

**Appendix of Evidence in
Support of Log Cabin Republican's
Opposition to Defendants'
Motion for Summary Judgment**

**LCR Appendix Pages 401-500
(Part 4 of 19)**

never had the strict anti-sodomy laws of the British. Instead, the official French policy is captured by the phrase in Article 6.01 of the general code of conduct "*atteinte aux bonnes moeurs*" [affront to sensibilities]¹³ (Doniol, 1993). This phrase refers to behavior contrary to the normative standards of both French society and its strongly conformist military, and in the context of homosexuality, is applicable to specific deeds and not to sexual orientation.

Potential conscripts are not asked whether they are homosexual, and the matter is brought to the attention of medical authorities only if the conscript himself or his superior officers bring it up. The military officially regards homosexuality as a medical problem, and French medicine follows the American Psychiatric Association (1987) in not regarding homosexuality per se as a disease. However, if a person's homosexuality is associated with "[problems incompatible with military service,]" then the person may be excused from military service. The official reason for exemption is a disqualifying rating of "P3" on the P (psychological) criterion of the medical examination: "[Dysfunctional elements of personality which can be manifested as behavioral problems or limited intellectual capability, without other anomaly]" (Ministère de la Défense, 1989, p. 123; 1992, p. 10). The specific category is Article 437: "[Miscellaneous problems (stuttering, tics, sleepwalking, enuresis, apparent cranial trauma, sexual problems)]" (Ministère de la Défense, 1989, p. 126), corresponding to category 302.70 ("miscellaneous sexual dysfunction") of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual III-R (American Psychiatric Association, 1987). The inaptitude must have a chronic nature; because a conscript's period of service is so short, transient problems will be waited out. The problem must be manifested in actual behavior ("*conduit*"); not in orientation.

For all of the official disregard, the informal state of affairs is that sexual orientation can make a difference, both for conscription and career military service. If a person's behavior at the medical examination causes the physician to suspect that the person is homosexual, the candidate will sometimes be invited to request an

¹³Square brackets indicate a translation.

exemption. Whenever a homosexual requests an exemption from service, it is granted. In 1991, approximately 7 percent of the candidates for conscription were exempted on psychological grounds (Ministère de la Défense, 1992); it is impossible to know how many of these were homosexual, nor how many homosexuals actually served. Once in service, a conscript may be discharged early on medical grounds, using the same basis as not passing the psychological component of the pre-induction medical examination, but this is rare.

Generally, careerist homosexuals do not make public their sexual orientation, because they wish to forward their careers and must conform (not only in terms of sexual orientation but in most other ways as well) to succeed (e.g., Doniol, 1993).¹⁴ Again, behavior counts, not orientation. It is against custom to behave sexually (either heterosexually or homosexually) in a military context, but behavior in private is not a concern of the military. There are homosexuals in the officer corps who live together as couples and are relatively known to their cohorts. As long as certain unspoken rules are adhered to (de Laclous, 1780/1958), nobody takes any action, but when the rules are broken, there are serious consequences. These consequences are never connected directly to a person's sexual orientation, but his or her military career somehow "slows down." For flagrant "affronts to sensibilities," the common practice is to treat the matter as quietly as possible and to request the resignation of the offender.

Although some women serve in the French military, almost all serve in support roles ("feminine jobs") with enlisted or NCO rank. Women do not serve in combat roles. Only 1.7 percent of the officer corps and 0.6 percent of the "conscripts" (draftees and volunteers for short-term national service), but 10.4 percent of careerist NCOs are women.¹⁵ There was no mention of lesbianism in any written materials and all interviewees stated that they had no knowledge of lesbians in the military.

¹⁴The French Foreign Legion has always had a reputation of extensive homosexuality and tolerance. But these soldiers are, by definition, not French.

¹⁵Personal communication, Defense Attaché's Office, Embassy of France, Washington, D.C., 3 June 1993.

Germany

Context. In Germany the homosexual community, while a visible presence, is not especially active politically. Those who advocate further nondiscrimination or greater homosexual rights in Germany do not place the right to serve in the military high on their political agendas. The German military, as a consequence, does not view this issue as one of great importance in setting personnel policy. Within German society there is considerable opposition to homosexuality, although homosexual behavior has been decriminalized (since 1969) and the issues of expanded partnership rights for homosexuals and preventing job discrimination are the subjects of current debate (van der Veen and Dercksen, 1992; Waaldijk, 1992). The arena for policy change in these areas, however, has been the courts, not the legislature.

The officials interviewed, who are responsible for all policies with regard to homosexuals in the *Bundeswehr*, were unanimous in their view that homosexuality is "not an issue" for them, and that they would not find it necessary to have a meeting focused on the subject if one had not been requested by visiting American researchers. The German military currently feels itself under no pressures from the political process or public opinion to review its policies in this area.

Policy. Germany has both a conscript and a voluntary force. Conscriptioin is nominally universal, although in practice only about 50 percent actually serve. Twenty percent perform alternative service, and 30 percent no service at all.¹⁶ Conscripts are not routinely asked their sexual orientation at the time of induction. If the initial interview raises any questions concerning sexual orientation (such as mannerisms, voluntary statements, etc.), then the recruit is likely to be subjected to additional evaluation to determine suitability for service. A decision will then be made in the individual case, and if it is determined by physicians or psychologists that the potential

¹⁶The *Bundeswehr* has all the conscripts it needs, and so has a liberal exemption policy. For example, marriage is grounds for exemption, in part so that the military does not incur expenses for dependents.

conscript would have difficulty adapting to military life, that individual will be exempted.

For the voluntary force, which provides the bulk of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, the rules are somewhat different. A potential volunteer who is known to be homosexual will be refused service. As the Germans explain this policy, the *Bundeswehr* has spent decades developing its leadership cadres around the concept of "*innere Führung*," a notion implying that military officers must lead through their "inner qualities" or strength of character. The German military believes that homosexual officers would not be respected by their soldiers and would have difficulty becoming effective leaders, and therefore homosexuals are not accepted into the ranks of potential leaders. If a volunteer is discovered to be homosexual after having begun service, his situation will be evaluated on an individual basis. If he has served less than four years, he is likely to be separated (although not in every case, if the volunteer's record is otherwise exemplary). After serving four years, the volunteer will not be separated until the end of his contract (i.e., at the end of six years), but will most likely be given assignments that do not require "leadership."¹⁷

Practice. If homosexual conduct occurs or is documented, the German military is likely to remove the individual from the *Bundeswehr*. When homosexuals are removed, the general policy (absent other justifications) is to keep the reason for removal confidential. The emphasis in the case-by-case approach is on whether the individual is engaging in disruptive conduct or in other ways is no longer performing suitably in the military environment. According to our interviewees, the actual number of removals for homosexuality is small, totaling only 63 between 1981 and 1992.¹⁸

¹⁷For additional discussions of the German military's policies in this regard, see United States General Accounting Office (1993) and *Army Times* (1993).

¹⁸It is important to note that this number refers to expulsions for homosexual conduct, and that other "psychological" discharges would not necessarily be captured in this figure. Indeed, no figures are kept that would indicate the total number of homosexuals discharged.

The presence of homosexuals in military housing is not regarded as a problem by the *Bundeswehr*. Many of the soldiers live with their families or in civilian housing, and no effort is made to monitor behavior off-base and off duty. No investigations are conducted exclusively to discover if someone is a homosexual. The German military is primarily designed for defense of German territory, not for deployments abroad, and while this may change in coming years, as the Basic Law is revised and German units participate more vigorously in peacekeeping operations, at present the *Bundeswehr* does not engage in extensive field deployments.

To summarize, German military personnel policy with regard to homosexuals serving can best be described as flexible in practice, where the decision with respect to an individual homosexual depends on the cumulative evidence of the circumstances and where personnel authorities exercise considerable discretion in deciding individual cases. Discrimination in fact occurs, but some homosexuals are also permitted to serve if such service is not disruptive to the organization.

Israel

Context. Israel is quite different from the other foreign countries we visited and the United States. Since Israeli independence in 1948, the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) has fought four major wars, innumerable major operations against its hostile neighbors, and since 1967 has been an army of occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This gives Israel a warfighting experience unparalleled in the rest of the world. At the same time, it has undertaken the task of establishing a homeland for Jews from all over the world, who had lived in a wide variety of cultures (from contemporary European and American to almost medieval Yemenite). Israel has monumental problems of assimilating newcomers with different work ethics, who have lived under various forms of government, who speak many languages, and who have vastly different educational backgrounds. Military service has been one of the tools the nation has used to establish a cohesive society.

The IDF is therefore founded on the model of the citizen-soldier. Conscription to active duty is universal, for both men (3 years) and

women (2 years), and annual reserve duty (not just training) continues for women into their mid-20s and for men into the 40s.¹⁹ If a person does not serve in the Army, he is outside the norm of society and may face discrimination when later applying for a secular job; therefore Israeli exemption policies are very limited and many individuals exempted from service (for example, for severe physical handicaps) appeal to be allowed to serve. Women do not serve in combat units because Israeli society is reluctant to expose women to being prisoners of war and other associated risks. All careerists first enter the service as conscripts, moving only later into the professional officer and NCO ranks.

Attitudes Toward Homosexuality. Judaism is the established religion of the country, with two major Rabbinate--the Ashkenazic (largely European) and Sephardic (largely Mediterranean). Although the majority of Israelis are non-observant, the power of religion and of the religious political parties is strong beyond their proportional representation; this influence has been most strongly felt by religious control of the Interior and Education ministries throughout much of Israeli history. Jewish traditional religious thought, based on the Bible, considers homosexuality to be an egregious sin. Perhaps because of this strong religious influence, homosexuality is perceived in Israel to be aberrant behavior and homosexuals are not generally accepted. Our interviewees stated that homosexuals in Israel are very reluctant to reveal their sexual orientation and they remain much less visible than their counterparts in the United States or most Western European countries (see also *Army Times*, 1993).

Legal Status and Change in Military Policy. This religious attitude notwithstanding, Israeli civil law has followed that of the Western European democracies; hence, since 1988 homosexual acts between

¹⁹Conscription is universal as stated for Jews (82 percent of the population) and certain others such as Druze (1.7 percent of the population). Because the threat is Arabic and largely Moslem, the loyalty of the remainder of the population is regarded as suspect. Certain groups of Christian Arabs (2.3 percent of the population) may volunteer to serve, and the bulk of Moslem Arabs (14 percent of the population) are not eligible.

consenting partners above the age of 17 are no longer crimes (Knesset, 1990). Since 1992 (Knesset, 1992), discrimination in employment on the basis of sexual orientation has been illegal. But beyond that, homosexual partners have no recognized legal status, in terms of either legitimization of the relationship or benefits, i.e., housing, insurance, or taxation. In the military, homosexuals are given the same benefits as are given to singles.

There is an active gay rights movement in Israel, e.g., Otzma, a gay political rights organization and a *Society for the Protection of Personal Rights for Gay Men, Lesbians and Bisexuals in Israel*. Earlier this year a Knesset committee inquiry into the status of homosexuals in the military led the Chief of Staff of the IDF to establish a group to study the status of homosexuals.²⁰ This effort culminated in a new policy announced 11 June 1993, whereby "No restrictions shall be imposed on the recruitment, assignment or promotion of homosexual soldiers (in career, regular or reserve service) and civilians due to their sexual inclination" (Israeli Defense Force, no date).

The former policy, drafted in 1986, prohibited homosexuals from serving in jobs requiring the top two levels of security, e.g., "The placement of homosexual soldiers in regular, career and reserve service, as well as civilian employees, will be limited because of their (sexual) orientation. This is because the aforementioned orientation is likely to be a security risk." (*Los Angeles Times*, 1993) Moreover, homosexuals were required to undergo a mental evaluation once their sexual orientation was known; that evaluation was to determine whether they were security hazards or if they had the mental fortitude and maturity to serve. As a result of that examination, the service member could be separated from service or restricted in assignment.

On the issue of security, the new policy states, "If the assignment of a soldier requires a security clearance, he will be required to go through the security check that is normally applied to that position."

²⁰The original reason for the Knesset's inquiry was a charge by an intelligence officer who had done highly secret research for the military for 15 years, that "he was denied promotions and given clerical work after his homosexuality was discovered" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1993).

Homosexuals are no longer singled out as a class. Security investigations are routine for highly classified positions, are always conducted on an individual basis, and always touch on sexual partnerships and mental health, regardless of sexual orientation.

Service Conditions and the New Policy. For service members in noncombat units in Israel the military is very much like an ordinary job. Service members live at home, work a scheduled shift, and mostly have weekends free. But life for the active duty IDF soldier in a combat unit is not unlike that for many CONUS-based American enlistees, especially those in combat units. The living conditions for soldiers are not conducive to privacy. Soldiers' quarters are barracks with 12 to 15 soldiers per room in bunk beds. Common bathrooms are the rule. Although Israel is a small country and therefore home is never far away, IDF soldiers in combat units do not routinely live at home or get leave every weekend.²¹ Even for the few openly homosexual soldiers, the IDF reports no problems connected to homosexuality regarding privacy, showers, or unwanted sexual advances.

The IDF holds unit cohesion and a group orientation as necessary for military effectiveness. A soldier does nothing in the IDF as an individual. Accomplishments are achieved by a collective unit. If a service member differentiates himself too much from the group, that difference may be disruptive to the unit's performance; the soldier must adapt to the group and contribute to its performance. As noted by a senior Israeli military psychiatrist, "Homosexuals can become scapegoats if their manifestations of homosexual behavior cause them to be rejected or ostracized from the group. This is not just because of homosexuality, but for any social adjustment problem or personality

²¹Schwartzkopf (1993) testified that homosexual men in the IDF do not sleep in barracks. Moskos (1993) testified that open homosexuals are treated like women--i.e., placed in noncombat jobs where they do not live in barracks. The *Army Times* (1993) reported that openly homosexual men are rarely assigned to combat units. During interviews with the IDF we were told that as a matter of practice, homosexuals are not precluded from serving in combat units but that few did, and they did so largely without incident. The *LA Times* notes, however, that, "Although characterized as a restatement of IDF policy, the new order is intended to end discrimination against homosexuals and to assure them equal opportunity to serve in all positions."

problem which does not allow him to adapt to the group.... (However), if there were no disfunctionality in the unit, he (the homosexual) would not currently be removed from the unit."

The new policy does try to address leadership by stating that, "Unit commanders should be made aware that no restrictions apply to homosexual soldiers.... Should there be a problem that prevents the soldier from functioning in his unit, as a direct result of his sexual inclination, the commander will decide whether the soldier should be referred to a psychologist, as is customary in other cases." However, the psychological examination is "restricted to determine whether the sexual inclination is accompanied by manifestations that could prove a security hazard. Should no finding be revealed, the examination will end at that," and the homosexual will be returned to his or her unit.

Commanders are on notice that they can no longer transfer out of their units any soldier they suspect of being a homosexual (*Los Angeles Times*, 1993). As one senior Israel official told our team, "If a commander were to come to me and ask to remove a soldier just because others cannot adjust to him, I may not do it. If a soldier is a scapegoat and we can predict he may adjust to another group, we may rotate him to the same type of unit. If he is a person with very low self-esteem and subjected to external stigma, I will try to assign him to a less stressful job."

Even though Israel is a religious state, the IDF is secular; religious law cannot be imposed on nonreligious service members. Within the IDF, religious beliefs are respected for the individual, but the individual does not impose his religious beliefs on others; hence, a religious service member who has trouble with homosexuals is expected to make the personal adjustments necessary for the group and to tolerate homosexuals.

The IDF has no policy on public displays of affection. Nevertheless, sexual harassment is monitored and social interaction is a delicate situation. A soldier may hug a man but not a woman because of the potential misinterpretation that he is involved in sexual harassment. As a result, soldiers today are very restricted in behavior

that could lead to misinterpretations of intent. When relating to one's declared heterosexual lover, behaviors are somewhat more open.

The IDF policy on fraternization is more liberal than the American one. Between persons of higher and lower rank, including officers and enlisted personnel, relationships are permitted as long as they are not between personnel in the same chain of command.

In summary, the societal approbation of homosexuality means that even given the new nondiscriminatory policy, homosexuals are likely to remain very covert in their behavior; social ostracism is a strong disincentive in the IDF. Although career patterns for homosexuals can be the same as for other soldiers, problems with individual commanders did exist. It remains to be seen if, under the new policy that bans discrimination, as suggested by an IDF spokesperson, "everyone who felt forced to keep his or her homosexuality a secret will now be able to be open" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1993).

The Netherlands

Context. The geographic situation of the Netherlands makes it a natural transportation corridor, and as a consequence, Dutch society has been multicultural throughout its history. This has led to an overall toleration for differences among groups and a style of government where minority sensibilities are accommodated (Lijphart, 1970). In keeping with this political orientation, the Netherlands is considered one of the leaders in toleration of homosexual orientation and behavior (CBS News, 1993; Ketting & Soesbeek, 1992; Likosky, 1992). In 1991, the Dutch parliament passed one of the strongest anti-discrimination laws and changed most of the anti-discrimination provisions of the penal code so as to cover discrimination on the basis of "heterosexual or homosexual orientation" (Waaldijk, 1992).

Public Attitudes and Legal Status. Toleration in the Netherlands is not the same as endorsement. Just as the in-effect decriminalization of marijuana does not mean that the Dutch are a nation of drug addicts, so the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation does not mean that homosexuals are more open--much less more flagrant--than elsewhere. What it does mean is that people who do use drugs or

are homosexual are acknowledged as members of the Dutch society, to be included in public matters.²²

The Netherlands is gradually moving towards recognition of homosexual partnerships (Waaldijk, 1992). Most political parties have recommended such legislation, which is expected to work its way through the parliament within a couple of years. Some municipal authorities have offered semi-official registration of homosexual couples, but this is largely symbolic. It is difficult, however, to track social change in the Netherlands through legislation because the Dutch are very willing to let official laws lag well behind actual practice. This is the case in such areas as drug laws (marijuana is officially illegal but openly sold under strict conditions), physician-assisted suicide for terminally ill people (technically illegal but highly regulated and not uncommon), and nondiscrimination in the public sector.

Policy. From 1911 until 1971, homosexual intercourse was by law forbidden for people younger than 21 years, while the age of consent for heterosexual intercourse was 16 (Ketting & Soesbeek, 1992). During this time, homosexuals were not allowed to join the Dutch military. In 1972, concomitant with the abolition of the civilian law, pressure was applied on the military to admit homosexuals; in 1974, Minister of Defense Vredeling decided that homosexuals had the right to be service members.²³ With this decision, homosexuality was moved from a moral to a medical category; the mere fact of homosexual orientation or behavior was not automatically exclusionary, but could be used as one of multiple criteria to determine psychological inaptitude for service. This policy eroded over the next dozen years, until 1986, when Minister of Defense Brinkman declared the military to be part of an overall governmental policy of equal rights for homosexuals and heterosexuals. Since then,

²²To illustrate this viewpoint, consider two public service billboards currently prominently displayed at train stations throughout the Netherlands. They promote safe sex with the slogan "[I make love safely or not at all]." In the first, a man and a woman are admiring each other on a bed, while in the second two men are enjoying each other's company in a shower. Neither billboard conveys a sense of titillation.

²³The Dutch political system gives ministers--who are members of parliament--far more executive power than American cabinet secretaries.

not only has homosexuality not been grounds for exclusion or dismissal from the Dutch military, but the government has actively attempted to ensure that serving homosexuals will be well-integrated into the force.

This assertive policy of equal rights goes beyond the passive one of the other foreign military services we examined, but is consistent with other aspects of Dutch policy. At about the same time as the assertion of equal rights without regard to sexual orientation, the Dutch military has not restricted the jobs in which women may serve (although only men are conscripted). Also, there has been a policy of equal rights for the relatively few Dutch soldiers of non-European race (largely of Surinamese or Indonesian decent).

Implementation of the Nondiscrimination Policy. Over and above statements of equal rights, the Dutch military has been proactively involved in ensuring the well-being of service members. An example of this is their actions with regard to violence in the military. In response to active concern (e.g., Tromp, 1986), a survey of over 4000 service members was conducted to ascertain the extent and type of violence in the military and what types of persons were perpetrators and victims of that violence (Stoppelenburg, Mandemaker, Serail, & Ubachs, 1990). While the major conclusions of that study go beyond our present interest, and the specific question of harassment on the basis of sexual orientation was not asked, it is worth noting that overall violence was low, and that only 0.1 percent of violent incidents were sexual in nature (harassment) and 0.7 were physical violence. Most incidents were verbal abuse and psychological harassment of various forms. The study led to explicit changes, not only in terms of education and training against violence and sanctions for violent behavior, but means to make it easier to report incidents of violence (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 1992).

Concomitant with the assertion of equal rights in the military regardless of sexual orientation was the establishment in February, 1987, with financial support from the Ministry of Defense, of the *Stichting Homosexualiteit en Krijgsmacht* [Foundation for Homosexuality and the Military] by 40 service members. The foundation's membership includes conscripts, enlisted personnel, and officers, as well as civil

defense workers. At least one unit commander belongs to the foundation. The general functions of the foundation include (Stichting Homosexualiteit en Krijgsmacht, 1987):

- Providing a support organization for homosexual service members.
- Providing information to counter prejudicial and stereotypical beliefs about homosexuals.
- Advocating and monitoring equal rights.
- Promoting open homosexual membership in the military at least in proportion to their membership in the greater population.

An early achievement of the foundation was the establishment of sensitivity training, in acceptance of different sexual orientations, as part of basic training.

Effectiveness of the Nondiscrimination Policy. To test the effectiveness of the equal rights policy, the Ministry of Defense asked the Netherlands Institute of Social Sexological Research to conduct a survey of the Dutch military about the experiences of homosexual service members and the attitudes of heterosexual service members towards their homosexual peers. The results of this research appeared in late 1992 (Begeleidingscommissie, 1992; Ketting & Soesbeek, 1992; van Weerd, 1993). A representative sample of 1238 male and 149 female service members completed a written questionnaire on their own sexual orientation, personal attitudes, and behavior towards homosexuals.

In common with the general Dutch population, the survey respondents expressed generally tolerant attitudes towards homosexuals, agreeing that homosexuals should have the same rights as heterosexuals. However, in their daily contacts with homosexuals, most heterosexual service members prefer to keep their relationships at a psychological and social distance. For example, 11 percent of male respondents state their relationships with homosexuals as friendly, 8 percent as acquaintanceship, 49 percent as collegial, and 32 percent as purely

business.²⁴ Thirty percent of men say that they would react in a hostile or aggressive manner if a colleague turned out to be homosexual, although the actual incidence of aggression and hostility is low.

The survey found that even in the Netherlands, service members would not openly acknowledge homosexuality. The survey research team was unable to meet their targeted number of openly homosexual service members for detailed interviews; conscripts in particular were reluctant to acknowledge themselves to the researchers (Ketting & Soesbeek, 1992). Although most Dutch service members believe that between 4 and 5 percent of male servicemen are homosexual (Ketting & Soesbeek), only 0.9 percent of the men surveyed declared themselves predominantly homosexual.²⁵ In the survey, 4.8 percent of male respondents reported that they had ever had sexual contact with another man in their lifetimes.

Even given the strongly encouraging and consistent message from leadership, many homosexuals in the Dutch military are afraid that their sexual orientation could cause trouble. As a result of this research, the Dutch government (Begeleidingscommissie, 1992) concluded that the position of homosexuals in the Dutch military is still far from ideal. Although they have equal rights, the negative attitudes and behavior of their colleagues make the reality of daily life uncomfortable.²⁶ Policy recommendations were made to eliminate prejudice and strengthen efforts to change the attitudes of heterosexuals towards homosexuals.

The response of the Dutch Ministry of Defense (ter Beek, 1993) is an intensive effort to improve acceptance of homosexuals. A program of

²⁴Women in the Dutch military are considerably more comfortable than men with homosexuals; the corresponding percentages are 39 percent friendly, 6 percent acquaintanceship, 42 percent collegial, and 13 percent as purely business.

²⁵Correspondingly, only 3.5 percent of females interviewed considered themselves predominantly lesbian; informal estimates of actual prevalence range up to ten times that figure and the official Ministry of Defense estimate is 5 to 10 percent, corresponding to the proportion of homosexuals in the Netherlands (Joustra, 1993).

²⁶CBS News (1993) portrayed four openly homosexual Dutch service members as fairly well satisfied. We note that all four had relatively high rank (a Lieutenant Colonel and a Major in the Army, a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy, and a Sergeant-Major in the Air Force) and were demonstrably proven achievers. Of the 64 homosexuals interviewed in the NISSO survey, only 13 were officers.

education, counseling, and information will be instituted throughout the military, accompanied by sanctions against discrimination in any form. The focus will be on leadership, including special sensitivity training for military trainers, special courses for counselors on problems that homosexuals present, and soliciting the assistance of homosexual groups to provide information about support services for homosexual service members. In particular, there will be a focus on dispelling prejudices and false stereotypes about the nature and behavior of homosexuals. Procedures will make it easier to file complaints for harassment. Units will have a "[person you place your trust in]" for informal counseling--for both heterosexuals and homosexuals. Ter Beek's statement explicitly notes that the Dutch military will not permit official discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in coalitional deployments with armies that do exclude or discriminate against homosexuals.

Norway

Context. Our interviewees reported that sexuality is regarded in Norway as a private matter; people strongly prefer that it not be brought out in public. A statement about sexual orientation is interpreted to be a statement about sexual behavior, and is thus considered distasteful. This personal aversion is juxtaposed against a legal toleration: Laws against sodomy were abolished in 1972; there is a specific law sanctioning insult or injury of a person or group because of sexual orientation; and the social climate in Norway is increasingly tolerant of nontraditional living arrangements, as culminated in the passage in April 1993 of the partnership law in effect establishing homosexual marriage. Thus, Norway might present what appears to be a contradiction: On the one hand, homosexuals may publicly and legally declare partnerships, while on the other hand, openly stating one's sexual orientation is unsocial behavior. The contradiction is resolved when one considers a remaining restriction on homosexual marriage--the ceremony cannot be conducted in the (established) church. Thus,

although homosexual orientation may be stated, and thus tolerated, it cannot be sanctified, and thus fully acknowledged.²⁷

Norway's military is based on the principle of home defense by the citizen-soldier; about 70 percent of young men enter military service, with the remainder excused for physical, mental, or moral unfitness or for conscientious objection. (Objectors spend a similar length of time in another form of national service.) The principle dictates that there be essentially no difference between military laws and civil laws. The official Norwegian position is that homosexuality is not an issue. There is no registration, discrimination, or special treatment within either Norwegian society or its military based on race, religion, political beliefs, or sexual orientation. Moreover, the Norwegian military claims to have no indication that their policy "is in conflict with military requirements in any form or by any definition" (personal communication, 6 May 1993).

Policy. Before sodomy was civilly decriminalized in 1972, acknowledged homosexuality was grounds for exemption from military service and homosexual behavior of military personnel was grounds for both dismissal from service and civil punishment. The decriminalization of sodomy in effect immediately ended any military punishment for sodomy and triggered a seven-year examination of whether homosexuality as a medical rather than a criminal problem might lead to exemption (Holm, 1977; Kringlen, 1977). In 1979, homosexuality was removed from the list of medical conditions limiting either conscript or career military service.²⁸ This year, with homosexual partnerships civilly recognized, the military plans to shortly confer upon homosexual couples any economic and housing benefits it confers upon married heterosexual

²⁷Interestingly, Norwegian law allows heterosexual couples an alternative short of marriage, called *sambo*, which provides recognition of cohabitation and parental status. To have *sambo* status, the couple must be eligible for heterosexual marriage (e.g., not currently married to somebody else, underage, etc.). *Sambo* status, like homosexual partnership, may be stated but is generally not fully accepted.

²⁸Again, Norwegians differentiate between toleration and acceptance even here. Military medical authorities still define homosexuality as a sexual *dysfunction*, but one with no implications for military fitness.

couples; this is regarded as a matter of minor changes in the wording of regulations and not a major problem.

Service Conditions. Although the regulations declare that there is no discrimination based on sexual orientation, the reality does not completely bear this out. Homosexuality per se is not grounds for exemption from service; however, if that homosexuality is accompanied by other psychiatric grounds, an exemption will be granted. Unlike the case in France, this exemption is neither automatically granted nor freely offered; the principle of citizen-soldier dictates that homosexuals able to serve should do so.²⁹ Although there are no official statistics, it is generally agreed that homosexual officers would not advance as quickly as would equally performing heterosexual peers. One interviewee said that open homosexuals are denied security clearances, but this was not verified by others. Homosexuality would never be the overt reason for this slowdown in career or denial of clearance, because that would be illegal. Nonetheless, such discrimination is a fact of life.

Both civilian and military interviewees agreed that harassment is not considered a problem in the Norwegian military. There is generally not much physical violence within the military, nor within Norwegian society in general.³⁰ NCOs and officers get education in ethics, sexuality, and the nature of sexual orientation as part of leadership training, and are urged to treat all soldiers as individuals and to tolerate differences.

Public display of affection is rarely seen even in civilian life. There are no regulations against it, but it is not considered "military custom and order." If either heterosexuals or homosexuals displayed

²⁹Moskos (1993) states that in the Scandinavian countries, an openly homosexual person will be exempted from conscription upon request. Norwegian personnel and medical staff we interviewed were adamant that automatic exemptions are not granted; only if homosexuals can demonstrate other psychological problems that will make life in the military for them difficult will they be granted the exemption.

³⁰One informant claimed that there had been four people killed in the past three years in incidents that appeared related to sexual orientation. This, in a country of 4.3 million people, was regarded by this informant as a frighteningly high rate.

affection in public, there would be no official reaction, but this might affect how people think about the individual.

As the primary mission of the Norwegian military is home defense, few service members are stationed far from home. Barracks quarters are not mandatory, but are available for personnel who choose them. Weekend leaves, cheap transportation fares, and attempts to accommodate needs mean that there is a lot of flexibility and not much isolation in Norwegian military life. There are no special considerations made for race, gender, religious, or sexual orientation status for service members deployed in special circumstances, e.g., in the far North of the country, at sea, or on UN or other peacekeeping missions.³¹ If an ally were to request that homosexuals be restricted from a joint mission, it is not clear that the Norwegian military would comply with the request; they hope that the issue never arises.

Women are not drafted, but have been eligible to serve in the military since the 1970s. From the mid-1980s, there have been no restrictions on type of service, including combat units. In practice, because the military is regarded as a man's job, few women serve. Even though 69 percent of Norwegians work in trade, services, or the travel industry and less than 1 percent are in agriculture, fishing, or commercial hunting, many Norwegians still adhere to its agricultural image where the woman's role was to stay home, raise babies, and guard the homestead. Our interviewees noted that the presence of women in the military has led to some problems of adjustment, but there have been very few official claims of sexual harassment.

Although none of the people we interviewed in the Norwegian military claimed to have any explicit knowledge of lesbians in service, a newspaper article last year (Schmidt, 1992) carried the headline "lesbian sweethearts in the barracks." Members of Norwegian homosexual groups claim, and some military officers conjecture, that there are

³¹Deployments abroad are popular, with volunteers outnumbering available slots up to 10 to 1.

"more than just a few" lesbians in the military, but that not many are open.³²

United Kingdom

Context. From 1885 until the enactment of the Sexual Offenses Act of 1967, male homosexual acts were illegal under civil law in the United Kingdom.³³ The 1967 Act decriminalized homosexual acts for consenting males over the age of 21.³⁴ This decriminalization of homosexual acts represents a general secularization of attitudes since the 1930s as well as a liberalization of the legal statutes. While homosexual marriages are not recognized and child adoption and fostering by homosexuals are not tolerated, there has been an increasing shift in society towards tolerance of homosexuals.

Public Attitudes. One of the distinctions between the U.S. and U.K. societies is in their perspectives on minority rights. The British generally do not see their society as a melting pot, and hence, do not treat minority rights with the same degree of concern as they are treated in the United States. There is neither a strong homosexual movement, nor is there a strong anti-homosexual movement in the United Kingdom. The initial impetus to decriminalize homosexual acts did not arise from a gay activist organization, but from a group called the Homosexual Law Reform Society, composed of prominent bishops, doctors, lawyers, and liberal politicians. The Stonewall Group, associated with the Health and Education Research Unit of the University of London, has also lobbied for civil rights for homosexuals and has requested changes in British law.³⁵ Although one might expect that the Church of England

³²One member of the couple featured in the newspaper story remained anonymous and did not allow herself to be photographed, because she did not want her family to know.

³³When the laws proscribing homosexual acts were presented to Queen Victoria, she purportedly could not imagine homosexual acts between females, and hence those were never enacted.

³⁴In practice, there is almost no prosecution for homosexual acts by males over the age of 18.

³⁵In a 1991 memorandum submitted to the Select Committee on the Armed Forces Bill, the Stonewall Group recommended: (1) that homosexual acts should no longer be forbidden between consenting adults under service law, (2) that homosexuality of itself should no longer be a reason for refusing entry to the armed forces nor for dismissal, and (3)

would have much to protest on this subject, it does not see its duty or its role as that of dictating the private behavior of individuals who are not its members. Even though it is the established religion, the Church cannot make legal positions for society at large.

The Military Perspective. The United Kingdom, like the United States and Canada, has abandoned conscription in favor of an all-volunteer force.³⁶ Behavior in the military is governed by the Queen's Regulations, which, along with the laws establishing a military force, are reviewed and renewed every five years--next in 1996.

Of all the foreign countries we visited, only the United Kingdom explicitly bans homosexuals from military service--under current regulations, participating in a homosexual act is a punishable criminal offense under military law. Many of the arguments put forward by the United Kingdom military establishment against allowing homosexuals to serve are similar to those used in the United States. That is, it is claimed that homosexuality undermines cohesion and good military order; that it undermines recruiting; that it interferes with confidence building and bonding in small groups; etc. In fact, their current practice is much like the U.S. military policy that has been in effect since January 1993. Recruits are not asked whether they are homosexual, but they are given a pamphlet (Her Majesty's Armed Forces, no date) before they enlist that states, in part:

Homosexuality and homosexual behaviour are not compatible with Service life. If you engage in homosexual activity you may not be prosecuted under Service law (depending on the circumstances of the activity), but you will have to leave the Armed Forces.

The Sexual Offenses Act of 1967 specifically did not decriminalize homosexual acts among military service members. However, there is the expectation that the Queen's Regulations will be changed in the normal course of their review in 1996 to formally decriminalize homosexual acts

that members of the armed forces should be guaranteed protection from discrimination on the grounds of their homosexuality.

³⁶Warner (1993) testified that Great Britain has conscript recruitment; we suspect that this is a transcription error.

for service members. A special report from the Select Committee on the Armed Forces Bill (1991) states:

We are not persuaded that the time has yet come to require the Armed forces to accept homosexuals or homosexual activity...

We recommend that homosexual activity of a kind that is legal in civilian law should not constitute an offence under Service law. We look to the Government to propose an appropriate amendment to the law before the end of the next Session of Parliament.

Military Law. Currently, the military does not take disciplinary action against an individual for engaging in a homosexual act if the soldier is over 21 and the act is between consenting adults--individuals are administratively discharged for participating in such acts.³⁷ As in the United States, the mere statement by a person that he or she is a homosexual is not sufficient for discharge; status must be convincingly shown. Dismissal is not automatic, but almost certain (Select Committee on the Armed Services Bill, 1991). Individuals are generally charged with disgraceful conduct of an indecent kind, or conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline. Over the three-year period of 1987 to 1989, 32 individuals were court-martialed and 225 individuals were administratively discharged.

This is not to say that homosexuals are not present in the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom. However, because of the restrictions on homosexuality and homosexual behavior, they are wary about openly declaring themselves. As is the case with the U.S. military, homosexuals who have been dismissed have provided testimony to the existence of others at all levels, who remain unacknowledged.

AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON

Although each of the countries we visited is unique, a common picture emerges that can inform the policy decisions facing the United States.

³⁷These administrative discharges are noted as SNLR--Services No Longer Required.

Military Policy and Practice Reflect Societal Norms

The trend in all Western democratic societies is for greater toleration of social deviations as long as those deviations do not impinge on the larger group. Thus, premarital sex and homosexual behavior among consenting adults are becoming more tolerated, while drunk driving and smoking in public areas are becoming less tolerated. In each of the countries, the national military policy reflects--with a possible time lag--national societal attitudes and norms regarding tolerance; in no country is the military on the edge of social change or a test bed for social experimentation.

But tolerance does not mean acceptance. In none of the countries visited is homosexuality fully accepted. Interviewees stated and the data available support the conclusion that most people are avowedly heterosexual and express some discomfort around openly homosexual people. However, in these countries, the homosexuals are aware of and sensitive to the feelings of the majority. Most homosexuals are not public about their orientation and even open homosexuals are circumspect about their behavior in most social situations. This generalization holds particularly true for homosexuals in the military.

In each of the countries visited, homosexual behavior has been decriminalized for many years in civil law. Only in the United Kingdom does the military still prohibit sodomy, and it is anticipated that this, too, may soon change. In accordance with the civilian practice of official toleration, none of the foreign military services asks potential conscripts or recruits about their sexual orientation and only the United Kingdom will actively investigate an allegation of homosexuality.

The accession of admitted homosexuals into military service is less uniform in the countries visited. Canada, the Netherlands, and Norway do not permit an individual's homosexuality to be a criterion of acceptance into or rejection from the military. France and Israel will, in effect, exempt a homosexual from conscription if the person so chooses and, for appropriate individual cases, may recommend to the individual that an exemption be claimed. The ultimate choice in these two countries, however, is with the individual candidate. Germany and

the United Kingdom formally deny entry into service to open homosexuals, although Germany will tolerate homosexual members upon discovery or declaration.

Homosexuals Serve--But Quietly--In All Militaries Visited

No matter what the official regulation, interviewees reported that homosexuals did serve in the military service of each country, in the conscript, volunteer, and officer ranks. In none of these countries are heterosexuals fully comfortable living closely with homosexuals, but in none of these countries were there significant disciplinary problems caused by homosexuals within the ranks. In each country, the number of openly homosexual service members is small and is considered to represent only a minority of homosexuals actually serving. Moreover, in all countries, openly homosexual service members were appropriately circumspect in their behavior while in military situations; they did not call attention to themselves in ways that could make their service less pleasant or impede their careers.

Problems Are Dealt With on a Case-By-Case Basis

The foreign militaries visited reported very few problems caused by the presence of homosexual service members. Moreover, they reported that these problems were effectively dealt with on a case-by-case basis. Even in countries where it was claimed that homosexual orientation might lead to limited military careers, interviewees were emphatic that there was no hard and fast rule. Instead, each case was considered on its merits, and if there was a net benefit to the military of keeping a homosexual person on the job, that action was taken. In France and Norway, homosexuality is never an explicit criterion in any personnel decision, but certain homosexual behavior³⁸ could be a component of conduct unbecoming a service member and lead to sanctions; Canada is expected to follow this pattern. In the United Kingdom, there was a blanket dismissal of discovered homosexuals from the service, and in the

³⁸In most cases it is the flagrancy of the behavior, not its homosexual nature per se, that determines its unacceptability.

Netherlands, homosexuality is, by law, never a criterion in personnel actions.

Where there is the potential for unit disruption, the foreign militaries are proactive. Possible sources of trouble are identified, and if individual differences among service members are causes, action is taken. The particular action depends, as above, on the circumstances. Thus, if there is a clash between a homosexual and heterosexual that cannot be resolved within the unit, depending on the circumstances, one or the other or both may be removed from the unit or sanctioned. Interviewees claimed that in their experience there was no significant threat to unit cohesion or organizational performance created by the presence of homosexuals in their militaries, either at home stations or deployed at sea or abroad.³⁹

Change Has Not Been Disruptive

Since 1972, five of the countries--Canada, France, Israel, the Netherlands, and Norway--have changed policy, broadening the inclusion of homosexuals in military service. In the Netherlands and Norway, the change followed the decriminalization of homosexual behavior, while in France, change occurred when the psychiatric profession determined that homosexuality was not a mental disorder. Canada's change in policy was more political in nature. According to our sources, the change Israel announced in June 1993 was a formal statement of what had become actual practice. In France, the Netherlands, and Norway, officials report that the change in policy produced no problems for conscription, recruitment, or retention; although Canada's policy change is recent (October 1992), they similarly report no problems to date. In all instances, the change in policy produced little real change in practice because almost no service members or candidates for service revealed a homosexual orientation.

Implementing the change in policy for Canada, the Netherlands, and Norway has not posed major problems. (France's change of policy went almost unnoticed, and implementation was not an issue.) For all three

³⁹The caveat to this statement is, of course, the much greater extent of deployment of U.S. forces than any of the services visited.

countries, strong support from the highest levels of leadership, including the Minister of Defense and the highest ranks of military officers, communicated the acceptability of the new policy and the resolve of the military to accomplish the change. For Canada and Norway, implementation was done in as low a key as possible and unobtrusively. For example, there have been no sensitivity training sessions for troops, and neither country has attempted to change the attitudes of its service members.

Only the Netherlands has attempted to assertively establish equal rights for homosexuals and to change the attitudes of heterosexual service members. However, this effort does not appear to have produced a better situation for homosexual service members than the situation in countries that made no attempt to change attitudes. The Dutch are continuing their efforts in this direction, and because they are closely monitoring progress, in five years it will be possible to assess the effects of their programs.

4. ANALOGOUS EXPERIENCE OF DOMESTIC POLICE AND FIRE DEPARTMENTS¹

INTRODUCTION

Using the experiences of foreign militaries to anticipate issues related to allowing homosexuals to serve openly in the U.S. military has limitations: The United States and its foreign counterparts each have distinctive cultures, particularly with regard to privacy and social values. Only by examining this issue in the U.S. culture can one avoid the problems of interpretation that these differences introduce. However, this presents the thorny difficulty of finding institutions that are sufficiently analogous to make the comparison meaningful.

We took advantage of the similarities between municipal public safety departments and military organizations to examine the experience of police and fire departments in six American cities that have implemented policies of non-discrimination based on sexual orientation. We had two primary purposes: First, we sought to understand what happened in these departments when policies of non-discrimination were implemented. How did homosexuals respond and behave, for instance? How did heterosexuals react to the presence of acknowledged homosexuals in their midst? How did leadership view the ultimate impact of the policy change on the ability of these organizations to meet their mandates? Second, we sought insights into the implementation process itself. What facilitated the process of implementing policies of non-discrimination toward homosexuals? What hindered this process? How did the process usually unfold?

This chapter examines the analogy between the U.S. military and domestic police and fire departments, exploring whether and where the experience of these paramilitary organizations can shed light on issues related to permitting homosexuals to serve in the Armed Forces. The

¹This chapter was prepared by Paul Koegel, with considerable assistance from James P. Kahan in drafting the first section. It is based on research conducted by Janet Lever, Brent Boultinghouse, Scott A. Harris, Joanna Z. Heilbrunn, James P. Kahan, Paul Koegel, Robert MacCoun, Peter Tiemeyer, John D. Winkler, and Gail L. Zellman.

chapter also documents the foci and methods of this study, describes the non-discrimination policies and the contexts in which they were implemented, addresses the consequences of their implementation, and examines the implementation process itself.

HOW INSTRUCTIVE IS THE ANALOGY?

There has been a fair degree of controversy over whether the police and fire department analogy can tell us anything useful about issues related to allowing homosexuals to serve in the U.S. military. An argument erupted between members of the House Armed Services Committee on just this point as they listened (May 5th) to public safety officials from San Francisco and Seattle testify about how homosexual police and firefighters were serving in their cities. At issue was whether the statements of the witnesses were relevant to a debate about national security (*Army Times*, 5/17/93).

Police and fire departments are certainly not identical in nature to the military. The members of the police and fire departments interviewed were quick to point out fundamental differences between their organizations and the Armed Forces. The most significant was that their force members are on duty for short stints--an eight hour shift in the case of police, a period of 1-3 days in the case of firefighters. Afterwards, they go home, where they have far greater latitude in how they behave. The military, on the other hand, takes service members away from their homes for extended periods of time for both training and deployment, and considers the boundaries of their jobs to be 24 hours a day/7 days a week. During that time, it demands that service members live in a variety of close quarters, from the open dormitories of basic training barracks to the cramped confines of a two-person pup tent. Moreover, it requires them to subject themselves to the military and its codes of behavior at all times.

Even so, there are a number of characteristics that police and fire departments share in common with the U.S. military that make them the closest possible domestic analog. These include the following characteristics:

- The organization is hierarchically organized with a well-defined chain of command; the uniforms carry insignia denoting rank.
- The occupations are defined as public service for the maintenance of public security.
- Members work together as teams and wear uniforms clearly identifying them with the organization.
- A substantial proportion of job time is spent training for short intense periods of hazardous activity. An inherent feature of the job is putting one's life at risk.
- In addition to the common general American experience shared by the groups, many police officers and firefighters have a military background and share values held by military service members.

In some respects, fire departments are characterized by even greater similarities with the military than police departments are. Firefighters typically live together in a firehouse while on-duty, sometimes for days at a time. Close living quarters and issues related to privacy, especially in older firehouses, are thus part of their experience, even if for shorter stretches of time. The work of fighting fires is done in coordinated fashion against a common enemy. The business of a firefighting company is tactical with regard to a fire, while the command structure concerns itself with the strategic allocation of resources. Unless engaged in riot control, police officers work in pairs or, increasingly, alone. Moreover, although police work focuses on a war against crime, providing human services is one of its primary tasks, and this necessitates strong community interaction. As a result, police work is highly subject to political and external influences.

Issues the Analogy Can Illuminate

In exploring the experiences of domestic police and fire departments, we are not suggesting that their similarity to the U.S. military is sufficiently strong to allow predictions related to national security, i.e., whether force performance would be intolerably

compromised. However, even allowing for differences, police and fire departments are more similar to the military than is any other domestic institution, especially with regard to their internal command structures and requirement for top-down discipline. The interest in studying police and fire departments is not *whether* the military should end the restriction on homosexual service, but rather to learn *how* such a change might best take place were such a change mandated. Thus, these similarities make the analogy a useful one.

While we cannot definitively answer the question of how cohesion and performance will be affected in the military, we can confidently extrapolate to the military from observations in police and fire departments regarding how many members of the force publicly acknowledge their homosexuality when a policy change occurs; the factors that influence this; the behavior of homosexuals under a policy that allows them to acknowledge their homosexuality; the concerns that heterosexuals express after, rather than before, such a change has occurred; the role of leadership and chain of command; the natural evolution of policy implementation over time; and many others. It was with these issues in mind, rather than issues related directly to national security, that we engaged in this inquiry.

FOCI AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

Cities Visited

The selection of cities to be visited was based on several criteria. First, large cities were chosen to ensure that (1) on a chance basis, there would be homosexuals who might wish to serve in the police and fire departments; (2) the city's police and fire departments would be large enough to require a paramilitary structure for their command and control; and (3) these departments would be of sufficient size that there might be some homosexuals who had publicly announced their sexual orientation. These considerations led us to consider the top 25 cities in the United States, with populations over 500,000. Cities such as San Francisco, California, and Key West, Florida, were excluded because the large proportions of resident homosexuals created atypical social climates. Studying how a nondiscrimination policy was

implemented required having such a policy change to examine. Finally, because there might be regional differences in how nondiscrimination might be implemented, we attempted to select at least one city from the five major regions of the nation: Northeast, Midwest, South, Southwest, and Pacific Northwest.

Using these criteria, we chose six cities to visit. At least one department in all six agreed to cooperate, although the Houston Police Department and the Los Angeles Fire Department declined to participate. The leadership of the Houston Police Department carefully considered but ultimately rejected the request to participate for fear of involving the department in what they saw as a political matter. They voiced the belief that police departments should remain above politics and wanted to avoid the appearance of contributing, by virtue of their experience, to advancing any particular position. We were still able to obtain an overall, though limited, sense of the Houston Police Department's experience by speaking with gay community activists and homosexual police officers who have not disclosed their sexual orientation to their departments. The Los Angeles Fire Department also declined to participate in interviews because of upheaval they were experiencing over a damaging fire that had just occurred. However, a homosexual firefighter who had not acknowledged his sexual orientation to his department did participate in our off-hours focus group discussion with homosexual members of the police department.

Table 4-1 presents the six cities, along with their population rank and the year of introduction of a policy change. Five of the six largest cities in the United States are included in this set (World Almanac, 1992). Seattle is the largest city in the Pacific Northwest. Table 4-2 presents some demographic information about these cities and their police and fire departments.

Focus of Visits

The visits were oriented toward learning as much as possible about the larger picture surrounding the change of policy and its

Table 4-1
Cities Visited

City	U.S. Pop. Rank	Year Policy Changed
Chicago	3	1988
Houston	4	1990-1991
Los Angeles	2	1979
New York City	1	1979
San Diego	6	1990
Seattle	21	1980

Table 4-2
Selected Demographic Information About Cities Visited

	Chicago	Houston	Los Angeles	New York	San Diego	Seattle
Population (x1000)	2,784	1,631	3,485	7,323	1,111	516
% white	45%	53%	53%	52%	67%	75%
% black	38%	28%	14%	29%	9%	10%
% Hispanic	20%	28%	40%	24%	21%	4%
Uniformed police	12,200	4,100	7,700	28,000	1,800	1,300
% women	17%	N.A.	14%	14%	13%	10%
% minority	35%	N.A.	41%	26%	40%	N.A.
Uniformed fire	4,700	2,900	3,200	11,300	850	975
% women	4%	0.6%	N.A.	0.3%	8%	7%
% minority	28%	27%	N.A.	6%	28%	24%

Source: Census figures from World Almanac (1992); personal communications. Note that population percentages can sum to greater than 100% because the Census separately categorizes race and Hispanic origin. "N.A." indicates where data were not available.

implementation. This resulted in a focus on six main factors in the visits:

- **Social and situational climate.** This involved attempting to understand the general social environment of the city with particular reference to community attitudes towards homosexuals. It also involved understanding the police and fire departments in which these changes were occurring,

including their histories, the organization and composition of their forces, and their occupational cultures.

- **Politics of the change in policy.** This involved determining what specific events, if any, triggered the change in policy, who the principal actors were and whether they were for or against change, and what the topics were in the debate over change.
- **The specific wording of the nondiscrimination policy.**
- **Issues related to the implementation process itself.** This involved examining the planning, training, and education that accompanied the change in policy, the role of community and police/fire leadership in implementation, changes in recruitment and promotion practices, and the regulations (e.g., on harassment) that accompanied the change of policy. The focus was on factors that facilitated or hindered implementation.
- **Consequences.** We attempted to learn the consequences of the change in policy, particularly with regard to prior concerns. Most important, we sought to determine how many homosexuals had disclosed their sexual orientation, the factors influencing this process, the effect of the presence of open homosexuals on their heterosexual colleagues, and the ability of the institution to function effectively.
- **Lessons learned** about the implementation process and their potential application to implementing a policy that ends discrimination based on sexual orientation in the U.S. military.

Methods

The principal source of information was a two-day visit to each city. During these visits, several data collection methods were utilized. These included:

Interviews. Using open-ended interview techniques, but guided by a detailed set of topic questions that were first piloted in the police and fire departments of Santa Monica, California, we interviewed high-ranking leaders, personnel and equal employment opportunity officers,

trainers, unit commanders, recruiters, and counselors. Although none of these interviews was audio-recorded for fear of inhibiting the free exchange of ideas on sensitive topics, we took extensive notes--as close to verbatim as possible--at each.² We also interviewed heterosexual and homosexual rank-and-file members of the force, both alone and in groups ranging from three to 20. Rank-and-file officers were recruited by department leaders, usually depending on who was available at the time set aside for the interviews, and were interviewed without leaders being present. Interviews with homosexual force members usually took place on off-duty hours in off-site, confidential locations. In addition to involving individuals who had publicly proclaimed their homosexuality in the work place, these meetings often included police officers and firefighters who had not disclosed their orientation to their departments, and so can only be reported in terms that ensure total anonymity. Again, these were not audio-recorded, and the notes excluded any identification of participants.³

Documentation. We obtained what documentation we could on the size and composition of the police and fire departments, plus policies and regulations regarding nondiscrimination, enforcement guidelines, curricula for training programs, and equal employment opportunity procedures. Meaningful documentation on recruitment and promotion was generally not available since in no department was sexual orientation entered in an individual's record.

Newspaper articles. By engaging in computerized library searches of the major periodicals in each city, we were able to access newspaper articles concerning events related to the implementation of non-

²One person in what was usually a three-person team was designated the notetaker. Usually, this person took notes on a lap-top computer. Our experience was that this increased accuracy without being intrusive.

³In no sense can our samples of rank-and-file members of these departments, either heterosexual or homosexual, be considered a probability sample. While we did our best to ensure that those selected were representative of their departments, we neither used methods nor had the sample size that would allow us to make statements regarding the actual prevalence of the attitudes and behaviors we describe in subsequent sections. Where evidence seemed strong on a given point, we have allowed our language to convey this. Otherwise, we deliberately avoid qualifiers that suggest precise prevalence estimates.

discrimination policies, such as lawsuits, demonstrations, and police recruitment at homosexual fairs. Newspaper articles were also sometimes volunteered during our department visits.

Not all investigative methods were employed at all visit sites. In each case, we gathered as much information as time and the goodwill of organization allowed. Thus, we were able to have focus groups with heterosexual rank-and-file force members at only some locations, met with counselors at only one location, and so forth. Table 4-3 summarizes what types of information were obtained from which cities.

Table 4-3
Sources of Information, by City

	Chicago	Houston	Los Angeles	New York	San Diego	Seattle
Police Interviews:						
Leaders	x		x	x	x	x
Personnel, EEO	x		x	x	x	x
Trainers	x		x	x	x	x
Commanders	x			x		
Recruiters				x		
Counselors	x					
Homosexuals	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rank-and-file	x			x	x	
Fire Interviews:						
Leaders	x			x	x	x
Personnel, EEO	x			x	x	x
Trainers		x			x	
Commanders	x	x			x	
Recruiters		x				
Counselors						
Homosexuals	x			x	x	x
Rank-and-file		x	x	x	x	x
Documentation						
Nondiscrim. policy	x		x	x	x	x
PD regs, procs	x		x		x	x
PD training pgms	x		x			
FD regs, procs	x	x		x		
FD training pgms						x
Newspaper articles	x	x	x	x	x	x

CONTEXT AND VARIATION IN NON-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES

By way of setting a context for discussing what was learned from police and fire departments regarding what happens when a policy of non-

discrimination against homosexuals is implemented and how best to effect that implementation, this section provides a brief overview of the settings, players, and policies that were featured in the implementation processes observed. This is not done on a detailed city-by-city basis but more generally, with an eye toward describing variation in (1) the municipal climate in which policy changes were occurring; (2) the climate within the police and fire departments themselves; and (3) the nature of the non-discrimination policies and the prime impetus for change.

The Municipal Climate

As already stated, the departments examined were situated in six cities across geographically diverse regions of the country. These cities have each been subject to unique sets of influences that have contributed to clear differences in both their overall social climates and how they have interacted with their homosexual communities. Seattle, on one end of the continuum, enjoys a reputation for social liberalism and is well-known for its politics of inclusion. New York and Los Angeles fall at this end of the continuum. Houston, on the other end of the continuum, is situated in a region that is typically considered to be the most socially conservative in the country. Chicago is less conservative than Houston but more conservative than Seattle, given the strong social and political influence of its historically central white ethnic Catholic communities. San Diego, where a strong identification with the Navy and a large community of white military retirees likewise has fostered a climate of social conservatism, also falls along the Houston end of the continuum.⁴

Regardless of where they fall on this continuum, all of these cities have experienced the growing visibility of local homosexual communities and their increasing ability to parlay that visibility into

⁴Marked variation exists *within* each of these cities, of course. Knowing a person's education, occupation, and whether they have had close personal contact with a homosexual probably tells one more about their social conservatism and attitudes toward homosexuality than the region or city in which they live. (See the chapter on public opinion for a more complete discussion of demographic and other correlates of attitudes toward homosexuality.)

economic and political power. In each of these cities, homosexuals are players in the local political scene and in some cases are recognized as potent forces. All but one of these cities have enacted human rights ordinances prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Only Houston does not currently have such an ordinance (though changes in the police department's policy regarding homosexuality occurred anyway).⁵ There, an effort to enact such an ordinance in 1988 was voted down by the public, and state sodomy laws continue to define homosexual acts as illegal.⁶ This is not to say that homosexuals are widely accepted everywhere but in Houston. Hate crimes against homosexuals in all of these cities testify to the variable acceptance they experience wherever they are.

The Internal Climate Within Police and Fire Departments

Differences between these departments were apparent in a number of ways that ultimately affected how implementation of a non-discrimination policy occurred. Each is the product of unique histories or idiosyncratic leaders who have left a distinctive stamp. Overall, the similarities among the police and fire departments in the cities examined far outweigh whatever differences exist. For instance, though changes are occurring, each continues to be governed by traditions and customs that have informally codified norms of appropriate behavior. These departments are remarkably alike in being tightly-knit cultures consisting of people drawn together by their responsibility to protect each other's lives. What we learned suggested that police officers and firefighters look out for one another. When there are problems, they work them out on their own. "Ratting" on a fellow officer, given this value, is strongly frowned upon and is informally sanctioned in most cases, often with ostracism. In both, but particularly in fire departments, one's closest co-workers are considered to be family, both

⁵While the Houston Police Department does not have an explicit policy of nondiscrimination based on sexual orientation, aggressive attempts to screen homosexuals out of the department by asking people whether they were homosexual were discontinued somewhere around 1990-1991.

⁶The Texas sodomy laws have recently faced legal challenge and are currently being reviewed by the State Supreme Court.

on and off the job. Camaraderie is high in these settings but its price is conformity. This is not a culture receptive to outgroups, and the histories of these departments with regard to minorities and women support this impression.

Each of the departments examined tended to draw its recruits from the more socially conservative elements of their communities. As a result, they were fundamentally conservative organizations, both politically and socially. In Chicago and New York, this tendency toward conservatism was further augmented by a historical domination of police and fire departments by white, Catholic ethnic groups--the Irish and Italians, in particular. These groups strongly emphasize traditional family values, and such values evidently became highly entrenched in police and fire culture. "We're a Catholic organization," commented a leader in one department when asked about expectations regarding off-duty behavior. "We still frown on people living together. There's a lot of that in our organization. You can lie, steal, rob--we'll forgive you. But cheat on your wife? You're in trouble!"

The conservatism of these departments also translated into negative views on the part of the largely white, male, heterosexual rank-and-file toward outgroups, with particularly strong feelings being voiced against homosexuals. Leaders in some of these departments have arrived at a different understanding of homosexuals, which is in some cases the cause and in some cases the consequence of steering their organizations toward more accepting policies. However, among the police and firefighter rank-and-file, strong anti-homosexual attitudes are frequently expressed. This is changing as new community attitudes, leaders, and policies have their effect, but these workplaces still give the impression of strong hostility to the inclusion of homosexuals. This is especially true of firehouses, where stronger demands for conformity and close living quarters increase tensions over homosexuality.

Another aspect of the internal climate of these organizations is the growing existence of homosexual fraternal organizations. These are epitomized by the Gay Officers Action League (GOAL) of New York, which was founded in 1983 and now consists of approximately 1000 sworn

officers across several New York City criminal justice organizations, including approximately 250 officers from the police department.

GOAL serves two purposes. It provides homosexual officers with opportunities to share their experiences with one another in a confidential forum (since more than half of the police officers have not made their sexual orientation known to their departments) and to socialize with similarly minded colleagues. But it is also an established political presence in the department, serving as an advocate for homosexual police officers and community members.

While homosexual police fraternal organizations exist in Los Angeles, Seattle, San Diego, and Chicago as well, in no city are they as large or as firmly established as in New York, a function of how recently most of them have come together. Houston has no such organization. Homosexual officers in Houston indicated that they were many years away from such an occurrence: So inhospitable was their workplace environment with regard to acknowledging their homosexuality that while they often know of other homosexual officers from chance off-duty sightings, they barely acknowledge each other's presence in the workplace for fear of inadvertently revealing their status. There are not yet any such organizations consisting exclusively of firefighters,⁷ though a loosely formed social (not political) organization of homosexual firefighters in New York is currently negotiating official status with the department through a retired homosexual firefighter whose sexual orientation is known to his department. No currently active homosexual firefighters can play this role because none of them has publicly acknowledged his or her homosexuality.⁸

⁷Firefighters in many cities belong to the same fraternal organizations as homosexual criminal justice workers.

⁸Interestingly, while GOAL offered to use its influence to orchestrate our visit with the New York Police (which we declined), Fire Flag members (with the exception of the retired firefighter) were too apprehensive regarding the threat of their homosexuality becoming public knowledge to even consider meeting with us, despite our guarantees of confidentiality.

Varieties of Non-Discrimination Policies

The non-discrimination policies implemented by the police and fire departments examined varied, though only slightly, along two dimensions: (1) how they were defined; and (2) whether the policy basis was internal or external to the department. Across all but one of these six cities, department policies essentially consisted of a statement proscribing any discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Such a statement was usually documented in a memorandum from the chief and integrated into manuals documenting rules and expectations wherever appropriate.

In the police departments of four cities, homosexuals were actively recruited to some degree, although most aggressively in Seattle and New York. Chicago is only now getting ready to target the homosexual community for recruiting. These departments were recruiting homosexuals not to meet affirmative action goals but rather because current policing practices emphasize the importance of a department resembling the community it serves. No fire department had actively recruited members of the homosexual community, presumably because the nature of their mandate did not necessitate their doing so. Across all five cities, procedures for lodging formal discrimination complaints based on sexual orientation were in place and were basically identical to those for minorities and women.

There was no such explicit policy statement in either the police or fire department of Houston. The implicit policy statement appeared to be "It doesn't matter." The fire department asserted that it had no policy one way or another; the police department's policy was characterized as one of "benign neglect"--"do your job and we won't bother you." (The chief has reportedly been unwilling to put this in writing because of the existence of the Texas sodomy laws, currently being reviewed by the State Supreme Court.) The fire department had never asked questions about sexual orientation during the recruiting process and had thus never really experienced a "change." The police department, on the other hand, had until recently asked detailed questions about sexual orientation of all prospective recruits but had discontinued that practice as official policy. Both continued to ask prospective employees if they had ever done anything that might

embarrass the department and posed more specific questions about sexual behavior proscribed by the Texas penal code--questions that were repeated during a polygraph required of all recruits. In neither department was this seen as being discriminatory.⁹

The issue of whether policies were stimulated by external actors or events versus internal ones is actually more complicated than it would appear. It is clear that departments located in cities where city councils or mayors had imposed non-discrimination policies were responding to external pressures. In contrast, Houston's changes were taken in the absence of such external prompts. However, catalyzing factors were invariably internal as well as external. Where formal policies existed, they were typically on the books long before any kind of aggressive implementation actually occurred. Usually, real change came in response to internal developments--a change in leadership, a readiness that developed out of interactions with the homosexual community on community relations issues, broader changes in the community-at-large, or, more occasionally, pressure from homosexuals within the department. Changes in Houston, while seemingly internally driven, were clearly taken in response to informal pressure from both the mayor's office and representatives of the homosexual community, who currently meet monthly with the chief.

CONSEQUENCES OF A NON-DISCRIMINATION POLICY

What were the consequences of introducing policies making it possible for acknowledged homosexuals to serve in police and fire departments? We focused our attention on three levels: (1) the behavior and responses of homosexuals, including the number and characteristics of people who "come out," the factors that influence this process, the nature of their experiences, the extent to which they pursue a homosexual political agenda, and whether they serve in leadership roles; (2) the attitudes and behavior of heterosexuals, including whether they accept homosexuals and the nature of their concerns regarding working with acknowledged homosexual colleagues; and

⁹Homosexuals were present in both departments despite these obstacles.

(3) the functioning of the institution, including whether, from the point of view of members within these departments, integration of acknowledged homosexuals in the workforce can be achieved without adverse effects on force effectiveness, recruitment, or retention.¹⁰ These issues have been highlighted in public discussions of allowing homosexuals to serve in the U.S. military.

The Experiences and Responses of Homosexuals

To what extent do they acknowledge their homosexuality once a policy change occurs?

Homosexuals differ from African-Americans, women, and others who have sought equal status in traditionally white, male-dominated police and fire departments in that their outgroup¹¹ status is not self-evident. While fellow officers may suspect them, such suspicions cannot usually be confirmed until homosexuals actually acknowledge their homosexuality. It is worth examining whether and the extent to which they make such an acknowledgment following the implementation of policies aimed at enhancing their ability to do so: If only a few disclose their homosexuality, any problems their presence might create will be commensurably small and thus more manageable.

In considering the issue of how many homosexual police officers and firefighters have publicly acknowledged their homosexuality within their departments, it is important to recognize that "coming out" is not a single action taken by an individual. Instead, it is a process that usually occurs in stages over long periods of time. It begins with personal acceptance of one's sexual orientation and tends to be followed first by disclosure to members of the homosexual community and to trusted heterosexual members of one's social network. Only later, in most cases, does it involve a more casual and public acknowledgment of

¹⁰As we stated earlier, the terms of the analogy leave some of these observations more useful to considerations of removing the restriction against homosexuals in the military than others. We include the conclusions of these departments on force effectiveness while recognizing that they may not speak directly to the military experience.

¹¹The term "outgroup" is used here in its traditional sense and should not be mistaken as a reference to homosexuals who have openly declared their homosexuality.

being homosexual. This means that homosexuals can acknowledge their homosexuality in certain arenas of their lives, such as their circle of friends, but not in others, such as their families or their workplace. It also means that within a setting such as the workplace, they can acknowledge their homosexuality to some colleagues, such as other homosexuals with whom they work or their closest heterosexual colleagues, but not to others.

The estimates of numbers of homosexual members of police and fire departments that follow reflect the endpoint of this process--the broader and more public acknowledgment of sexual orientation that involves widespread knowledge of this orientation throughout the workplace. However, additional individuals may disclose their sexual orientation to each other or to a selected group of heterosexuals. We had contact with many of these individuals, most often through the confidential homosexual fraternal organizations described earlier. Their perspective gave us insights into the concerns of homosexuals who have not made their sexual orientation known as they weigh a decision to publicly disclose their status as homosexuals.

Across all of the departments we examined, exceedingly few homosexuals announced their homosexuality, despite the existence of policies that codify their right to serve (see Table 4-4). This was especially pronounced in the five fire departments, where no male who was currently on any force had acknowledged his homosexuality and where acknowledged lesbians were found in only two. While there was general awareness that far more homosexuals were serving than were officially known in each of the departments we examined, in no department did the percentage of openly homosexual officers exceed 0.5 percent and the median value was 0.03 percent of the total force. Heterosexual and homosexual members of these departments alike predicted that this would eventually change, however slowly. At the time of the interviews, however, homosexual officers remained overwhelmingly reluctant to allow their homosexuality to become public knowledge, even where leaders in their departments were actively encouraging them to declare themselves.

Table 4-4
 Numbers and Percentages of Open Homosexuals in the Police and
 Fire Departments of Six Cities

Institution	City	Total Force Size	Number of Open Homosexuals	Estimated Prevalence
Police	Chicago	12,209	7	0.06%
	Houston	4,100	0	0.00%
	Los Angeles	7,700	7	0.09%
	New York	28,000	~100	0.36%
	San Diego	1,300	4-5	0.25%
	Seattle	1,300	2	0.15%
Fire	Chicago	4,700	0	0.00%
	Houston	2,900	0	0.00%
	Los Angeles	3,200	0	0.00%
	New York	11,300	0	0.00%
	San Diego*	845	1	0.12%
	Seattle*	975	5	0.51%

*All openly homosexual firefighters in these cities were women.

As indicated earlier, far more homosexuals were known to each other and selected heterosexual members of their departments. Some of these individuals were members of confidential homosexual fraternal organizations. In one department, for instance, only seven individuals had acknowledged their homosexuality to their department, but more than 40 belonged to a homosexual fraternal organization of department members. Moreover, in every city, homosexual officers knew of other homosexual members of the force who had opted not to join such groups, either for fear of being identified or for lack of interest. There is no way of precisely estimating how many homosexuals are actually serving in these departments because people can successfully keep their sexual orientation hidden. It is thus impossible to estimate what proportion of homosexuals declare their orientation.

What are the factors that influence this process?

Perhaps one of the most salient factors that influences whether homosexual police officers or firefighters make their sexual orientation known to their departments is how they perceive their work climate. A marked degree of variation was apparent both between and within each of

the departments we examined in the messages sent to homosexuals regarding the reception they would get if they acknowledged their homosexuality. This variation could be observed along many dimensions, for example, across and within the hierarchical levels of an organization--between high-level managers, who displayed varying degrees of commitment to enforcing a policy of nondiscrimination and creating a hospitable environment for homosexuals; mid- and low-level managers, whose decisions most directly affected homosexual officers on a day-to-day basis and whose tone and attitudes set the boundaries of allowable behavior among the rank-and-file; and individual patrol officers or firefighters, where attitudes ran the gamut from strongly anti-homosexual to strongly pro-homosexual.

Differences in climate were also apparent between police and fire departments. The close living quarters and heavily conformist culture associated with firehouse life, as well as the insularity of fire departments from the growing acceptance of homosexuals in many urban communities, created a vastly more hostile environment. In police departments, political pressures to serve the homosexual community more effectively often resulted in diversity training and an increased awareness of the need to control negative behaviors toward homosexuals, if not a heightened sensitivity to homosexuality. Differences in climate were likewise apparent across gender lines, with women being far less likely than men to view homosexuality as being offensive, troublesome, and threatening. In addition, the climate with regard to lesbians was consistently more tolerant than with regard to homosexual men, particularly from the vantage point of heterosexual males. It was thus far easier for women to publicly acknowledge their sexual orientation than for men.

Homosexual officers made it clear that they carefully attend to the messages they received on each of these levels, assessing how each contributed to the workplace environment. In general, the more hostile the environment, the less likely it was that people publicly acknowledged their homosexuality. More people have declared their sexual orientation in departments that have aggressively pursued a policy of non-discrimination than in departments characterized by

pervasive hostility or benign neglect. More people have declared their sexual orientation in the relatively more tolerant climate of police departments than in fire departments. In addition, far more lesbians than homosexual men acknowledged their sexual orientation. Homosexuals were far more likely to be public about their sexual orientation if they worked in settings within a department known to be more accepting of homosexuals. Indeed, several police officers who were "out" noted that they had acknowledged their homosexuality only after transferring from precincts where anti-homosexual sentiment was high to less hostile work environments.

Variation in degree notwithstanding, our observations indicate that most of these police and fire departments can be characterized as being overtly, and in some cases extremely, hostile toward homosexuals. Non-discrimination policies have not magically transformed these departments into bastions of tolerance and restraint. The derision with which homosexuals are viewed by many members of these forces manifests itself on a daily basis in the workplace. Epithets such as "fag" and "dyke" and disparaging comments about homosexuals are commonplace, as are comments that display disregard for the lives and human rights of homosexual men and women. According to the people interviewed, these provide constant and troubling reminders to homosexuals who have not yet publicly acknowledged their homosexuality of the disdain with which homosexuals are viewed by many of those with whom they work and upon whom they depend.

Given the persistence of these attitudes, even in departments where attempts at change are actively being pursued, unacknowledged homosexuals harbored serious fears about the consequences of revealing their homosexuality. At a most basic level, they worried about their safety. While most were reasonably convinced they would still be able to count on the support of their fellow officers in life-threatening situations, it was not unusual to hear people express worries about back-up, placing in doubt something they need to take for granted in order to effectively perform their jobs. They also worried about their careers, wondering if the knowledge that they are homosexual might subtly color evaluations and hurt their chances of promotion. They knew

that at the very least acknowledging their homosexuality could entail being socially ostracized. They feared not being treated as "one of the crowd"; that people would talk behind their backs; that previously comfortable social interactions would suddenly become awkward; that they would be excluded from the camaraderie that typifies the small groups in which they work; that they would be subjected to mean-spirited pranks such as having their locker painted pink or being barraged with anonymously delivered AIDS literature. It is thus hardly surprising that most reached the conclusion that not going public, despite the personal toll it exacted, was preferable to acknowledging their homosexuality to their departments.

Other factors beyond the negative attitudes of those with whom they work also influenced homosexuals' decision to make public their sexual orientation. We were told that unacknowledged officers were often still engaging in a personal struggle to become comfortable with their homosexuality, having internalized the stigma that society places on it. These individuals were not at a point where they felt ready to acknowledge their sexual orientation publicly. Others were quite comfortable with their sexuality but felt that their sexual orientation was no one's business but their own. Many just wanted to do their job and worried that public knowledge of their sexual orientation would make them "gay" officers or firefighters, with all the notoriety that such a status implied. Still others felt they could "come out" at work without substantial discomfort but were loath to do so because they had not yet told their families of their homosexuality, or because they had relatives on the force whose lives would become more complicated because of their disclosure. Yet others felt that waiting until they had greater rank would make disclosing their sexual orientation easier. Acts of harassment against a superior would be viewed as insubordination, and such overt threats to discipline and command would be viewed by the top brass of these departments as a far greater threat than homosexuality.

Among those who *did* acknowledge their homosexuality, several factors were cited as contributing to their decision. Many sensed a readiness of those around them to accept a homosexual in their midst.

Many had already told their partners and in some cases their supervisors, thereby testing the waters. Some had observed the experiences of others and felt reassured that they could publicly acknowledge homosexuality without serious consequences--that back-up was there; that it was possible to move up through the ranks, still get reasonable assignments, and not get their lockers dumped out. Most felt themselves to be personally well-suited to the challenge of blazing a trail for their more reticent counterparts, either because they felt comfortable with themselves and their sexual orientation, because they had the social skills to smooth over what tensions might exist, or because their reputations as excellent officers protected them from the condemnation that those who had not yet proved themselves might face. Still others felt it important to be accepted for who they were and felt that the strain of aggressively hiding their homosexuality was far more costly than the consequences they might face by virtue of a public acknowledgment.

What are the actual experiences of those who have acknowledged their homosexuality?

Given the risks involved in a public acknowledgment, the decision to do so was rarely made without careful deliberation and considerable fear. One police officer, for instance, described publicly acknowledging his homosexuality as a far more frightening moment than anything he had experienced in his many years of police work and was convinced the event would be cataclysmic: "I expected the world would stop spinning and fall off its axis." In reality, most people who publicly acknowledged their homosexuality reported that the consequences of doing so were far less dire than they or their unacknowledged counterparts feared. Each faced some degree of hostility, but this typically took the form of offensive remarks or epithets. Pranks were occasionally reported, but back-up (with rare exceptions) could be relied on and overt violence was virtually unheard of. Most were socially accepted and even applauded for their courage; where they were not, social disruptions did not get in the way of their doing an effective job. Many spoke of the frustration of having to prove themselves over and over again with each transfer to a new assignment,

but most had confidence in their ability to do so and believed that acknowledging their sexual orientation had enabled them to perform their duties more effectively.¹² Many believed it improved their work environment, since people who had previously felt comfortable expressing anti-homosexual sentiments in their midst felt constrained by their public status from doing so, at least in their presence.

Isolated examples of more serious and threatening hostility do exist. For instance, an officer who had generally been viewed as a model policeman on the fast track before knowledge of his homosexuality became known ultimately left his department and filed suit against it after a protracted series of incidents left him fearing for his life. Fellow officers engaged in hostile pranks, such as scratching threatening messages into his car, solicited a false accusation from a suspect that the officer had inappropriately strip-searched him, and ultimately failed to adequately respond to calls for back-up. Equally telling is an example suggesting that the experience of dealing with quieter forms of harassment can exact a significant personal toll over time. An acknowledged homosexual and well-respected police officer recently left his department citing his unwillingness to cope with daily affronts to his dignity any longer. However, dire consequences appear to be the exception, rather than the rule, among the officers with whom we spoke.

Interestingly, where the most serious instances of abuse against acknowledged homosexual officers occurred, the situation was usually one in which the officer's homosexuality had become public knowledge not by design but by accident--where people had been "outed," in other words,

¹²The experiences of these officers may seem to contradict our claim that a climate of hostility toward homosexuals exists in these departments. As we state later in this section, homosexuals tend to come out in precincts where hostility is less pronounced. Also, they tend to come out after they have proven themselves to be good officers, allowing them to be defined by those who retain anti-homosexual feelings as "the exception to the rule." Finally, the anti-homosexual sentiment evident in these departments often takes the form of negative remarks regarding homosexuality and homosexuals. These, as we point out later, are not necessarily related to how these officers will behave to someone they know, though homosexual officers who have not disclosed their sexual orientation are not usually convinced of this.

or were merely suspected of being homosexual in departments where an especially hostile climate toward homosexuals prevailed.¹³ Where homosexual officers themselves were allowed to exercise their own judgment regarding whether public acknowledgment is well-advised, problems, if they emerged, were usually manageable.

Do acknowledged homosexual police officers and firefighters engage in personal behaviors that are disruptive to their organizations?

It is an often-cited fear among those anticipating the inclusion of homosexuals in work settings like the military or police and fire departments that homosexuals will behave in ways that will challenge local institutional norms and customs, e.g., by engaging in such practices as dancing together at departmental functions or sexually harassing heterosexual members of the force. Evidence to support these fears was very rare. Generally speaking, homosexual officers are sensitive to the climate in which they work. There are occasional exceptions, but the vast majority behave in ways that are designed to neither shock nor offend. No case of a homosexual male sexually harassing a heterosexual male was reported; indeed, the question itself sometimes evoked disbelief among those who had actually worked closely with homosexuals that such an event might occur. Occasional reports were offered by commanding officers of lesbians harassing heterosexual women--staring at them in the locker room or making unwelcome sexual comments. These were said to be rare, far more rare than incidents of heterosexual men harassing women. Public displays of affection were even more unusual; officers overwhelmingly conformed to established conventions regarding professionalism while in uniform. A few officers reported bringing same-sex partners to social functions, but only where it had been assumed that this would either be accepted or would serve as a nudge, rather than a hard push, against the established social order. Most either avoided department functions or attended them alone, but

¹³In departments where hostility toward homosexuals was particularly strong, it was reported that individuals suspected of homosexuality are frequently harassed. A heterosexual man who had been subjected to persistent harassment because of such suspicions was one of several litigants in a recently settled law suit against one of the police departments examined.

even those who included their partners at times commented that there were environments in which they would choose not to do so. A homosexual lieutenant commented that while he could readily bring a partner to New York Police Department functions, he would not consider doing this were he in the military. In his opinion, the NYPD is not an environment that is overtly hostile to homosexuals; the military is.

Another way in which the behavior of homosexual police officers and firefighters might inadvertently strain the organizations in which they work relates to how they react to the sometimes daily instances of personal harassment they face. A predisposition to aggressively file formal complaints regarding each incident of harassment could quickly overwhelm the systems in place to deal with these problems and exact further demands on scarce resources. In reality, formal complaints are rare. A strong cultural emphasis is evident within both police and fire departments on working out problems within the ranks and not informing on a peer. Homosexual officers have internalized this norm. In the words of one officer, "Being a rat is 1000 times worse than being called a fag." Most develop thick skins and either ignore or deflect the harassment they experience. Those who turn to the chain of command tend to do so informally, reaching out to a supervisor for assistance on the condition that he or she keep the complaint confidential. Usually, the goal is to end or contain the offensive behavior, not to punish the offending party. Formal complaints are invariably acts of desperation and are usually brought only against those whose behavior is recognized as going far beyond what most heterosexual officers would consider acceptable. Even in the New York Police Department, where acknowledged homosexuals are at least 100 strong and have an established political presence within the department, only four complaints of discrimination based on sexual orientation have been lodged over the last three years.¹⁴

¹⁴Another value to which firefighters in particular subscribe is that one should never bring embarrassment or negative attention to the firehouse group. The only openly homosexual (retired) male firefighter with whom we spoke talked about taking pains to ensure that his public discussions of his homosexuality never made reference to the firehouse in which he worked for this very reason.

What are the characteristics of homosexuals who join police and fire departments? Can they serve in a leadership capacity?

Many who contemplate the effect of opening military and paramilitary organizations to homosexuals worry that stereotypic homosexuals, particularly effeminate men, will compromise the image of their force. The demeanor of homosexual officers in the police and fire departments we visited suggested that such concerns have little basis because homosexual individuals were virtually indistinguishable from their heterosexual peers. Almost unilaterally, homosexual men were reported as being, and seemed to us to be, sufficiently innocuous in their behavior and appearance to have been able to pass as heterosexual members of the force for long periods of time. Said one homosexual policeman, "You can't be flamboyant. Most gay men who are police officers are probably more on the "butch" side. You have to look like a police officer." Lesbians also tended to be indistinguishable from their heterosexual counterparts. Occasional stories were told by heterosexual police officers of lesbians who came across as somewhat "butch," but this was said to work in their favor both on the beat and while socializing with the "boys" in the precinct houses. In general, our observations and people with whom we spoke suggested that those drawn to police work and firefighting were unlikely to match stereotypes that were inconsistent with the job at hand.

In addition to physically and behaviorally resembling their heterosexual counterparts, homosexual police officers and firefighters are identical to their heterosexual peers in the factors that attracted them to the organizations in which they work. In both cases, many had always assumed they would be members of the forces they were in, either because their families had traditionally engaged in such work, because of childhood fascinations with these professions, or simply because of a desire to serve their communities. Others cited pay and benefits as a prime motivator. No one we spoke to entered their departments with an eye toward advancing a homosexual agenda. Indeed, where job-related passion was expressed, it tended to reflect a stronger identification with being a police officer or a firefighter than a member of the

homosexual community.¹⁵ For some, this was only a job, but most believed in their work, believed strongly in their departments, and wanted to be good police officers or firefighters. As one fire chief stated, "Anyone who is attracted to this profession is a benevolent person who wants to save lives and property. This is true across any group."

As for performance, there was no question that homosexual members of these departments could do their jobs adequately.¹⁶ Each had passed his or her department's rigorous screening, had successfully completed training, and was currently carrying out his or her assigned duties. If anything, there was a general sense among both leadership and patrol officers that homosexuals who have publicly acknowledged their sexual orientation tend to be overachievers, perhaps because of the constant demand imposed on them to prove themselves, perhaps because only an untarnished record could allow an acknowledged homosexual to advance within the ranks. Several, including high-level chiefs, were convinced that if sexual orientation were a matter of record, an empirical comparison of the performance of heterosexuals and homosexuals would place homosexuals in a position of advantage.

There was general consensus, at least among the leadership of police departments, that despite the overall climates of hostility toward homosexuality that remained pervasive in their organizations, it was possible for homosexuals to serve in positions of leadership, provided that they were well-respected for their police work and were equitable managers. Challenges to their authority because of their homosexuality were always a threat. However, the ability of homosexual leaders to serve was facilitated by the structure of their paramilitary

¹⁵It was as hard for some of these officers to explain to their homosexual friends why they wanted to be police officers as it was to explain to heterosexual police officers why homosexuals might want to join the department.

¹⁶Performance went to the heart of the controversy surrounding the integration of women into police and fire departments and to the resentment that accompanied their inclusion, especially where performance standards had been lowered to allow their inclusion or where they were hired despite a lower ranking on a hiring list. It was not an issue with regard to homosexuals for either the leaders or heterosexual members of the rank-and-file with whom we spoke.

organizations, which featured strict guidelines for how one treats an officer, a strong value on maintaining discipline and respecting command, and a thick rule book that could be utilized when people stepped out of line. In fact, where homosexuals had reached positions of leadership, such punitive actions were rarely needed. In the same way that homosexuals did not go public until there was a readiness for them to acknowledge their homosexuality, they did not make their way up the ranks nor were they placed in positions of command until there was a readiness on the part of the leadership of the organization to support them and a readiness, or at least a near-readiness, on the part of the rank-and-file to follow them.¹⁷ In this regard, it is worth pointing out the one exception that we found to the general rule that homosexual leaders were able to command effectively. This occurred in a police department known to harbor particularly virulent attitudes toward homosexuals, where a sergeant who had never intended to reveal his sexual orientation was "outed" as a result of a chance off-duty occurrence.

The Responses and Concerns of Heterosexuals

To what extent do heterosexual police officers and firefighters accept homosexuals who acknowledge their sexual orientation? Are they willing and able to work with them?

As the discussion of the hostile climate within each of the departments makes clear, negative attitudes toward homosexuals do not miraculously disappear once a policy of nondiscrimination is enacted. Anti-homosexual attitudes are real in these departments. These attitudes, however, are not uniformly held either across or within the settings we examined. Indeed, among those who have actually worked with homosexuals, there are signs of more accepting attitudes that, according to those in leadership, have been growing steadily over time.

¹⁷This assertion is based on limited data. Because so few homosexuals were acknowledged, we spoke directly to only two officers with some degree of rank--one a sergeant, the other a lieutenant. There were other examples, and respondents cited these in concluding that homosexual officers could effectively lead.

One heterosexual woman whose squad car partner was a lesbian arrived at a focus group meeting with a button proclaiming her commitment to gay rights. Many straight officers in a variety of contexts voiced the belief that a person's sexual orientation was immaterial to them. Both heterosexual and homosexual officers confirmed that homosexuals were frequently, even if not consistently, included in off-duty social activities. Homosexuals made reference to the support they received from individual colleagues when they acknowledged their homosexuality and to their surprise at both the strength and, in some cases, the source of that support. More than one told stories of co-workers who, upon learning they were homosexual, reassured them of their own comfort with the person's sexual orientation but warned them that others would have a hard time, only to have those others pull them aside and say the same thing. In other words, these members of their departments endorsed the notion of pervasive anti-homosexual attitudes, but each saw himself or herself as an exception to that rule.

Even heterosexual officers who expressed less positive attitudes toward their homosexual colleagues often adhered to a strong ethic of professionalism that allowed them to work smoothly with homosexuals in spite of their personal feelings. Who one went to bed with, however objectionable, was less important to these officers than whether a person performed well on the job; good officers, they believed, "judged each other as cops." For these officers, getting the job done was paramount.¹⁸ They made a point of not allowing any personal animosity they might feel toward homosexuals to interfere with their mission or the overall goals of their department. They expected back-up when they needed it and responded immediately to others when they requested it, regardless of how they felt about them. Not responding to a call because an officer was homosexual or dismissing his or her performance

¹⁸A retired firefighter whose homosexuality had been common knowledge while he was stationed in a firehouse commented that he worked with 60 men of whom 20 wouldn't give him the time of day, 20 were cordial, and 20 were his best friends. Before and after a fire, he volunteered, anti-homosexual sentiment existed, but during the fire they worked together as if they were best buddies.

because of sexual orientation went against every principle they believed in.¹⁹

The apparent contradiction between descriptions of the anti-homosexual climate of these departments provided to us and the positive experiences that some of the acknowledged homosexual officers reported suggests that the attitudes and behaviors of heterosexual members of these departments are complex and sometimes counterintuitive. While strong negative and positive messages were both evident to varying degrees across and within departments, much of what these officers offered defies simplistic categorization. It was not unusual for officers to advance seemingly contradictory statements or behave in contradictory ways as they tried to reconcile strongly felt but inconsistent values. For instance, heterosexual officers could insist that they were offended by those who felt it necessary to share their sexual orientation but express anger and hurt that a trusted partner might withhold such information. Nor was it unusual to find evidence that what officers said in one context might differ in another. In this regard, it is worth pointing out that some members of a group of heterosexual officers who espoused highly charged and negative attitudes toward homosexuals in a focus group discussion reminded us that the attitudes people proclaim before the judging eyes of their peers may differ from the opinions they actually hold.²⁰

Even more important, it was clear that how people behave is not necessarily consistent with the attitudes they profess. There are countless examples of this, such as the many heterosexuals who insist they respect homosexuals but continue to make derisive comments about them. No statement could be more telling or surprising, however, than the reflections of an officer who actively participated in a highly damning discussion of homosexuality on the force--one that even included

¹⁹This ethic of professionalism was usually expressed where heterosexual officers had actually worked with homosexual officers. It was often present even where expressions of anti-homosexual sentiment were typical and an overall climate of hostility in the department-at-large existed.

²⁰Our experience was consistent with this observation: One-on-one interviews did yield less-pronounced negative views on homosexuality.

statements suggesting that back-up for known homosexuals might be slow. Toward the end of a long evening, this man volunteered: "There is a gay officer here that we all work with. If he were about to die, and I had to perform CPR, I'd probably hold my breath and do it. Then I'd get tested for the rest of my life. If I see someone down, I will take care of them. Probably everyone would. Life is something more than a series of probability curves."

What concerns are voiced by heterosexual police and firefighters, particularly those who have had experience with homosexual colleagues? For instance, how salient are concerns over privacy? HIV?

While privacy was often voiced as a strong concern by police officers and firefighters who had not worked closely with homosexual colleagues, it was not a very salient issue for those who had. This latter group admittedly did not include firefighters (whose experiences are far more comparable to those of military service members), since no acknowledged male homosexuals served in the fire departments we examined. Police officers and their leaders, who were quick to note that they neither had to live with their colleagues nor necessarily had to shower with them, confessed to some initial discomfort in communal locker rooms but reported that whatever tension existed was managed quickly and relatively easily, either by acclimating to the situation or by changing it--moving one's locker, for instance, or subtly changing one's schedule to avoid unwanted encounters. While some continued to worry about being ogled in the locker room, others--most pointedly those working in a precinct with several homosexual males--rejected the notion that anything untoward would occur. "Guys there wouldn't act unprofessionally," they asserted. While women were generally thought to be less concerned with locker room issues, privacy was said to be more of an issue for female officers than for male officers because of what was referred to as the more aggressive nature of lesbians. These comments were uniformly secondhand, having been reported by heterosexual men rather than women themselves.²¹

²¹According to male leadership in several departments, privacy was an issue when women first entered firehouses but usually not for long. Interestingly, it was not a concern of males, who reportedly comported

Concerns with regard to HIV were far stronger. While in many cases, these concerns were at least partially mitigated by the training officers received in order to effectively carry out their duties (i.e., standard practices for dealing with situations involving contact with bodily fluids in the case of police officers; emergency medical service training in the case of firefighters), concerns that the presence of homosexual males in the workplace would raise one's personal risk of contracting AIDS ran high. We heard police officers raise the question of whether they would provide emergency first aid to fellow officers known to be homosexual. We heard firefighters express fears that exposure to the virus through shared dishes or use of bathrooms might expose them to risk, and a general level of suspicion that AIDS is more easily transmitted than common knowledge would have one believe. We also learned from one department of a lawsuit brought by an HIV+ firefighter who agreed to take a detail outside of a firehouse after knowledge of his HIV status became public, but subsequently claimed to have been coerced. This incident generated much concern among not only rank-and-file but a high-level leader of the department whose son-in-law worked in that firehouse. It left the top brass of the department believing that without the AIDS issue, homosexual men could be integrated into firehouses without threatening operational effectiveness, but that given the strong link between AIDS and male homosexuality, problems would be inevitable. "I think I'd have a massive education problem," one leader of this department offered. "People would be hurt until they learned it has to be this way."

themselves in the presence of women as they had prior to their entry-- sleeping in their underwear, and so forth. Rather, it was a concern for female firefighters, who by necessity shared bathrooms and open dormitories with their male counterparts. Locks solved the problem of men walking into a bathroom being used by a woman. Women temporarily used screens and other improvised ways of creating privacy but these disappeared quickly in most places after women decided they were inconvenient and unnecessary. One woman commented that faced with the discomfort of sleeping with a bra under a t-shirt, she quickly learned to put aside her feelings of modesty. In other departments, however, women saw privacy issues as an ongoing problem and a prime source of harassment.

Perhaps the most sharply expressed concern on the part of rank-and-file members of these departments, however, was the fear that homosexuals would achieve--indeed, in some instances had achieved--special class status. This issue spontaneously emerged in each of our focus groups with heterosexual rank-and-file officers, most of whom were white and male. Outrage was consistently voiced at the possibility that homosexuals might be disproportionately hired, receive special promotional opportunities, be held to a lower standard, or be afforded special class protections (such as unique procedural pathways for lodging complaints). These individuals already felt hampered in their interactions with minorities and women because of the perception that such individuals could lodge formal complaints against them regarding behavior they themselves felt was harmless--that these groups had power over them because of their special protection under the law. They also perceived themselves as experiencing the sting of reverse discrimination with regard to women and minorities within their organizations and bitterly resented it. The last thing they wanted to see was another protected class. In the words of one firefighter, "I have acquaintances who work in dispatch with gay males and they don't have a problem with it. If they were in the crew and could do their job, it would be okay. But when the gay group gets into place, they'll have special access, just like the other groups. There's no special committee for regular people. So many others get special attention that the voices of regular people like us are drowned out."

To what extent are negative attitudes toward homosexuals subject to change? How does this change occur?

As indicated earlier, there was a general sense among those in both leadership and rank-and-file roles in the police and fire departments we examined that change is occurring with regard to the attitudes of heterosexual officers and firefighters toward homosexuals, but that such change is occurring slowly. Many offered the prediction that twenty years from now far more homosexuals would be acknowledging their sexual orientation and that many of the seemingly intractable problems that currently existed would be solved, as had already occurred with regard to the integration of minorities and was currently occurring with the

integration of women. In the meantime, leaders asserted that members of their departments had the personal right to believe whatever they wanted as long as they acted in ways that were consistent with department expectations. Anti-homosexual attitudes could be tolerated, they offered, as long as they did not manifest themselves in behavior. Said one chief, "I don't want to be in a position of telling people how to think. It is more valuable to let people know how to direct their behavior while on the job." Leaders felt it possible to be patient with the slow pace with which attitudes change. Behavioral change, on the other hand, could be made to happen immediately in these paramilitary organizations with the proper message, proper leadership, and effective enforcement.

A valuable by-product of demanding nondiscriminatory conduct toward homosexual officers, leaders believed, was that attitudinal change would eventually result: "Change their behavior," said one, "and their hearts and minds will follow." This was not the only factor influencing attitudinal change, however. The inclusion of younger, better educated cohorts of officers with more tolerant views of homosexuality was repeatedly mentioned in discussions of attitude change, as was the simple passage of time. "You constantly hear macho people saying, 'I'm not going to tolerate gays in the firehouse,'" offered one fire chief. "In the 60s, people claimed that they wouldn't sleep in a room with black guys, and look at things now. Things evolve and take care of themselves." Also mentioned was the process that elevates one's status as a police officer or firefighter to a higher level of importance than one's status as homosexual, a transformation that usually occurred after a particularly competent or heroic handling of a dangerous situation. Commented one commander, "Over time, if straight cops accept the individual, the fact that they are gay or lesbian becomes inconsequential. If a gay officer becomes involved in a police incident and proves his worth, he leaves the realm of 'them' and becomes an 'us.'"

But by far, positive contact was pointed to as the most potent determinant of attitudinal change.²² Given the opportunity to know homosexual colleagues and thereby test the stereotypic images, heterosexual men and women could arrive at a different understanding of homosexuality. One deputy police chief offered, "I don't want someone making advances on me and I have my own prejudices. But contact with gay leaders in the business community during the initial process of change helped start to break down the stereotypes I had." Homosexual officers concurred that contact could be the pivotal factor in turning around negative attitudes. "Most people don't know someone who is gay. Once they get to know someone who is gay, the negative attitudes and behaviors start to break down. People are amazed to find out you have a full, well-formed life with a stable partner, and that you're not just out looking for anonymous sex. It's not being able to be honest that allows the stereotypes to continue."

There was far less consensus on the issue of whether formal sensitivity training facilitated attitudinal change among heterosexual officers. Homosexual members of these departments tended to be strong advocates of training, believing that ignorance would give way to knowledge and understanding if people were exposed to accurate information regarding homosexuals. Leaders, too, tended to advocate sensitivity and diversity training especially in the earliest stages of an officer's career, though in police departments this was usually because a strong value was placed on officers having the tools they needed to interact effectively with the homosexual community. Heterosexual members of the rank-and-file of these organizations, however, were far more skeptical. Where training was not perceived as being directly related to performing their job, they tended to resent the need to sit through discussions of lifestyles that they perceived as immoral or in which they had little interest. To their way of thinking, sensitivity training designed to facilitate the integration of homosexuals into their forces was the very kind of coddling that

²²See the chapter on public opinion for information on public opinion surveys that support the association between contact and attitudes.

signaled special class status and all the deleterious consequences that accompanied it. This was especially the case when such training took place in departments where resources were clearly constrained. Where people were being laid off, benefits were being threatened, promotional opportunities were shrinking, and equipment was not being replaced because of budget shortfalls, training efforts designed to increase tolerance sometimes exacerbated resentment against homosexuals.

The Impact of Policy Change on the Institution

To what extent did a policy of tolerance toward homosexuals affect the functioning of these police and fire departments? Did it compromise their ability to perform their mission? Did it make it more difficult to recruit quality officers? Did it result in valued members of the force leaving?

It was the shared consensus of leaders across each of the departments we examined that a policy of non-discrimination had in no way compromised their ability to perform their mission. Admittedly, the effect of tolerating openly homosexual individuals had not received an adequate test in any of the departments examined, given that so few homosexual officers have "come out." In other words, the scale of the phenomenon was such that even if the effect of open homosexuality were a threat to force performance, its overall effect would be negligible. Where homosexuals had acknowledged their homosexuality, however, leaders denied that their existence constituted such a threat. In New York, for instance, the two precincts with the highest proportions of acknowledged homosexual officers both enjoyed reputations as well-performing units in which morale was high. Moreover, leaders across departments--both top brass and commanders--unilaterally believed that members of their departments would acknowledge their sexual orientation in public only in relation to the ability of their units to accept and accommodate them. None anticipated a threat to force effectiveness at any time in the future.

This is not to say that concerns regarding cohesion and morale do not manifest themselves on various levels within many of the departments we studied, especially in fire departments. Fire chiefs worried about the impact of "AIDS-hysteria" in firehouses and pointed to the

disruption that often accompanied the introduction of women into firehouses. Firefighters in one city insisted that the presence of members of such a reviled outgroup would disrupt the smooth functioning of their unit and compromise their ability to perform. In another department (where two lesbians have "come out"), firefighters emphasized that what the top brass says is irrelevant, since "we work with it, we have to live with it." These firefighters went on to describe how resentment over special class protections afforded homosexuals and women had so compromised morale that "we are at a point now that we have seen teamwork and the level of performance go down."

However, little consensus existed on the relationship between social cohesion²³ and performance. Many members of police and fire departments, in fact, voiced the suspicion that cohesion (referring to social cohesion), while helpful, was not really a necessary ingredient to accomplishing the work at hand. Others cited cohesion (referring to task cohesion)²⁴ as being critically important but offered that it was not necessarily threatened by the existence of people who did not like one another. These values were offered not only by leadership but by rank-and-file department members as well; moreover, they were offered by both homosexual and heterosexual respondents. Professionalism, a shared mission, the cultivation of a common "police persona," and the existence of common external threats were, overall, considered far more salient than affective ties. Task cohesion, these individuals seemed to be saying, was far more important than social cohesion, and task cohesion was not as threatened by the presence of homosexuals on their forces.

As for recruitment and retention, neither of these had yet been problematic nor were they future causes of concern. With regard to recruitment, each of these departments continued to receive far more qualified applications than they could possibly accommodate. None lost the ability to be as selective as they desired; neither had any of them

²³Social cohesion, as defined in the chapter on unit cohesion, refers to the nature and quality of the emotional bonds of friendship, liking, caring, and closeness among group members.

²⁴Task cohesion refers to the shared commitment among members to achieving a goal that requires the collective efforts of the group.

heard of a qualified applicant declining to pursue employment in their departments because homosexuals might be there. Experiences with retention were somewhat less unilateral. Occasional references were made to officers with twenty-five years who took their retirement rather than adjust to a change.

In the end, it was the consensus across the leadership of departments with acknowledged homosexuals that the homosexuals could be integrated without compromising mission readiness or effectiveness. This process was not problem-free, but the challenges that arose were eminently manageable, especially given the paramilitary features of their organizations. All foresaw a future in which far more openly homosexual personnel would serve on their force; none saw a future in which their ability to meet their operational goals would be diminished. Concerns regarding the short- and long-term effect of integrating prior out-groups, particularly those where individual performance was not an issue, had been shown by past experience to be overinflated in these departments. For all of the concerns of some departmental members that their forces were straying from traditional standards, those at the helm remain convinced that they had not, and would not, lose the high levels of effectiveness they had traditionally maintained. In the words of one fire chief: "When I started firefighting, I heard the old timers saying, 'The young ones can't cut it; they could never do what we had to do.' Their time was more difficult--ladders were wooden rather than aluminum; hoses were heavier. In their eyes we could never make the mark, but we did our jobs well--as well as they did. Now our children are coming on, and I have no doubt that they will sit and make the same judgment in twenty years. There will be major changes, but the firehouse structure will still be there. Females won't change that; gays won't change that either. We basically attract the same individuals and train and mold them in the same way. The force will always be one we can be proud of."

THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

How the implementation process unfolded differed from department to department in the six cities we examined. Variation was observed, for

instance, in the time between the formal initiation of a policy and the actual process of taking steps to put some teeth into that policy. In some cases, that period spanned more than a decade; in others, it barely existed. Variation was also apparent in how clearly and consistently commitment to a non-discrimination policy was expressed and on how aggressively the policy was implemented. In some departments, high-level leaders sent mixed messages regarding whether the department actually endorsed such a policy, or they allowed middle-level managers, either by word or deed, to communicate messages that were antithetical to formal policy. In others, leaders believed they were implementing a zero-tolerance policy but there was clear evidence of pervasive, tolerated discrimination. Still elsewhere, policies were implemented in ways that suggested that these were legal requirements but were not necessarily consistent with overall department philosophy or actual departmental practice. Where any of these occurred, the message heard by the rank-and-file was that discrimination was permissible; the message internalized by homosexuals was that publicly acknowledging their homosexuality was ill-advised.

This variation notwithstanding, our efforts to understand how domestic police and fire departments implemented policies that allow acknowledged homosexuals to serve produced a number of insights into factors that influence the implementation process in both positive and negative ways. Most of these observations were articulated repeatedly by individuals across the variety of departments visited. A smaller number are based on our own synthesis of the voluminous data provided to us. In this section, we move beyond consequences of non-discrimination policies to summarize what we learned about factors that facilitate and hinder the implementation process, and about how the implementation process itself tends to unfold.

The Nature of the Policy

Virtually all of those interviewed agreed that *non-discrimination policies were most readily implemented where they were simple, clear, and consistent*, and thus easily communicated. Complicated policies were vulnerable to misinterpretation, whether innocent or calculated. Clear

messages, stated forcefully, left little to hide behind. In all but two of the departments examined, simplicity and clarity in the policy message were evident.

Even more important, however, policies were most successfully implemented when they were enforced consistently. Implementation was most successful where leadership at all levels was saying the same thing and where practice matched the letter and spirit of formal policy. Departments were less uniformly successful in this regard; in many, mixed messages were sent. At times, high-level leaders who voiced support for nondiscrimination policies behaved in ways that gave the lie to that support, briefly suspending an officer found guilty of comporting with a heterosexual prostitute, for example, while terminating the officer found guilty of soliciting or procuring homosexual sex. Middle- and lower-management were often reported to have loudly and very intentionally publicized their disagreements with official policy and the wishes of top brass through both their comments and behavior. Official policy might hold that recruiters be sexual-orientation blind, but in practice they would ask direct questions about the dating habits and sexual partners of those seeking entry into the department. Where these inconsistencies existed, the ultimate message received by those in the rank-and-file was that discrimination was unofficially tolerated and even supported. Invariably, behavior reflected this support.

The Appropriate Emphasis in Implementing Non-Discrimination Policies

Through the course of implementing non-discrimination policies with regard to both women and homosexuals, most of the departments examined ultimately concluded that *aggressive attempts to alter attitudes were foolhardy. Targeting behavior, they reported, was the appropriate approach.* It was unreasonable, in other words, to expect members to give up strongly held and deeply entrenched beliefs overnight. It was not unreasonable, however, to insist that they keep those beliefs from interfering with their adherence to workplace expectations of behavior. In other words, policies of coexistence need not demand acceptance of homosexuals or homosexuality. Behavior could be controlled, they came

to realize, where clear standards of conduct existed; telling people what they could or should believe, on the other hand, was presumptuous and sure to provoke resentment. The words of a fire chief, offered as he contemplated the errors his department had made in trying to integrate women into firehouses, convey this sentiment. "If I were able to do it all over again," he said, "I wouldn't be as ambitious. I'd accept that firefighters had a lifetime to form the attitudes they have and that those attitudes cannot change in a week. You can't try to make nice persons out of them. They're entitled to their opinions. But in the workplace, they have to understand that there is a code of conduct. 'Abide by the rules, and if you don't, here is what is going to happen. Your personal convictions have no bearing on the workplace.' If you go beyond that, you leave yourself open to all kinds of problems."

While leaders across these departments believed that clear standards of behavior were necessary and that the consequences for not meeting them should be equally clear, none tried to spell out every conceivable situation an officer might face to which codes of conduct might apply.²⁵ Rather, general principles of fairness, respect, honor, decorum, and the need to avoid the creation of hostile environments were embedded in statements of expected behavior, the assumption being that their application to most situations would be self-evident. Leaders and members of the rank and file of these organizations alike emphasized that successful codes of conduct recognized the responsibility of both sides--the out-group as well as the in-group--to adapt to one another. "We shouldn't bug each other," said one police officer. This meant being sensitive to the "gray" line between tolerable and offensive comments on the part of heterosexual officers ("If something I say bothers you, let me know; now I know where the gray line is"), and an effort to be thick-skinned on the part of those who are homosexual.

It is also worth pointing out that codes of conduct tended to be written in generic terms to cover behavior as it applied to any individual, rather than targeting special groups. This approach was

²⁵Only in sexual harassment guidelines were detailed definitions of prohibited behaviors provided.

usually much more sensitive to the tendency of special class treatment to breed resentment and an unintended backlash.

The Critical Role of Leadership

Leadership at all levels was unilaterally recognized as being one of the most critical ingredients to the successful implementation of controversial and potentially unpopular policies. This was certainly evident at the highest levels of these departments; clear evidence existed that strong leaders could push a department in one direction or another. In one of the cities, for example, a new chief was able, in a relatively few years, to transform a department with no acknowledged homosexual officers and an extremely antagonistic relationship with the homosexual community into one with an increasingly open and comfortable homosexual representation and a relationship of trust with that community. His leadership style was a strong one that conveyed intention not only by pronouncement but by example. This was a chief who marched in the city's Gay Pride parade and terminated the department's relationship with the Boy Scouts of America when, in a neighboring city, a model officer's participation in an Explorer Scout program was disallowed after his homosexuality became known. An equally strong chief with antithetical beliefs was, until recently, the head of the police department in another of the cities. While this chief paid lip service to the formal non-discrimination policy his department had enacted in accordance with a city council directive, his true beliefs were a matter of record and readily apparent to those throughout the ranks. An extremely hostile attitude toward homosexuals pervaded all aspects of his department throughout his tenure.

While having a strong, committed chief at the helm was generally recognized as being a necessary ingredient in implementing a non-discrimination policy, members of every department recognized that it is not enough for top leadership to value a policy. It is also essential that this value be internalized down the chain of command. For a policy to be successfully implemented, in other words, middle- and low-level managers have to communicate a similarly strong set of expectations and

be willing to put some muscle behind them. The front line supervisor, in the final analysis, was pointed to as the critical link.

The experience of the police and fire departments we examined suggests that enlisting the cooperation of middle- and low-level managers is not always easy. Multiple respondents in each department cited variability in the extent to which managers communicated and enforced messages sent down from the top. While chiefs acknowledged, in some cases with sadness, that "sometimes you need to hang a few folks to get the message across," most, in effect, tolerated highly variable commitment on the part of middle- and low-level managers to nondiscrimination policies against women and homosexuals. Each understood, however, that without the strong support of such managers, policy implementation was impossible.

Several department leaders spoke to the issue of how best to enlist and secure the support of middle and lower management in implementing policy changes. One, in particular, felt he had erred in taking too *laissez faire* an approach and suggested that there were lessons to be learned from his failure. "If I were doing it now," he hazarded, "I would have a rap session with the staff chiefs. I'd allow them to scream and holler about what will be ruined and how wrong it all is. But I would emphasize the law. I would tell them, 'Whether you believe in it or not, you must comply with the law.' I would also have rules in place about behavior. At the end, staff chiefs would leave the session with the knowledge that regardless of how they feel or think, 'These are the guidelines; now go out and tell the people what we want.' You have to allow the staff chiefs to 'get it out.' But after the session is over, they have to get on with it--meet with the subordinate commanders and tell them just as strongly, 'This is the way it is going to be.'" Bringing managers on board, he implied, meant giving them a chance to vent their feelings. But it also clearly meant insisting, in the same way as these managers would insist to those below them in the chain of command, that whatever their attitudes might be, their behavior had to conform to organizational policy.

Respondents across many departments added to this prescription. Reference was made to leading by example as a first choice of action but

being willing to make an example of someone as a necessary second--to strongly sanction inappropriate behavior, in other words. "I think there's going to have to be some butt kicking if you are to get the point across," noted one fire chief. Others talked about the importance of "being out in front of the issue"--of creating a climate in which undesirable behavior is unthinkable and thus avoided. Many talked about leaders having to assume responsibility for the behavior of those under their command and insisted that leaders be held to a high standard. One chief went so far as to argue that leaders who follow a policy of benign neglect should be punished as heavily as those engaging in acts of discrimination, and that leaders who set a climate in which a sanctionable act might be perceived as acceptable should be treated as harshly as the individuals under their command who commit those acts.

Two factors were cited as facilitating the efforts of leaders at all levels in bringing behavior into line. The first of these was *credibility*. The point was made in one department, for instance, that the fact that the policy change had been initiated by a mayor who was perceived as highly supportive of the police--a mayor who early in his tenure had been derided by the police and even suspected of being homosexual--increased its acceptability. Where leaders enjoyed broad support and were well-respected by those beneath them, their message was more widely accepted.

The second of these was actually a set of factors that might best be referred to as *leadership ability*. All departments recognized the existence of leaders whose ability stood in marked contrast to that of ordinary leaders. While isolating what distinguished the former from the latter was often difficult, there was little doubt that a direct correlation existed between leadership ability and the success with which unpopular policies were implemented. Said one chief with regard to the integration of women onto his force, "In cases where the female firefighter was integrated smoothly, there was strong leadership on the part of officers and the company commander. Conversely, where the company commander abrogated his responsibility or stuck his head in the sand, that's where we had the problems. Good leaders didn't have trouble getting other people to go along. Those without strong

leadership qualities left it to individuals to work it out on their own." This was equally apparent to members of the rank-and-file. In the words of a firefighter in another department (speaking with regard to discrimination towards women), "I know people on this job who, if they knew they could get away with it, would do people in. But here they know they can't, so they do their job and keep their gripes to themselves." Under strong leadership, it was generally agreed, attitudes could be contained and professionalism in the workplace could be assured.

The impossibility of bringing every leader into line was also recognized. Chiefs, middle managers and members of the rank-and-file all used the term "dinosaurs" in each of the departments we examined to refer to old-timers who had not, and would not, keep pace with the changing times. Some of these could be given a golden handshake, but others enjoyed powerful protection from those within the political or organizational establishment and had no plans to leave the department. It was generally recognized that departments had to live with these individuals. In such situations, it was thought best to minimize the damage they could do by placing them where they could do least harm. Comfort was invariably drawn from the fact that they, like their namesakes, would eventually disappear.

Unintended Consequences of Special Class Status

Integrating new groups into police and fire departments often required quick solutions to problems in the workplace. This was probably more true with regard to integrating women into these forces than it was with homosexuals, and most true with regard to firehouses, where close living quarters raise concerns pertaining to both homosexuals and women. The leaders and rank-and-file of many of the departments we examined suggested that *where the solutions to these problems either provide special privileges or inadvertently confer special class status, the flames of resentment directed at the outgroup in question will be fanned, and more troubling problems may ensue.* Heterosexual members of these departments believed that wherever possible, solutions should benefit the entire force, rather than

selected members of that force, and should be described in language that reinforces this idea.

For instance, many fire departments later regretted the "by-the-seat-of-their-pants" solutions to the privacy issues that were used when women joined their forces. Departments that moved commanders out of private offices or commandeered common rooms for use as bedrooms learned that they had only given firefighters further reason to resent the women in their midst. Where departments had the resources to improve privacy for all firefighters (by installing stall showers or curtained sleeping areas, for instance), the introduction of women into the firehouse could be associated with a positive change. Likewise, departments that broke with established tradition to give outgroups privileged access to higher-ups in the chain of command sometimes discovered that these attempts to deter harassment exacerbated the resentment that was feeding it. In a similar vein, police departments learned that the targeted recruitment of homosexuals was best understood as not an affirmative action attempt to increase the representation of a deserving minority but rather a practical application of the principle that the more a force resembles the community being served, the better it will be able to get its job done. "If you can make a change appear to be positive for all members of the organization," noted one police chief, "it will be much easier to implement."

This is not to say that harassment guidelines should not reference special class status or that no special class protections are warranted. Outgroups are invariably at a significant disadvantage as they enter traditional organizations and may need assistance as these organizations adapt to their inclusion. It is to say, however, that solutions to the problems of inclusion should be arrived at only after full consideration of their impact on the force-at-large, and should steer clear of unintended costs that create new problems. Wherever possible, accommodations to special populations should confer advantage to all members of a force.

Training

Accurate information on who homosexuals are, how they come to be that way, and how they lead their lives was cited by many members of these departments, particularly leaders and homosexual members of the rank-and-file, as a potentially powerful tool in combating the stereotypic views held by many police officers and firefighters, especially if conducted by someone--preferably homosexual--who has earned their respect in the workplace and knows what it means to do the work of the organization. But the responses of heterosexual members of the rank-and-file suggested that training can also draw ridicule and breed resentment, as we indicated earlier, especially if it is not seen as being relevant to one's mission. Consequently, *sensitivity training cannot unilaterally be viewed as positive*. Indeed, if designed solely for the purpose of changing negative attitudes toward homosexual coworkers (as opposed to how best to discharge one's duties, for instance), sensitivity training may be inconsistent with the clearly articulated principle that as long as people adhere to behavioral guidelines, what they think is their own business. Where sensitivity training cannot be justified by the demands of workplace performance, therefore, it may not be appropriate.

On the other hand, providing training to leaders on how best to implement a policy was always seen as being appropriate. While good leadership may prevail in the absence of training, we were told that the provision of support--helping leaders understand the policy, offering insights into how hypothetical situations might be handled, providing them with replies to the questions they might typically receive from those under their command--can substantially improve their ability to effect positive change. Implementation training may include some of the information typically covered in sensitivity training, but situates it in a framework where the goal is to provide practical solutions to real-life problems, not to change attitudes. A desirable by-product of this training, we were told, may indeed be the kind of attitude change among leaders that can serve to further facilitate policy implementation.

The Self-Regulating Nature of the Implementation Process

A last but extremely critical finding that emerges from the experiences of these police and fire departments is that regardless of when a formal policy of non-discrimination toward homosexuals is officially enacted, change is not necessarily immediate. In reality, implementation proceeds at a pace that is particular to each institution and consistent with what it can absorb. While the departments we examined shared many things in common, each is situated in a different and ever-changing social climate, has its peculiar history and culture, draws upon slightly but significantly different pools of candidates for its workforce, and has been influenced over time by very different sets of leaders. All of these combine to produce a unique level of readiness for change in each department that constantly evolves over time. Our observations suggest that neither the behavior of homosexuals in the workplace nor the aggressiveness with which the implementation of nondiscrimination policies occurs strays far from this level. This explains why so few homosexuals publicly reveal their sexual orientation in these departments, and in fire departments in particular. It also explains how a policy of nondiscrimination can be formally in place for significant periods of time, as was the case in several cities, but not result in any substantial departmental action toward implementation until years later.

This is not to say that actions never go beyond what might be perceived as tolerable by an organization. On rare occasions, homosexuals on the one hand, and department leaders on the other, may approach the threshold, and even advance beyond it. They invariably do so only slightly, however, provoking a mild and manageable reaction. In such situations, the effect of their actions is often to stretch the boundaries of the threshold slightly further. Where they do so too aggressively, self-correcting mechanisms usually communicate their misjudgment and sustain the existing tolerance zone. Thus, in one department the fact that a homosexual brought his partner to a departmental function met with some discomfort among selected members of the force but no overwhelming condemnation. As others who had been more comfortable watching him from the wings became willing to take similar

actions, heterosexuals became further acclimated to this social practice and a higher threshold of tolerable behavior resulted. In another department, however, where the tolerance threshold was different (perhaps because homosexuals had not been "out" in the force for as long), this same act evoked a much stronger reaction. The homosexual patrol man in question acknowledged that he would not repeat his action the following year and the tolerance "line," at least for the moment, remained in place.

What this suggests is that policy actions calculated to slow the implementation process down in order to allow actions to remain consistent with an organization's readiness for change are probably unnecessary. In all of the cities we examined, a step-wise implementation process and an overall conservative and measured reaction on the part of homosexual officers is occurring naturally over time. Change will happen, but rarely if ever will it move from Point "A" to Point "Z" regardless of whether stated policy, for the sake of simplicity and accuracy of intention, suggests that this is where it should go. Rather, it will take place in a more linear and staged fashion, with behaviors clustering around a readiness or tolerance threshold that constantly and inevitably adjusts itself over time.

IMPLICATIONS FOR IMPLEMENTING POLICIES OF NON-DISCRIMINATION

Our comprehensive examination of police and fire departments in six cities supports a number of critical findings and insights that are potentially relevant to the U.S. military's efforts to assess its own policy toward homosexuals and to determine how the policy agreed upon can be implemented most effectively. These include, but are not restricted to, the following:

- Homosexuals who join police and fire departments do not fit stereotypes that are inconsistent with the image and mission of these organizations. Moreover, they are attracted to police and fire work for the same reasons as their heterosexual counterparts.

- Even where policy changes permit them to do so, homosexuals in these organizations "come out" in very small numbers, particularly where the environment is perceived as hostile to them. This is especially true in fire departments, where work and living arrangements are more similar to those of the military.
- Homosexual officers usually perceive the consequences of acknowledging their sexual orientation to their departments as being manageable, especially if it has been their decision to disclose their homosexuality. Serious negative consequences are more frequently associated with those who have been "outed" or are merely suspected of being homosexual.
- Openly homosexual police officers and firefighters are sensitive to the overall norms and customs of their organizations. They tend not to behave in ways that shock or offend, and they subscribe to the organization's values on working problems out informally and within the ranks. Formal harassment complaints are rare.
- While anti-homosexual sentiment does not disappear after homosexuals acknowledge their sexual orientation, heterosexuals generally behave toward homosexuals more mildly than stated attitudes toward them would predict. Professional work attitudes and a tendency to see "good cops" or "good firefighters" as exceptions to general rules facilitate this.
- AIDS is a serious concern of heterosexuals and not one that is quickly alleviated by education. The fear that homosexuals will receive special class protections is even more pronounced, however. The experience of police and firefighters suggests a need to protect homosexuals from harassment without conferring on them privileges that majority groups feel deprived of.
- Policies of non-discrimination against homosexuals in these departments do not affect patterns of recruitment and retention. What people say they will do before a policy is implemented is often quite different from what they actually do once a policy is in place. Nor are policies of non-

discrimination reported to affect force performance, a fact that is not usually tied, but may be related, to the reality that very few homosexuals publicly acknowledge their sexual orientation.

- Implementation is most successful in those departments where the policy was unambiguous, consistently delivered, and uniformly enforced. Leadership was cited as being critical in this regard.
- Department leadership came to believe that the primary emphasis in implementing policy should be on changing behavior, not attitudes. A non-discrimination policy need not be viewed as an endorsement of lifestyle or a statement about what is moral. Leaders suggested that members of a force should be entitled to view homosexuality in any way they choose as long as their behavior is consistent with organizational codes of personal conduct. Such codes should clearly restrict harassment and the creation of hostile environments vis-à-vis any force member. The codes will be taken seriously if they are rigorously and uniformly enforced. The overriding value on discipline in these organizations was cited as facilitating this.
- Training efforts that provide leaders with the information and skills they need to implement policy were seen by top department leaders as essential elements of an effective implementation process. Sensitivity training for rank-and-file members of a force, however, was observed as having mixed effects where it is not viewed as being explicitly related to performing one's job effectively.
- The implementation process is self-regulating, and actual change occurs over long periods of time. Homosexuals behave in ways that cluster around a zone of tolerance that may be unique to each organization and to settings within that organization. Moreover, the aggressiveness with which a nondiscrimination policy is pursued at an organizational level is similarly sensitive to organizational readiness for a change. This suggests that "firebreaks" need not necessarily be built into

implementation strategies; they occur naturally. Where attempts to formally codify such firebreaks make the message more confusing, they may increase the difficulty of implementing a policy.

We cannot predict with certainty that a policy change within the military similar to the ones experienced by these police and fire departments will result in identical consequences, or that every lesson learned from these public safety organizations can be applied directly to the Armed Services. Consequently, this exercise has not "proven" anything. Moreover, with regard to certain points, the analogy between public safety and military organizations may be tempered by features unique to the military. For instance, aspects of how the military carries out its mission weaken the analogy with regard to force performance. Privacy issues are not completely comparable, even if one draws upon the experience of firefighters. The extent to which homosexuals can keep their private lives distinct from their work lives may be different on military bases, where the presence of living facilities, clubs, and other recreational facilities makes them very much like small towns, than in police or fire departments, where partners may be expected to attend only occasional social functions.

Most of the insights we have drawn from the experience of examining police and fire departments, however, are not compromised by such threats to the analogy between public safety and military organizations. These include the factors influencing decisions to publicly acknowledge one's sexual orientation; the actual process of doing so and the rates at which it occurs; the overall behavior of acknowledged homosexuals with regard to local norms and customs; the factors that facilitate greater acceptance of homosexuals among heterosexuals; the frequent mismatch witnessed in heterosexuals between anti-homosexual sentiments and behaviors toward individuals in the workplace; recruitment and retention issues; and the implementation lessons learned. To the extent that this is true, insights that have emerged from our examination of police and fire departments can inform efforts to plan and implement policies regarding homosexuals in the U.S. military.

5. POTENTIAL INSIGHTS FROM ANALOGOUS SITUATIONS: INTEGRATING BLACKS INTO THE U.S. MILITARY¹

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of World War II, the U.S. military has undergone significant changes in force composition--most notably, racial integration and the increased numbers and expanding roles of women. In the debate over allowing homosexuals to serve in the military, both of these changes have been put forth as analogues. Our review indicates that racial integration is a much fuller and more instructive analogy.

Limitations of the Analogy of Women in the Military²

Unlike the experience with racial integration, discussed below, the policy message about women has been ambiguous. In 1948, Congress passed the Women's Armed Services Integration Act to create a nucleus of women soldiers in the event of a need for rapid mobilization during the Cold War. However, by the early 1950s the recruitment and advancement of women had stalled (women played a far smaller role in Korea than in World War II) and women made virtually no progress in the succeeding two decades. Until the late 1960s, women constituted a paltry 1 percent of the Armed Forces, and their areas of service were severely constrained by gender.

Significant changes in the place of women in the military occurred with the advent of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) in 1973. The formal disestablishment of the Women's Army Corp (WAC) in 1978 symbolically captured the changing status of women, reflecting the need by the Defense Department for personnel after the end of the draft and the general advances made by women in the civilian world. Military women began gaining access to a wider range of military occupations than ever

¹This chapter was prepared by Steven Schlossman, Sherie Mershon, Ancella Livers, Tanjam Jacobson, and Timothy Haggerty.

²See the bibliography to this chapter for the extensive references we consulted in preparing this chapter and a forthcoming study of this subject.

before, and by the end of the decade they grew to nearly 10 percent of the total force.

Yet many restrictions remained to the full participation of women in military culture. In 1980, Congress rejected the Carter Administration's attempt to register women for any future conscription, and the Supreme Court upheld a male-only draft. The Reagan Administration cut back on plans to increase the number of women in the military. And, of course, there remained the bottom-line restriction: women soldiers could not participate in combat. Even after the Persian Gulf war brought wider recognition among the American public to the increasingly integral place of women in the modern military, a Presidential commission voted to continue the exclusion of women from combat. Only recently has the Secretary of Defense allowed women aviators in the Air Force and the Navy to volunteer to fly combat aircraft on combat missions.

While women's role in the military is clearly evolving toward greater and greater equality, remaining restrictions with regard to combat set women apart from men. If it were contemplated that homosexuals would be set apart in separate living quarters and restricted from critical jobs, then the experience of women might be instructive. However, if the purpose is to fully end discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, then the experience with racial integration is more analogous.

The Analogy of Racial Integration

Blacks and homosexuals are both minorities in American society with long histories of exclusion or severe restrictions on participation in both the Armed Forces and civilian institutions.³ In the opinion of many recent commentators, the similarities end there. Their insistence rests on the proposition that minority status based on race is inherently different from minority status based on sexual orientation. According to this view, the differences are so great that the experience

³See the bibliography to this chapter for extensive references consulted in preparing this chapter and a forthcoming history of homosexuals in the U.S. military.

of blacks is not comparable to that of homosexuals, and the integration of blacks cannot serve to guide thinking about the integration of homosexuals into the military.

One version of this argument holds that sexual orientation may be a more fundamental defining characteristic of human identity than race is in shaping people's personal lives and social relations. The conclusion drawn from this assertion is that putting homosexuals and heterosexuals together in military organizations will create a level of animosity and disruption that far exceeds the tensions that the integration of blacks and whites created in the past. Racial integration, it is said, did not and cannot generate the same depth of feeling, the profound sense of violated privacy and social impropriety, that the presence of homosexuals in a predominantly heterosexual environment necessarily engenders.

Whatever validity this argument may hold from a psychological or sociological perspective, it incorporates a misreading of history. It understates the difficulty of race relations in the military. It is widely perceived today that the racial integration of the Armed Forces was a fairly simple, straightforward matter, in comparison with the numerous complexities involved in integrating homosexuals. In reality, racial integration during the 1940s and 1950s was a long, convoluted process which inspired many of the strong emotional reactions that the possibility of integrating homosexuals provokes today. Many white Americans (especially Southerners) responded with visceral revulsion to the idea of close physical contact with blacks. Many also perceived racial integration as a profound affront to their sense of social order. Blacks, for their part, often harbored deep mistrust of whites and great sensitivity to any language or actions that might be construed as racial discrimination.

In light of the historical evidence, any assertion that racial integration was inherently less problematic than the integration of homosexuals today must be viewed with skepticism. The similarity of the difficulties involved is at least as striking as any differences.

IMPLEMENTING RACIAL INTEGRATION IN THE U.S. MILITARY

Close analysis of the racial integration of the U.S. Military has generated several concrete conclusions to help guide civilian and military leaders responsible for policy implementation. These are:

- Major changes in military and racial policies can be implemented without a favorable public consensus.
- Leadership is crucial for implementation of change--civilian and military leadership must work together to ensure effective implementation of controversial policies related to social change, and strong civilian monitoring of progress may be essential.
- Experiments during World War II and especially during the Korean War indicated that black and white troops were able to work together effectively in all sorts of situations, even the most demanding battlefield situations, with little evidence of prior social integration.
- Leadership and strongly enforced standards of conduct can change how troops behave toward previously excluded (and disliked) minority groups, even if underlying attitudes toward those groups change very little.

The analysis below is presented under three broad headings: (1) the crucial role of leadership; (2) racial integration, unit cohesion, and military effectiveness; and (3) attitudes versus behaviors during the process of integration.

THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF LEADERSHIP

The historical study of blacks in the military highlights the key role of leadership, first, in integrating blacks into the Armed Forces and, second, in expanding opportunities and improving conditions under which blacks served. Leadership from both civilian and military sources--independently and in concert--was critical. All major policy changes originated with particular individuals and groups who felt strongly about inequities in race relations and who, by virtue of their

official positions and their ability to communicate ideas effectively, were able to induce the Armed Forces to embark on new courses of action. As the chapter on implementation indicates, the need for strong leadership is especially crucial when a change affects the social and cultural traditions of large organizations.

The Importance of Civilian Leadership

Civilian leadership, particularly that of the President and the Secretaries of the Armed Forces, was decisive at several turning points where the military's fundamental policies toward blacks underwent transformation. For instance, the initial decisions to admit blacks in the early 1940s to the Army Air Forces (AAF), the Marine Corps, and the general service of the Navy resulted from the personal intervention of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Before 1940, the AAF completely barred blacks, and its officers strongly resisted demands from black interest groups and some members of Congress to end this exclusionary policy.⁴ President Roosevelt ended the contention in October 1940 by informally but firmly pressuring the AAF to accept blacks for training.⁵ The result was the creation of several all-black flying squadrons--the famous "Tuskegee Airmen"--and numerous all-black non-combat units in the AAF.

A similar sequence of events transpired in the Navy Department. At the beginning of World War II, the Navy enlisted blacks only as stewards (mess attendants and personal servants), and the Marine Corps had no blacks at all. Responding to black desires for greater participation, and to complaints from the Army that the Navy was not accepting a fair share of black personnel, in 1941, President Roosevelt and Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox requested the Navy to prepare a plan for greater utilization of blacks.⁶ Many Navy officers initially opposed this

⁴Ulysses Lee, *United States Army in World War II: Special Studies, Employment of Negro Troops*, Washington, D.C., Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1966, pp. 47, 55-65; Alan M. Osur, *Blacks in the Army Air Forces During World War II*, Washington, D.C., Office of Air Force History, 1977, pp. 20-23.

⁵Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, pp. 76, 78.

⁶Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, New York: The Free Press, 1986, pp. 186-187; Secretary of the Navy, memorandum to Chairman

idea, but the President persisted, and in early 1942 he secured an agreement under which the Navy opened some of its general-service positions to blacks.⁷ This agreement also covered the Marine Corps.⁸ It completed the adoption of the racial policy that the Armed Forces followed during the war: a policy of permitting blacks to serve in all branches of the military, but only in strictly segregated units.

The next turning point in the military's treatment of blacks was the abandonment of the system of racial segregation and the adoption of a policy of racial integration. Again, a pattern of civilian leadership, in which the President established the new policy and civilians in the Administration worked out the details of implementation with the Armed Forces, dominated the change. On 26 July 1948, President Harry S. Truman, who was concerned with both the inequity of segregation and the political appeal of taking action to end that inequity in an election year, issued an executive order requiring "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin."⁹ He specifically stated that fulfilling this requirement would mean putting an end to segregation.¹⁰ Knowing that his order marked a radical step in race relations, the President emphasized the need for clear guidance and monitoring in its execution. He established a seven-member civilian committee, which included both white and black members, to oversee the process of bringing the Armed Forces into compliance.

This committee--known as the Fahy Committee after its chair, the lawyer Charles Fahy--had no power of enforcement. The committee derived its authority from its status as the President's representative

of Navy General Board, 16 Jan. 1942, reprinted in Morris J. MacGregor and Bernard C. Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. VI*, Wilmington, DE, Scholarly Resources Inc., 1977, p. 18.

⁷Morris J. MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces 1940-1965*, Washington, D.C., Office of Military History, 1985, pp. 64-66.

⁸MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, p. 101.

⁹Text of Executive Order 9981, 26 July 1948.

¹⁰Excerpt from President Truman's News Conference of 29 July 1948, reprinted in Morris J. MacGregor and Bernard C. Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. VIII*, Wilmington, DE, Scholarly Resources Inc., 1977, p. 689.

in the preparation of racial-integration plans for each of the Armed Forces. In this capacity, the committee exercised ongoing leadership in the crucial matter of defining exactly what constituted an acceptable integration plan. It investigated military personnel practices, made recommendations to military officials to help them understand what was required, and provided a steady central focus for a process that involved numerous and often bitter disputes among and within various agencies. By April 1950, the Fahy Committee, all the Armed Forces, and the Department of Defense had reached agreement, at least in principle, on plans for eliminating the formal, legal structure of racial segregation and enabling the mixing of blacks and whites in the same military units¹¹ (see later discussion of implementation delays, especially in the Army).

A third important turning point that displayed the pattern of civilian leadership came in the early 1960s, when the Defense Department began trying to deal with a recurrent problem: discrimination and violence perpetrated against black service people by civilians. Segregated off-base housing and recreational facilities, and the general hostility of some civilian communities toward the presence of black military personnel, were having negative impacts on morale in the Armed Forces.¹² Beginning in 1961, President John F. Kennedy and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara initiated several measures to address this issue.

The Administration began by forbidding civilian organizations that practiced racial discrimination from using military property.¹³ In 1963, at the recommendation of an advisory committee, the Defense

¹¹Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, pp. 245-254; MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 313-314, 343-378; transcripts and working papers of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents*, Vols. IX-XI, Wilmington, DE, Scholarly Resources Inc., 1977.

¹²United States Commission on Civil Rights, "The Negro in the Armed Forces," *Civil Rights '63, 1963 Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights*, 30 Sept. 1963, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents*, Vol. XII, Wilmington, DE, Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1977, pp. 495-519.

¹³MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 511-512.

Department formally adopted the principle that opposing discrimination against military personnel on base and off base was an integral part of every military officer's command responsibility. A departmental directive of 26 July 1963 created administrative mechanisms that were designed to establish accountability on this subject. It set up a department-wide civil rights office and ordered each of the Armed Forces to develop internal civil rights monitoring systems. It also enabled base commanders to apply off-limits sanctions to civilian organizations that discriminated against black military personnel.¹⁴ By adopting these measures, which were very controversial at the time, the Kennedy Administration sought to institutionalize leadership in the field of military race relations--to ensure a continuing commitment to protecting the rights and the welfare of black service people.

Strong Military Leadership in Tandem with Strong Civilian Leadership

While the initiative for major policy decisions on race relations tended to come from civilian officials who were concerned about broad issues of justice, governance, and political advantage, change could and did originate within the military as well. Some military officers concluded, on the basis of their own experience and reflection, that the organizations that they commanded would perform more effectively if racial discrimination were reduced or eliminated. They translated this commitment into action, becoming leaders in efforts to design and implement reforms. Indeed, some of the most important transformations of military racial policies happened when strong military leadership and strong civilian leadership converged. The development of racial-integration plans in the Navy and the Air Force in the 1940s exemplified this pattern of military-civilian interaction.

The Navy began moving toward racial integration during the last stages of World War II as a means of solving a practical problem. When it began using black sailors in 1942, the Navy initially assigned these men to positions on shore and did not permit them to go to sea. Soon there were large concentrations of blacks at ammunition depots, ports, and other such facilities, and serious morale problems emerged. Blacks

¹⁴MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 547-548.

resented the fact that they were confined to unglamorous, often unskilled service tasks on land and could not participate in the "real Navy," the ships of the fleet. White sailors, for their part, resented the fact that most blacks remained safely outside combat zones.¹⁵ Racial tensions rose, and Navy officials became concerned that the overall efficiency of the war effort was being undermined. In 1943, the Navy staff established a new agency, the Special Programs Unit (SPU), to find ways of improving the situation.¹⁶

The small group of Navy officers who constituted the SPU determined that the only way to correct the problems was to distribute black sailors more evenly across all elements of the Navy, including seagoing ships. Particularly aboard ships, this policy would necessitate racial integration. To determine whether such a change could work, the SPU advocated an experiment. It proposed assigning blacks to the predominantly white crews of 25 supply ships and observing these ships closely.

This idea quickly gained the support of Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal, who was personally interested in promoting racial equality. Forrestal's office, in turn, convinced the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Ernest J. King, to lend his authority and prestige to the cause of expanding opportunities for blacks in the Navy.¹⁷ With the backing of the Navy's highest civilian and military officials, the experiment with racially integrated supply ships proceeded during late 1944 and early 1945.¹⁸ It went so smoothly that in April 1945, the Navy decided

¹⁵MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 46-47; Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal, memorandum to President Roosevelt, 20 May 1944, reprinted in Bernard C. Nalty and Morris J. MacGregor, eds., *Blacks in the Military: Essential Documents*, Wilmington, DE, Scholarly Resources Inc., 1981, p. 154.

¹⁶Historical Section, Bureau of Naval Personnel, *The Negro in the Navy*, Washington, D.C., Department of the Navy, 1947, reprinted in Morris J. MacGregor and Bernard C. Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. VI*, Wilmington, DE, Scholarly Resources Inc., 1977), pp. 327-328; Lee Nichols, *Breakthrough on the Color Front*, New York, Random House, 1954, pp. 54-55, 57-58; Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, p. 190.

¹⁷MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 84-85, 88-91.

¹⁸L. E. Danfield, Assistant Chief of Naval Personnel, memorandum to Commander in Chief, United States Fleet and Chief of Naval Operations, 4

to expand integration to all supply ships.¹⁹ In February 1946, after careful review of the wartime record, the Chief of the Bureau of Naval Personnel ordered the abolition of all racial restrictions in the assignment of sailors to general-service positions.²⁰ Thus military leadership, assisted by a sympathetic civilian Navy Secretary, achieved the partial racial integration of the Navy two years before President Truman's desegregation order.

The convergence of military and civilian leadership became equally clear in the Air Force during the late 1940s. As in the Navy, the desire to solve a practical problem sparked the Air Force's interest in racial integration. The postwar Air Force contained one all-black tactical unit, the 332nd Fighter Wing, and this organization had chronic problems in obtaining enough qualified black pilots and other specialists to keep it flying.²¹ Noting that the 332nd was cost-ineffective and probably would not be much of an asset if another war broke out, several Air Force officers began to consider the possibility of breaking up this segregated unit and redistributing its black personnel to predominantly white units. The primary advocate of this step was Lieutenant General Idwal H. Edwards, the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel. Edwards worked hard during 1947 and 1948 to convince others of the desirability and feasibility of racial integration. Early

July 1944, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. VI*, p. 246; Randall Jacobs, Chief of Naval Personnel, memorandum to commanding officers of 25 fleet auxiliary ships, 9 Aug. 1944, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Basic Documents, Vol. VI*, pp. 258-259; MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 85-86; Nichols, *Breakthrough on the Color Front*, pp. 59-61.

¹⁹Randall Jacobs, Chief of Naval Personnel, memorandum to service commands, 13 April 1945, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. VI*, p. 268.

²⁰Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, p. 210; MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 166-167.

²¹Alan M. Gropman, *The Air Force Integrates 1945-1964*, Washington, D.C., Office of Air Force History, 1978, pp. 78, 81; MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 283.

in 1948, the Air Force staff formed a planning group to investigate the idea further.²²

This planning effort had the support and active participation of Secretary of the Air Force Stuart Symington, his staff, and the first Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal (who had moved into this position from his work with the Navy). But many senior Air Force officers opposed any move away from racial segregation.²³ It was President Truman's July 1948 executive order that broke the stalemate, giving the military and civilian advocates of integration the leverage that they needed to move their plans forward to the implementation stage.²⁴ Because of the work that it had already done, the Air Force was able to move quickly in preparing a proposal that met the requirements of the Truman Administration. The abolition of segregated units in the Air Force began in 1949 and was complete by the end of 1952.

Internal military leadership was important not only in the formulation of the new Air Force policy, but also in the execution of that policy. From the beginning, Air Force Chief of Staff Hoyt Vandenberg and his deputies made it clear that compliance with the policy was a command responsibility of all Air Force officers and that no resistance would be tolerated. "There will be frictions and incidents," General Edwards told a gathering of officers in 1948. "However, they will be minimized if commanders give the implementation of this policy their personal attention and exercise positive command control."²⁵

The Air Force followed through on its expectations by carefully monitoring the initial incorporation of black airmen into white units. When cases of disruption or noncompliance arose among enlisted personnel

²²Gropman, *Air Force Integrates*, pp. 87-88; MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 287-288; Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, pp. 232-233, 248.

²³Nichols, *Breakthrough on the Color Front*, pp. 75-77; Gropman, *Air Force Integrates*, pp. 89-92; MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 338-339.

²⁴Gropman, *Air Force Integrates*, pp. 91-92.

²⁵Lieutenant General Idwal Edwards, "Remarks on Major Personnel Problems Presented to USAF Commanders' Conference Headquarters, USAF," 12 April 1949, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. VIII*, p. 26.

or officers, response was swift. Disorderly enlistees were punished, and officers who procrastinated about implementation or who failed to treat blacks with respect received sharp warnings that repetition of such behavior would jeopardize their careers.²⁶ But such cases were rare: the frequent progress reports that Air Force headquarters insisted upon revealed no serious incidents.²⁷

That the presence of strong leadership was of great value in implementing new racial policies was further demonstrated by the example of the Army, which lacked such leadership on this subject during the late 1940s and thus responded very differently to the 1948 desegregation order. Unlike the Navy and the Air Force, the Army had not developed a coherent internal group of officers who favored racial integration, and it had done very little planning or experimentation concerning the issue. Civilian Secretaries of the Army, far from supporting integration, were firm opponents of it.²⁸ As a consequence, the Army had a difficult experience during 1949 and early 1950. It expended much time and effort resisting the Truman Administration's demands for an integration plan. After reaching agreement on such a plan, it moved very slowly in carrying out that agreement.²⁹

This resistance did not last long, however. When faced with severe shortages of personnel in the Korean War during late 1950 and 1951, several Army officers in the field placed black troops in white units and found that the resulting racially mixed organizations functioned well.³⁰ Such evidence soon convinced the Army staff. By the mid-1950s

²⁶Nichols, *Breakthrough on the Color Front*, pp. 102-105; Gropman, *Air Force Integrates*, p. 124.

²⁷Gropman, *Air Force Integrates*, pp. 123, 135; Nichols, *Breakthrough on the Color Front*, pp. 100-106; The President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, "A First Report on the Racial Integration Program," in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Basic Documents*, Vol. XII, pp. 39-76.

²⁸MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 322-324, 360.

²⁹MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 350-378. The variable success of the services supports general tenets of implementation research about the role of leadership in implementing and monitoring policy change (see Chapter 12).

³⁰MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 433-434; Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins University, *Utilization of*

the Army was racially integrated, and most interservice policy differences had disappeared.

Forces Restraining Integration

Good leadership consistently made vital contributions to the incorporation of blacks into the Armed Forces, but it was not a panacea for all the problems that surrounded military racial policies. For one thing, it could not prevent change from being slow and often difficult. Even in the presence of the clearest possible commitment from civilian officials and military officials, as in the case of Air Force integration, policy formulation and implementation took years to accomplish. The process of moving from racial segregation to racial integration spanned a decade, from the Navy's first experiment in 1944-1945 to the abolition of the last segregated Army unit in 1954. The forces of tradition and prejudice, and the natural inertia of large, complex organizations, meant that significant innovations in race relations could not and did not come quickly.

Some of these forces long remained beyond the reach of leadership. For example, the Navy, under the terms of the integration agreement that it had negotiated with the Truman Administration, sought to increase the low overall percentage of blacks in its enlisted ranks and officer corps during the 1950s. Navy officials discovered that in the black community, the Navy had such a reputation for racial discrimination that even a greatly expanded recruiting campaign specifically designed to attract blacks could not convince many black youth to enlist. Compounding this problem was the refusal of some Navy officers to abandon the long tradition of placing blacks and members of other racial minorities in the Steward's Branch--which created a public perception that the Navy still endorsed racial segregation.³¹ Thus the Navy's pioneering work in racial integration, and its subsequent educational and public-relations efforts, did not really outweigh entrenched stereotypes both inside and outside the service.

Negro Manpower, Chevy Chase, MD, Johns Hopkins University, 1954, pp. 185-187.

³¹MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 413-415, 417-426.

A closely related problem was the difficulty that the Armed Forces had in doing what the Kennedy Administration sought to achieve through the 1963 directive on command responsibility: institutionalizing leadership so that it would endure. While particular military officers or particular civilian administrations succeeded in defining and implementing reforms, the momentum of these efforts tended to diminish over time. Commitment to equal treatment and opportunity for blacks did not necessarily become a routine, ongoing function of military organizations.

The fate of the civil rights monitoring mechanisms that the 1963 directive established illustrated this problem. Civil rights offices in the Defense Department and the individual Armed Forces lacked the human and financial resources needed to make them capable of performing their missions; for instance, the Air Force Equal Opportunity Office had only one employee until 1971.³² Relying primarily on the voluntary compliance of local commanders and civilians in nearby communities, the Armed Forces did not establish clear standards of accountability or mechanisms of enforcement.³³ In consequence, many complaints and incidents of discrimination went unanswered during the 1960s. This situation suggested that unless appropriate incentives were built into organizational structure and practices, the personal leadership that was so evident at many points in the history of military racial policies was inadequate to guarantee the full incorporation of blacks into military life.

RACIAL INTEGRATION, UNIT COHESION, AND MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS

During the first half of the 20th century, American military officials constantly raised questions about the impact of racial heterogeneity on unit cohesion and task performance. Many military officers and civilian commentators on military affairs emphasized the widespread antagonism that existed between blacks and whites in civilian life, and the differences in historical experience that separated the two groups. Given the strength of these racial divisions, the prospect

³²Gropman, *Air Force Integrates*, pp. 206-207.

³³MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 561-566, 581-586.

of bringing whites and blacks together in close quarters in the Armed Forces, or of creating situations in which blacks might have to give orders to whites, seemed alarming. Such compulsory interracial associations, it was argued, could only create personal tensions and social divisions that would distract military personnel, disrupt work, and perhaps lead to violence. Racial mixing, in short, would undermine unit cohesion among the troops and thereby impair their morale, readiness, and ability to perform as a unified combat force.

Until the mid-1950s, the view that racial heterogeneity would imperil military efficiency provided a key justification for segregating blacks by unit and occupation, and minimizing contact between white and black units. The Navy explained in 1935 that it had to confine blacks to steward's duties because if blacks were enlisted as seamen and became petty officers, "team work, harmony, and ship efficiency [would be] seriously handicapped."³⁴ In 1949, the Secretary of the Army stated that effectiveness in battle "calls for a warm and close personal relationship within a unit," and that such a relationship could not exist between blacks and whites; thus, he asserted, segregation was necessary.³⁵

The essential argument here was clear: effective cooperation in the performance of military tasks, such as operating a ship or fighting a land battle, depended upon the prior existence of a high degree of unit cohesion--more specifically, the social cohesion that stemmed from racial homogeneity. If blacks were introduced into units that were primarily white, it was presumed that social cohesion would immediately decline and the quality of task performance would necessarily deteriorate.

³⁴Rear Admiral Adolphus Andrews, Chief of the Navy Bureau of Navigation, letter to A. C. MacNeal, President of the Chicago Branch of the NAACP, 19 Sept. 1935, quoted in Frederick S. Harrod, *Manning the New Navy*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1978, p. 62.

³⁵Testimony of Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall, in Minutes, President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, 28 March 1949, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. IX*, pp. 506-508.

During the 1940s and 1950s, under wartime conditions, the military put this premise to the test on several occasions, and the results did not confirm it. Empirical evidence suggested that task cohesion-- effective cooperation in carrying out military missions--could exist without racial homogeneity, and thus that task cohesion did not necessarily depend upon a sense of group identity (or social cohesion) arising from racial homogeneity. This distinction between social and task cohesion is comprehensively described in the chapter on unit cohesion and military effectiveness in the context of allowing acknowledged homosexuals to serve.

Unit Cohesion: Evidence from World War II and Korea

The Navy's planned experiment with racial integration on supply ships during 1944 and 1945 was the first such test. Evaluations of these ships revealed high performance and morale, and low incidence of racial friction, among the racially mixed crews.³⁶ This evidence was instrumental in convincing Navy officials to abandon their long-standing contention that such racial mixing would harm "ship efficiency," thus clearing the way for the integration policy adopted in 1946 (two years before President Truman's integration directive).

At about the same time, the Army engaged in a similar experiment, one that emerged from abrupt military necessity rather than careful planning. During the winter of 1944-1945, shortages of infantry troops in Europe became so severe that General Eisenhower and his staff adopted a plan to take black soldiers out of non-combat units, train them as riflemen, and organize them into platoons that were combined with white platoons to form racially integrated infantry companies. Over 4,500 blacks volunteered to take part in this program; 2,500 were accepted and served with the First Army and the Seventh Army during the final stages of the war against Germany.³⁷

³⁶Minutes of press conference held by Lester Granger, 1 Nov. 1945, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents*, pp. 183-184.

³⁷Lieutenant General John C. H. Lee, draft directive, 26 Dec. 1944, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. V*, Wilmington, DE, Scholarly Resources Inc., 1977, p. 98; Lieutenant General Lee, memorandum to

Reports from the field indicated that the black platoons performed very well, working in close conjunction with whites in a variety of combat operations and on garrison duty in captured towns.³⁸ No incidents of racial violence or non-cooperation between white and black soldiers occurred in combat situations. Some reports indicated that occasional tensions arose over the use of recreational facilities in rear areas. However, other reports pointed to examples of blacks and whites voluntarily sharing work assignments and participating on the same sports teams.³⁹

In July 1945, an Army survey of 250 white officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) who had experience with the integrated companies revealed that 79 percent of the officers and 60 percent of the non-commissioned officers judged that race relations in these units had been good or very good. Sixty-two percent of the officers and 89 percent of the NCOs recommended that the Army continue to form such racially mixed companies in the future.⁴⁰

Many senior Army officers believed that this experiment with racially integrated companies was too small to provide conclusive evidence that racial heterogeneity did not undermine cohesion in combat. During the Korean War, however, the Army gained experience with racially mixed units on a much larger scale. During 1950 and 1951, severe personnel shortages, imbalances between overstrength black units and understrength white units, and dissatisfaction with the combat effectiveness of some segregated black units led some commanders in the Korean Theater to insert black soldiers into white combat organizations.

commanders in the Communication Zone, European Theater of Operations, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. V*, p. 99; Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, pp. 688-705.

³⁸Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, pp. 696-702.

³⁹Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, pp. 701-702; Research Branch, Information and Education Division, Headquarters, Army Service Forces, *Opinions About Negro Infantry Platoons in White Companies of 7 Divisions*, 3 July 1945, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. V*, pp. 516-518.

⁴⁰Research Branch, *Opinions About Negro Platoons*, in MacGregor and Nalty, *Basic Documents, Vol. V*, pp. 516-517.

These decisions enabled the Army to make a more comprehensive assessment of the performance of racially mixed infantry units.

In 1951, the Army asked a team of social scientists working under the auspices of the Operations Research Office of Johns Hopkins University to study the utilization of black troops in Korea.⁴¹ The researchers discovered that because integrated and segregated infantry units existed simultaneously and were operating under the same conditions, it was possible to conduct something very close to a controlled scientific experiment. They collected data on both types of unit, and compared the attitudes of soldiers who had experienced racial integration with the attitudes of soldiers who had not. The resulting report, known by its code name of Project Clear, demonstrated that racial integration had no discernible detrimental effects on task performance, including combat effectiveness.

Project Clear data indicated that on key dimensions of performance, integrated units performed just as well as all-white units. For instance, 89 percent of officers who had served with integrated units reported that these units had a level of teamwork that was equal or superior to that of white units; 84 percent said that integrated units were as aggressive as or more aggressive than white units when conducting attacks.⁴² Moreover, integration did not lower overall unit morale. In fact, black soldiers were more likely to display high morale and desirable combat behavior when serving in racially mixed than in segregated units.

Individual incidents of overt racial hostility or violence did occur in the Korean Theater, but the Project Clear data indicated that they were rare and did not present serious threats to military efficiency, whether in combat or non-combat situations. On one particular point that had long concerned Army officials, the data were particularly reassuring: there was no evidence that white soldiers

⁴¹Leo Bogart, ed., *Project Clear: Social Research and the Desegregation of the United States Army*, New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Books, 1991, pp. xxxi-xlv.

⁴²Operations Research Office, *Utilization of Negro Manpower*, p. 18.

refused to take orders from black officers or non-commissioned officers.⁴³

A major conclusion of both Project Clear and the earlier 1945 Army study of the integrated infantry companies was that among white soldiers, a strong correlation existed between experience with racial integration and acceptance of it. Whites who initially expressed dislike of or resistance to the prospect of working side-by-side with blacks often changed their attitudes after actual service in an integrated unit. In the 1945 study, 64 percent of both the white officers and the white NCOs interviewed reported that they had initially regarded the idea of combining black and white platoons with skepticism or aversion. But 77 percent of both groups asserted that they had gained a more favorable view of integrated units as a result of firsthand experience.⁴⁴

Project Clear generated similar conclusions. White officers who had commanded integrated units, and white enlisted personnel who belonged to such units, showed much higher regard for the military capabilities of blacks and greater tolerance of integration than did whites who had never served with blacks. Of a group of white officers interviewed in the United States, 69 percent of those who had fought with integrated units in combat believed that blacks and whites made equally good soldiers; only 34 percent of those who had not been assigned to integrated units held this view.⁴⁵ In a sample of white enlisted men, 51 percent of those in all-white units favored the segregation of black troops and 22 percent favored integration; the comparable figures for whites in racially mixed units were 31 percent and 34 percent.⁴⁶ (The chapter on military opinion seconds these findings. In military focus groups conducted by RAND staff, a number of service members remarked that the experience of working with minority

⁴³Operations Research Office, *Utilization of Negro Manpower*, pp. 27-28, 239-242.

⁴⁴Research Branch, *Opinions About Negro Infantry Platoons*, in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents*, Vol. V, pp. 514-515.

⁴⁵Operations Research Office, *Utilization of Negro Manpower*, p. 24.

⁴⁶Operations Research Office, *Utilization of Negro Manpower*, p. 141.

group members had changed previously held, negative attitudes toward those minorities.)⁴⁷

These findings suggested that shared experience in performing military tasks could actually generate a sense of social cohesion--a sense of mutual respect, trust, and even liking--among members of different racial groups who had previously had little contact with one another. Qualitative data supported this hypothesis. Officers who responded to the 1945 Army survey indicated that race relations were smoothest in those integrated companies that had undergone the heaviest combat.⁴⁸ This phenomenon is supported in the literature on cohesion: As the chapter on that subject reports, successful performance and "task cohesion" are related--with successful performance having a stronger effect on cohesion than vice versa.

The comments of soldiers interviewed for the Project Clear surveys revealed numerous examples of changed attitudes and interracial friendships that had resulted from common experiences. Racially grounded expressions of suspicion and hostility remained, but the interviewers concluded that both blacks and whites in mixed units were more likely to make favorable assessments of race relations than unfavorable ones.⁴⁹

The Project Clear findings reinforced the judgment of senior Army officers (most notably General Ridgway), who had already ordered the abolition of racial segregation in the Korean Theater, and provided support for extending the integration process to Army units in Europe and, lastly, the United States in 1953 and 1954.

⁴⁷In the chapter on domestic police and fire departments, some personnel who were interviewed said they had similar attitude changes after serving with homosexual police officers or firefighters. The chapter on public opinion also suggests that people who know homosexuals have more favorable attitudes toward that group than those who do not report knowing homosexuals.

⁴⁸Research Branch, *Opinions About Negro Infantry Platoons*, in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. V*, pp. 515-516.

⁴⁹Operations Research Office, *Utilization of Negro Manpower*, pp. 205-208, 211-214.

Racial Integration and Military Effectiveness

By the late 1950s, the Army, like the Navy and the Air Force before it, had come to accept a new perspective on racial policy: the view that racial integration actually benefited the military. This new argument, which had emerged gradually during the 1940s, held that racial integration improved military efficiency--which was a reversal of the older argument that racial integration would impair military efficiency. The reversal came partly because of external political pressure for the equal treatment of blacks, and partly because of mounting evidence that an extreme emphasis on upholding social cohesion--defined as maintaining racial homogeneity--interfered with the Armed Forces' ability to conduct a large-scale, long-term war. During World War II, and again in the Army's operations during the early years of the Korean War, the system of strict racial segregation proved to be very costly in terms of money, time, and inefficient use of human resources. It demonstrably impaired task performance at the level of the Army as a whole, or the Navy as a whole, or the Air Force as a whole.

Segregation was costly because of the expensive and frustrating administrative work involved in building separate facilities for whites and blacks, calculating racial quotas, and keeping track of separate deployments for white and black troops. It also caused substantial waste of human talent, especially in the case of skilled blacks who were assigned to inappropriate jobs or prevented from obtaining necessary specialized training solely because no places for them existed in black units.⁵⁰ Investigations during the war, and an exhaustive inquiry by the Truman Administration's Fahy Committee in 1949, revealed the systematic nature of this mismatching.⁵¹

But the highest costs of segregation lay in the destructive social dynamics that it generated. Black soldiers and sailors in segregated

⁵⁰Osur, *Blacks in the Army Air Forces*, p. 31.

⁵¹MacGregor, *Integration of the Armed Forces*, pp. 352-355; Minutes, President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, 26 April 1949, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. X*, pp. 697-807; E. W. Kenworthy, memorandum to Charles Fahy, 30 May 1949, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. XI*, p. 1264.

units often suffered from low morale as a result of the racial discrimination and second-rate facilities that they constantly had to endure, and their sense of isolation from the mainstream of the war effort. Tensions between black enlisted personnel and white officers--many of whom disliked commanding black units--were common.⁵² These morale problems contributed directly and substantially, in the judgment of several military historians, to the poor combat performance of some black units in World War II and Korea.⁵³

Segregation per se also encouraged racial conflict between blacks and whites. It promoted strong feelings of group consciousness and interracial hostility. Members of black units developed a lively sense of collective grievance and anger at the discriminatory practices of whites, while whites found black units to be easy targets for ridicule and resentment.⁵⁴ The Navy's problems with the mutual antipathy of black sailors who had no opportunity to go to sea and white sailors who disliked the fact that blacks remained safely on shore typified the situations that existed in all the Armed Forces. This exaggerated intragroup cohesion and intergroup tension resulted in a wave of serious race riots at military installations in the United States and around the world between 1941 and 1946.⁵⁵

⁵²Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, pp. 182-191, 231-232; Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U. S. Armed Forces*, Columbia, MO, University of Missouri Press, 1969, pp. 69-71; E. T. Hall, "Race Prejudice and Negro-White Relations in the Army," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52, March 1947, pp. 408-409.

⁵³Truman K. Gibson, Jr., War Department Civilian Aide on Negro Affairs, memorandum to the Assistant Secretary of War, 23 Aug. 1943, reprinted in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. V*, pp. 273-279; Mary Penick Motley, ed., *The Invisible Soldier*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1975, pp. 268, 297-298, 303-304, 313, 318; Lt. Col. Marcus H. Ray, letter to Truman K. Gibson, 14 May 1945, reprinted in Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, pp. 588-589; Clay Blair, *The Forgotten War*, New York, Times Books, 1987, pp. 151-152, 192, 475-476.

⁵⁴Osur, *Blacks in the Army Air Forces*, p. 54; Hall, "Race Prejudice," p. 404.

⁵⁵Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, pp. 348-379; Bureau of Naval Personnel, "The Negro in the Navy," in MacGregor and Nalty, eds., *Blacks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, Vol. VI*, pp. 385-387; Dennis D. Nelson, *The Integration of the Negro into the U. S. Navy*,

The Armed Forces discovered during the late 1940s and 1950s that racial integration removed the inefficiencies and diminished the occasions for violence that the system of segregation had engendered. Once separate black and white units were abolished, assignment of personnel became easier and more rational. Once blacks and whites began to share the risks, rewards, and responsibilities of military life more equitably, morale problems diminished. These advantages were important in persuading many military officers--even those who remained hostile to blacks and to racial mixing--that integration did not necessarily threaten task performance in the Armed Forces. The Fahy Committee and other advocates of racial integration emphasized the link between integration and improved organizational performance in their efforts to convince the Armed Forces to accept the 1948 Truman directive.

Racial Turmoil and Military Effectiveness in the Vietnam Era

By the 1960s, the argument that integration promoted military efficiency was widely accepted, and many civil rights advocates viewed the military as a paragon of just race relations. The evidence of renewed racial tensions within the military during the Vietnam war was therefore very troubling to many observers.

Between 1968 and 1972, all the Armed Forces experienced numerous outbreaks of racial hostility and violence in a worldwide pattern that nearly matched the strife that had existed during World War II. Riots and protests at bases in the United States and abroad, and even on Navy ships at sea, reached a level that clearly undermined morale and threatened to impede the smooth functioning of military units.⁵⁶ In World War II, such events had been attributable to racial segregation, but in the Vietnam era segregation no longer existed. There had to be some other explanation for the racial turmoil.

Our research suggests that during the Vietnam war, the social psychology of segregation was recreated in a new way through the

New York, Octagon Books, 1982, reprint of original 1951 edition, pp. 82-85; Gropman, *Air Force Integrates*, pp. 64-70.

⁵⁶Nalty, *Strength for the Fight*, pp. 305-311, 315-317, 321-324; Jack D. Foner, *Blacks and the Military in American History*, New York, Praeger, 1974, pp. 201-260; Gropman, *Air Force Integrates*, pp. 215-216.