(1), 19-44.
- Josselson, R. (2004). The hermeneutics of faith and the hermeneutics of suspicion. *Narrative Inquiry*, 14(1), 1-28.
- Jorgensen, J. D., Petelle, J. L., & Slaughter, G.Z. (1989). *Time, self-congruity, and human expectancy: An introspective model of supervisor-subordinate relationships*. 32p. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association (39<sup>th</sup>). San Francisco, CA. May 25-29, 1989.

- Kehily, M. J., & Nayak, A. (1997). 'Lads and laughter': Humour and the production of heterosexual hierarchies. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (131-146). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Kenway, J., & Fitzclarence, L. (1997). Masculinity, violence and schooling: Challenging 'poisonous pedagogies.' In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (206-220). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Larwood, L., Glasser, E., & McDonald, R. (1980). Attitudes of male and female cadets toward military sex integration. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 6(3), 381-390.
- Lee, S. J. (2005). *Up against whiteness: Race, school, and immigrant youth*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Looney, J., Robinson-Kurpius, S. E., & Lucart, L. (2004). Military leadership evaluations: Effects of evaluator sex, leader sex, and gender role attitudes. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research*, 56(2) 104-118.
- Lucey, H., Melody, J., & Walkerdine, V. (2003). Uneasy hybrids: Psychosocial aspects of becoming educationally successful for working-class young women. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (238-251). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- McLeod, J. (2002). Working out intimacy: Young people and friendship in an age of reflexivity. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (223-237). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.

- Military nursing. (2007). Retrieved from <http://www.asrn.org/journal-chronicle-nursing/207-military-nursing.html>
- Mills, S. (2004). *Discourse: The new critical idiom*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Mitchell, B. (1998). *Women in the military: Flirting with disaster*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc.
- Moen, T. (2006). Reflections on the narrative research approach. *International Journal of Qualitative Methodology*, 5(4), 1-11.
- Morgan, M. J. (2004). Women in a man's world: Gender differences in leadership at the military academy. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*. 34(12), 2482-2502.
- Nathan, A. (2004). *Count on us: American women in the military*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society.
- Neiberg, M. S. (2000). *Making citizen soldiers: ROTC and the ideology of American military service*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- O'Beirne, K. (2006). *Women who make the world worse: And how their radical feminist assault is ruining our schools, families, military, and sports*. New York, NY: Penguin Group.
- Paechter, C. (2003). Power, bodies and identity: How different forms of physical education construct varying masculinities and femininities in secondary schools. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (194-205). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Pfluke, L. A. (1999). Autobiography: Too bad she's a girl. In D'Amico, F., & Weinstein, L. (Eds.), *Gender camouflage: Women and the U.S. military* (80-83). New York, NY: New York University Press.

- Prior, L. (2003). *Using documents in social research: Introducing qualitative methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Reay, D. (2001). 'Spice girls', 'nice girls', 'girlies', and 'tomboys': Gender discourses, girls' cultures and femininities in the primary classroom. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (117-130). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Regulations for the Corps of Cadets. (2008). n.p.
- Ritter, B. A., & Yoder, J. D. (2004). Gender differences in leader emergence persist even for dominant women: An updated confirmation of role congruity theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 28, 187-193.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Rusin, Col. J. B. (2001). *Move to the front: Military leadership secrets from a woman soldier*. Alexandria, WA: Byrd Enterprises, Inc.
- Sadler, G. C. (1999). From women's services to servicewomen. In D'Amico, F., & Weinstein, L. (Eds.), *Gender camouflage: Women and the U.S. military* (39-54). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Schneider, D., & Schneider, C. J. (1988). *Sound off!: American military women speak out*. New York: NY: E. P. Dutton.
- Scott-Tyson, A. (2008, May 1). Woman gains silver star - and removal from combat: Case shows contradictions of Army rules. *Washington Post*, p. A01.

- Solaro, E. (2006). *Women in the line of fire: What you should know about women in the military*. Emeryville, CA: Seal Press.
- Soucy, SSG. J. (2007, Feb, 5). Heroes turn out for exhibit opening at Army Women's Museum. *Military Connection*, Retrieved on June 23, 2008, from <http://www.militaryconnection.com/news/february-2007/opening-womens-museum.htm>
- Stanley, S. C. (1993). *Women in the military*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Tamboudou, M., & Ball, S. (2002). Nomadic subjects: Young black women in Britain. In Arnot, M., & Mac an Ghail, M. (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in gender and education* (252-267). Routledge, U.K.: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- United States Army, (2010). *Army skill training* (2010 634-020/60094). Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Census Bureau, (2009). *2010 statistical abstract: the national data book*. Retrieved on October 20, 2010 from [http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/national\\_security\\_veterans\\_affairs/military\\_personnel\\_and\\_expenditures.html](http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/national_security_veterans_affairs/military_personnel_and_expenditures.html)
- U.S. Census Bureau, (2008). *Population Estimates*. Retrieved on October 20, 2010 from <http://www.census.gov/popest/national/asrh/2008-nat-res.html>
- van Manen, M. (1997). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. Ontario, Canada: The Althouse Press.
- von Clausewitz, C., Machiavelli, N., & de Jomini, A. H. (2007). *The prince, On war, The art of war: Special edition of three all-time classics on politics & war*. Rockville: Arc Manor.

- Webber, W. S. (1993). Autobiography: I wish I could use my own name. In D'Amico, F., & Weinstein, L. (Eds.), *Gender camouflage: Women and the U.S. military*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Weinstein, L., D'Amico, F., & Meoloa, L. (1993). Lesbian exclusion. In D'Amico, F., & Weinstein, L. (Eds.), *Gender camouflage: Women and the U.S. military* (103-109). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Willens, J. (1996). Women in the military: Combat roles considered. *Center for Defense Information*. Retrieved on May 28, 2008 from <http://www.cdi.org/issues/women/combat.html>
- Williams, K. (2005). *Love my rifle more than you: Young and female in the U.S. Army*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Wilson, B. A. (1999). Autobiography: Crossing the line: NCO to officer. In D'Amico, F., & Weinstein, L. (Eds.), *Gender camouflage: Women and the U.S. military* (55-63). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Women's history: United States v. Virginia: 1996*. (n.d.). Retrieved on September 25, 2010 from [http://womenshistory.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http://www.galegroup.com/free\\_resources/whm/trials/virginia.htm](http://womenshistory.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http://www.galegroup.com/free_resources/whm/trials/virginia.htm)
- Zeigler, S. L., & Gunderson, G. G. (2005). *Moving beyond G.I. Jane: Women and the U.S. military*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc.

## APPENDIXES

### APPENDIX A

Cadet Performance Report summarized definitions (Morgan, 2004, 2488-2489)

*Duty motivation.* Actions that indicate persistence in the attempt to achieve high standards of performance for self, subordinates, and others.

*Military bearing.* Maintaining Army standards of appearance, physical fitness, manner, composure, and courtesy.

*Teamwork.* Actions that indicate commitment to the achievement of organizational goals while working effectively with others; support of organizational rules and regulations.

*Influencing others.* The act of using appropriate interpersonal styles and methods in guiding individuals or groups toward task accomplishment or resolution of conflicts and disagreements.

*Respect for others.* Actions that indicate a sensitivity to and regard for the feelings and needs of others and an awareness of the effect of one's own behavior on them; being supportive of and fair with others.

*Professional ethics.* Maintaining ethical, moral, and Army professional standards and values; accepting and acknowledging full responsibility for one's actions and their consequences.



*Planning and organizing.* The ability to establish a course of action for oneself and others to accomplish goals; establishing priorities and planning appropriate allocation of time and resources and proper assignment of people.

*Delegating.* The ability and inclination to use the talents of subordinates effectively; the allocation of decision-making and other authority to the appropriate subordinates.

*Supervision.* The ability to establish procedures for monitoring and regulating processes, tasks, or activities of subordinates and one's own job; taking actions to monitor the results of delegated tasks or projects.

*Developing subordinates.* The art of developing the competence and self-confidence of subordinates through role modeling and training and developmental activities related to their current or future duties.

*Decision making.* The ability to reach sound, logical conclusions based on analysis of factual information and the readiness to take appropriate actions based on the conclusions.

*Oral and written communication.* The ability to express oneself effectively in individual and group situations, either orally or in writing; includes utilizing proper grammar, gestures, and nonverbal communications.

## APPENDIX B

### Informed Consent Individual Interviews

Georgia State University  
Department of Educational Policy Studies  
Informed Consent

Title: Gender and leadership: A phenomenological approach to female ROTC cadets' perceptions of gender and military leadership

Principal Investigator: Dr. Richard Lakes, PI  
Darbra Mahoney, Student PI

#### I. Purpose:

You are invited to join this research study. The purpose of this study is to find how female cadets 'do' gender and leadership in ROTC and how they may alter their concepts of femininity or masculinity to be accepted in a predominately male military environment. You are invited because you are a female cadet in college. Three to six cadets will be in this study. Each cadet will require two to three hours of interviews and a few emails.

#### II. Procedures:

You will have two to three interviews for about one hour each. All interviews will be audiotaped and conducted by the student PI. I will contact you by email for short questions. You will be asked to talk about your experiences while attending college as a cadet. The interviews will be held in the college conference room or a convenient campus location. The interviews will take place during 2010-2011.

#### III. Risks:

In this study you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life.

#### IV. Benefits:

Joining this study may benefit you personally. Thinking back on your years as a cadet may allow you to consider how you prepared to meet your leadership potential. Overall, we hope to gain information about how gender and leadership in a military college are performed. The information may also benefit those who study female leadership and those considering a military career.

V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Being in this research is voluntary. You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to

be in the study and change your mind, you can drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop at any time. You will not lose any benefits that you are otherwise entitled. In no way should you feel that you are being pressured to participate.

Participation has nothing to do with your cadet evaluations.

VI. Confidentiality:

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. All records will be locked on a password protected computer. All audiotapes will be locked in a secure cabinet. All records that may identify who you are will be kept private. We will use a pseudonym rather than your name on study records. The information you provide will be kept on a password protected computer. Your name or facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. The findings will be summarized and reported in group form. You will not be identified personally. I will destroy all audiotapes once they are transcribed. If when answering questions you refer to other cadets or staff of your college, they will not be identified by name when the interviews are transcribed. If administration of the college wants to have information about this study, every effort will be made to maintain your privacy. Information may also be shared with those who make sure the study is done correctly (GSU Institutional Review Board and/or the (OHRP) Office of Human Research Protection).

VII. Contact Persons:

Contact Dr. Richard Lakes at 404-413-8285, rlakes@gsu.edu or Darbra Mahoney at 931-637-2311, darbrajean@yahoo.com if you have questions about this study. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this research study, you may contact Susan Vogtner in the Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu.

VIII. Copy of Consent Form to Subject:

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer and be audiotaped for this research, please sign below.

\_\_\_\_\_

Participant

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

\_\_\_\_\_

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

## APPENDIX C

### Informed Consent Focus Group Interviews

Georgia State University  
Department of Educational Policy Studies  
Informed Consent

Title: Gender and leadership: A phenomenological approach to female ROTC cadets' perceptions of gender and military leadership

Principal Investigator: Dr. Richard Lakes, PI  
Darbra Mahoney, Student PI

#### I. Purpose:

You are invited to join in a research study. The purpose of the study is to find how female cadets 'do' gender and leadership in ROTC. You are invited because you are a female cadet in college. Three to five cadets from each class will be in this study. Each focus group will require thirty minutes to one hour of an interview and a few follow up emails if necessary.

#### II. Procedures:

You will have one 30 minutes to one hour interview for each focus group. All interviews will be audiotaped and conducted by the student PI. I will contact you by email for short questions. You will be asked to talk about your experiences while attending college as a cadet. The interviews will be held in the college conference room or a convenient campus location. The interviews will take place during 2011-2012.

#### III. Risks:

In this study you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life.

#### IV. Benefits:

Joining this study may benefit you personally. Thinking back on your years as a cadet may allow you to consider how you prepared to meet your leadership potential. Overall, we hope to gain information about how gender and leadership in a military college are performed. The information may also benefit those who study female leadership and those considering a military career.

V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Being in this research is voluntary. You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you can drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop at any time. You will not lose any benefits that you are otherwise entitled. In no way should you feel that you are being pressured to participate. Participation has nothing to do with your cadet evaluations.

VI. Confidentiality:

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. All records will be locked on a password protected computer. All audiotapes will be locked in a secure cabinet. All records that may identify who you are will be kept private. We will use a pseudonym rather than your name on study records. The information you provide will be kept on a password protected computer. Your name or facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. The findings will be summarized and reported in group form. You will not be identified personally. I will destroy all audiotapes once they are transcribed. If when answering questions you refer to other cadets or staff of your college, they will not be identified by name when the interviews are transcribed. If administration of the college wants to have information about this study, every effort will be made to maintain your privacy. Information may also be shared with those who make sure the study is done correctly (GSU Institutional Review Board and/or the (OHRP) Office of Human Research Protection).

VII. Contact Persons:

Contact Dr. Richard Lakes at 404-413-8285, rlakes@gsu.edu or Darbra Mahoney at 931-637-2311, darbrajean@yahoo.com if you have questions about this study. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this research study, you may contact Susan Vogtner in the Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu.

VIII. Copy of Consent Form to Subject:

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer and be audiotaped for this research, please sign below.

Participant	Date

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent      Date

## APPENDIX D

### Informed Consent Instructor Interviews

Georgia State University  
Department of Educational Policy Studies

#### Informed Consent

Title: Gender and leadership: A phenomenological approach to female ROTC cadets' perceptions of gender and military leadership

Principal Investigator: Dr. Richard Lakes, PI  
Darbra Mahoney, Student PI

#### I. Purpose:

You are invited to join in a research study. The purpose of the study is to find how female cadets 'do' gender and leadership in ROTC. You are invited because you are an instructor of female cadets in college. Two to four instructors will be in this study. Each instructor will require a one hour interview and a few follow up emails if necessary.

#### II. Procedures:

You will have one interview for about one hour. All interviews will be audiotaped and conducted by the student PI. I will contact you by email for short questions. You will be asked to talk about your experiences instructing female cadets as well as their academic/ROTC requirements. The interviews will be held in the college conference room or a convenient campus location. The interviews will take place during 2011-2012.

#### III. Risks:

In this study you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life.

#### IV. Benefits:

Joining this study may benefit you personally. Thinking back on your years as a cadet instructor may allow you to consider how you prepared to teach leadership. Overall, we hope to gain information about how gender and leadership in a military college are performed. The information may also benefit those who study female leadership and those considering a military career.

#### V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Being in this research is voluntary. You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you can drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop at any time. You will not lose any benefits that you are otherwise

entitled. In no way should you feel that you are being pressured to participate.

VI. Confidentiality:

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. All records will be locked on a password protected computer. All audiotapes will be locked in a secure cabinet. All records that may identify who you are will be kept private. We will use a pseudonym rather than your name on study records. The information you provide will be kept on a password protected computer. Your name or facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. The findings will be summarized and reported in group form. You will not be identified personally. I will destroy all audiotapes once they are transcribed. If when answering questions you refer to other cadets or staff of your college, they will not be identified by name when the interviews are transcribed. If administration of the college wants to have information about this study, every effort will be made to maintain your privacy. Information may also be shared with those who make sure the study is done correctly (GSU Institutional Review Board and/or the (OHRP) Office of Human Research Protection).

VII. Contact Persons:

Contact Dr. Richard Lakes at 404-413-8285, rlakes@gsu.edu or Darbra Mahoney at 931-637-2311, darbrajean@yahoo.com if you have questions about this study. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this research study, you may contact Susan Vogtner in the Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu.

VIII. Copy of Consent Form to Subject:

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer and be audiotaped for this research, please sign below.

\_\_\_\_\_

Participant	Date
-------------	------

\_\_\_\_\_

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent	Date
--	------

## APPENDIX E

### Interview Protocol Individual Interviews and Focus Group Interviews

Building upon the work of Melissa S. Herbert's research in *Camouflage isn't Only for Combat*, I intend to incorporate a variety of questions Dr. Herbert used while surveying female active duty personnel and veterans. Dr. Herbert's written survey questioned her research participants in regards to sexuality and how they would "do" gender to fit in a predominantly masculine military environment.

#### Interview Protocol:

- 1.) Walk me through a typical day as a female cadet.
- 2.) Do you feel you can be yourself as a female cadet?
- 3.) Do you ever feel a conflict between being a woman and being in the military?
- 4.) Do you ever feel that ROTC interferes with your personal relationships? In what way?
- 5.) Who do you rely on most for emotional support? Why?
- 6.) Overall, how would you describe your military ratings/evaluations, and how accurately do you believe these ratings reflect your performance?
- 7.) Do you feel your male colleagues think you do your job as well as they do? What about your female colleagues, military instructors?
- 8.) Do you change things about yourself when around male cadets, female cadets, or your military instructors?



9.) When reflecting on possible things you change about yourself when in the presence of your colleagues, do you usually...

- i. keep your fingernails polished
- ii. wear makeup in uniform
- iii. wear makeup out of uniform
- iv. wear your hair long
- v. wear cologne or perfume in uniform
- vi. when out of uniform you prefer to really “dress up”
- vii. prefer to wear a skirt uniform rather than pants
- viii. usually wear earrings when in Class As or Class Bs
- ix. prefer not to participate in “male” sports
- x. do not want to be seen as “one of the guys”
- xi. rarely wear makeup in uniform
- xii. rarely wear makeup out of uniform
- xiii. usually keep your hair trimmed above the collar
- xiv. when out of uniform you prefer to dress casually
- xv. prefer to wear a pants uniform rather than a skirt
- xvi. prefer to participate in “male” sports
- xvii. want to be seen as “one of the guys”
- xviii. often socialize with the men in my unit
- xix. when you have a boyfriend, you make sure people know it
- xx. are careful about with whom I am seen “hanging out with”

xxi. are careful about the places I “hang out”

10.) Do you believe that any of the above behaviors are part of a conscious attempt to insure that others perceive you as more “feminine” or “masculine”? If so, why?

11.) Are there other things that you do to make yourself feel more feminine but of which others were unaware? Such as what?

12.) Are there other things that you do to make yourself feel more masculine but of which others were unaware? Such as what?

13.) Would you describe yourself as feminine or masculine?

14.) Do you think that the military pressures or encourages women in the military to “act feminine or masculine”?

15.) Do you think that women can exercise power and authority while retaining their femininity?

16.) Do you think that there are penalties for military women who may be perceived as being too feminine or too masculine? What do you perceive those penalties to be?

17.) Do you think that women in the military should do their best to eliminate their feminine or masculine qualities while on the job? Why? What is the benefit?

18.) Is there a conflict in your mind between being a woman and being a member of the military?

## APPENDIX F

### Interview Protocol Corps of Cadets Instructor

- 1.) How many female cadets are on campus?
- 2.) How many are freshmen, sophomore, juniors, seniors?
- 3.) When do cadets agree to join the military?
- 4.) Can cadets complete all four years of ROTC and never join?
- 5.) When cadets do agree to join...
  - i. How many years are they agreeing to serve?
  - ii. Does the military pay for their college from that point or do they pay for the previous years as well?
  - iii. What benefits does the military offer to ROTC students?
- 6.) Will all graduates commission as 2LTs?
- 7.) What is a typical day for female cadets?
- 8.) How are female cadets chosen/accepted into the program?
- 9.) What classes/activities are mandatory for each grade level (freshman, sophomore, etc)?
- 10.) How are cadets divided into squads/companies? ie: by gender, age, class, ability
- 11.) What are the minimum and maximum PT scores for female cadets, for male cadet? for other activities they are involved in that require scores?

- 12.) Are cadets rated by their peers for activities?
  - i. Do females rate as highly as males?
  - ii. Who rates females higher among peers, males or other females?
- 13.) Are there any circumstances/situations where the female and male cadets are held to different standards – ie: PT?
- 14.) What are the regulations for female cadets' appearance in uniform? Out of uniform? On campus? Off campus?
- 15.) Are cadets allowed to date openly on campus or are there restrictions regarding corps members' relationships?
- 16.) Cadets attend a leadership course/camp/competition the summer of their junior year. Why is this opportunity important? What do they learn? Do male and female cadets stay with their college group or are they dispersed within all of the ROTC colleges/universities?

## APPENDIX G

### Interview Protocol Military Curriculum Instructor

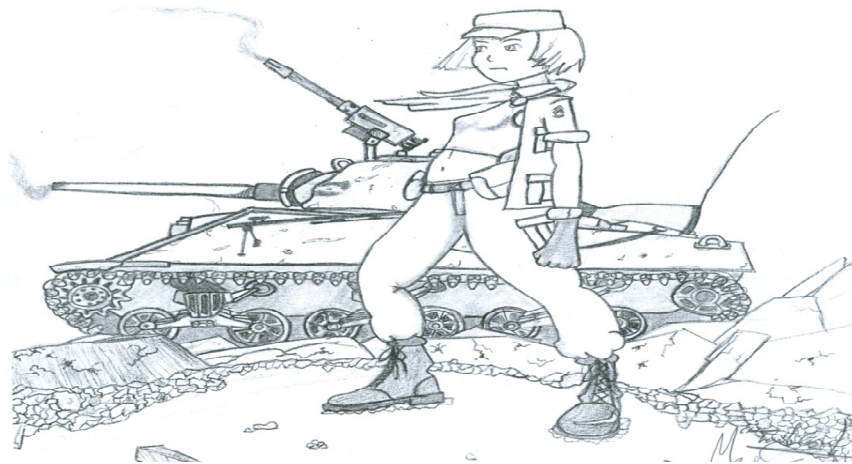
- 1.) What is a typical day for female cadets?
- 2.) How are female cadets chosen/accepted into the program?
- 3.) What classes/activities are mandatory for each grade level (freshman, sophomore, etc)?
- 4.) Are cadets rated by their peers for curriculum activities?
  - i. Do females rate as highly as males?
  - ii. Who rates females higher among peers, males or other females?
- 5.) Are there any circumstances/situations where the female and male cadets are held to different standards academically?
- 6.) What are the regulations for female cadets' appearance in uniform when in class?
- 7.) Are cadets allowed to date openly on campus or are there restrictions regarding corps members' relationships?
- 8.) What classes do cadets take at each class level? ie: freshmen, sophomores, etc.
- 9.) How are these classes expected to shape their leadership?
- 10.) Who is in charge at each of the levels to make sure that the cadets are staying on track academically?
- 11.) Do cadets have college advisors, ROTC advisors, or both?

## APPENDIX H

Recruitment Form Individual Interviews

# Volunteers Requested!

- I am conducting my dissertation research regarding gender and leadership of female cadets.
- There will be two to three one hour interviews with each volunteer.
- Clarification/follow-up questions will be conducted via email.
- If you are interested in this study, please include your name and contact information and return in the enclosed envelope or email me at [darbrajean@yahoo.com](mailto:darbrajean@yahoo.com).



## APPENDIX I

Recruitment Form Focus Group Interviews

# Volunteers Requested!

- I am conducting my dissertation research regarding gender and leadership of female cadets.
- There will be one thirty minute to one hour interview with each focus group.
- Clarification/follow-up questions will be conducted via email.
- If you are interested in this study, please include your name and contact information and return in the enclosed envelope or email me at [darbrajean@yahoo.com](mailto:darbrajean@yahoo.com).

